

THE  
CAMBRIDGE  
MODERN HISTORY

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,  
G. F. CLAY, MANAGER  
ROBINSON STREET, SINGAPORE.  
PRINTED BY WILLIAMSON STREET



SOLE AGENTS,  
Messrs. E. J. BARNARD,  
PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS, 10, ROBINSON STREET, SINGAPORE.

THE  
CAMBRIDGE  
MODERN HISTORY

PLANNED BY  
THE LATE LORD ACTON LL.D.  
SERVED FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE

EDITED BY  
A. W. WARD LL.D.  
G. W. PROTHERO LL.D.  
STANLEY LEATHES M.A.

VOLUME IX  
NAPOLÉON

CAMBRIDGE  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1909

*First Edition, 1966*  
*Reprinted 1997*



## PREFACE.

THE Sixth Volume of this work naturally takes its title from the name of the man whose actions form the principal part of its theme. No other period in Modern History—no other historical period, it may be said, except those of Alexander the Great, of Julius Cæsar, and of Charlemagne—was so completely dominated by a single personality. The ages of Charles the Fifth and of Louis the Fourteenth may in some respects be compared with that of Napoleon; but in neither was the personal influence of the sovereign so overpowering; in neither was the supremacy of the State or group of States under his immediate control so extensive or so decided. Moreover, the ascendancy of Charles the Fifth was mainly due to the agglomeration of vast and wealthy territories in the hand of a monarch to whom they passed by hereditary descent; while that of Louis the Fourteenth was rather the work of predomance and subordination than his own. Napoleon, on the contrary, was not only the architect of his own fortunes, but the prime mover of that enormous power with which he overran Europe. If, again, the personalities of Alexander, Julius, and Charlemagne dominated their epochs as did that of Napoleon, the areas over which they bore sway were not comparable with that directly or indirectly affected by Napoleon's power. Never before had the whole of Europe, from the Ural to the Atlantic, from Archangel to Cape Matapan, been knit together in one vast partnership of strife or subjugation; never before had the fortunes of all the nations of the West depended upon the fate of one man. Nor was Europe alone concerned in the success or failure of his far-reaching ambitions; vast regions of Asia, Africa, and America were drawn into the conflict to which they gave rise. If it has been reserved for statesmen of our own time to speak with truth of *Weltpolitik*; if, in the latter days of the nineteenth century, the whole world for the first time felt the

mental action and reaction of all-embracing political forces, the opening years of that century witnessed a marked advance towards such a concentration; and that advance was, in the main, the work of Napoleon.

The period covered by this volume is but little longer than that covered by its immediate predecessor. No event in Modern History can be said to possess greater significance than the French Revolution; but the consequences of that event beyond the borders of France would have been comparatively slight, had not the forces which it engendered been gathered up in one hand, and launched under the direction of a single will against the antiquated politics of Europe. This is not the place to discuss the effects of an impact whose force, however developed or diverted, is not yet exhausted; we need only remark that, if many of the ideas which have been most potent in nineteenth-century Europe first sprang into practical life in revolutionary France, it is principally to Napoleon that they owe their diffusion. The blindest events narrated in this volume possess, through this fact and through the dominance of an overwhelming personality, a cohesion, a unity, which no preceding period of Modern History can claim. They unfold themselves with dramatic continuity, as a great tragedy played out upon the stage of the world, exhibiting the rise and development, the triumph, and the fall of a personage whose actions and fortunes, from first to last, dominate the scene.

The estimates of Napoleon's character, and the valuations of his work, have varied, and will always vary, as widely as do the temper and opinions of his judges. It will not be expected that a work of this nature should add to the number of these judgments; our task is rather to lay before our readers an impartial survey of the facts on which any fair conclusion must rest. That Napoleon, during the greater part of his life, was hostile to this country will not, after the lapse of nearly a century, blind Englishmen to his greatness; and friendly has happily taken the place of our prolonged and often bitter rivalry with the country over which he ruled. Nor should it be forgotten that the struggle with Napoleon, besides sowing the seeds of national revival and political reformation throughout Europe, had another result of happy augury for the future. If Great Britain bore the leading part in that struggle; if, in the words of Pitt, having saved herself by her exertions, she saved Europe by her example, it is

equally true that final victory could never have been gained by the efforts, however persistent, of a single State. It was to Europe to arise that the conqueror of Europe succumbed; and victory in war was immediately followed by a combined effort to ensure the continuance of peace. The Congress of Vienna was the first occasion on which all the Powers of Europe met to settle international affairs by peaceful deliberation. The political unity which marks the epoch reached its climax in that assembly; and, however shattered was the success of that first experiment, it has borne remarkable fruit. The peace of Europe has frequently been broken since 1815; the European Concert has often failed; but pacific statesmen have striven throughout the last century to follow the example set at Vienna, as the best means of avoiding war. This is not the least of the benefits that may be traced to the head of Napoleon.

To all our contributors, especially to those foreign writers of distinction whose aid we have been fortunate enough to obtain, we express our hearty thanks. To them and to our readers we owe an apology for the delay in the appearance of this volume; but we need not enumerate the unexpected difficulties to which that delay has been due. We desire to express our gratitude to the Right-Hon. Sir A. C. Lyell, B.C.R., and to Sir Charles Lyell, B.C.S.I., for assistance kindly rendered in regard to Indian words and some facts of Indian history. The system adopted in the spelling and accentuation of Indian names is based on that of Sir William Hunter, but modified in the case of certain forms on which use and convention seem to have conferred a presumptive right. We are also grateful to Dr Charles Schmidt for a valuable note on the contents of the National Archives in Paris; and to Professor Farnet for most kindly reviewing the entire of the French books in the copious bibliography.

The next volume to be published (Vol. IV) is far advanced, and will, it is hoped, appear in the course of the next four months.

A. W. W.

G. W. B.

B. L.

Cambridge,

April, 1868.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

## CHAPTER I

## THE CONSULATE, 1799-1804. ✓

By GEORGE FARRER, Doctor in Letters, Professor of Modern History in the University of Essex

	PAGES
<i>Position and policy of the Consuls</i> . . . . .	1
<i>France. The Consuls</i> . . . . .	2
<i>The Constitution. Views of Mably</i> . . . . .	3
<i>Dumouriez. Intervention of Bonaparte</i> . . . . .	4
<i>The Constitution of the year VIII.</i> . . . .	5
<i>The Assembly and the executive</i> . . . . .	6
<i>The Consuls. Arrangements for the elections</i> . . . . .	7
<i>Composition of the Assembly</i> . . . . .	8
<i>The Council of State</i> . . . . .	9
<i>The great offices of State</i> . . . . .	10
<i>General Council. Elections of the year VIII.</i> . . . .	11
<i>Local Government. The Prefects</i> . . . . .	12
<i>Bonaparte's attitude. Fertilisation of the west</i> . . . . .	13
<i>Republicans and republicanism</i> . . . . .	14
<i>Journals. Emigres. Italian campaign</i> . . . . .	15
<i>Conscience suppressed. Republican Opposition</i> . . . . .	16
<i>Royalist plots. Attempt on Bonaparte's life</i> . . . . .	17
<i>Treaty of Lunéville. Assassination purged</i> . . . . .	18
<i>Amnesty. Conditions for life</i> . . . . .	19
<i>The Legion of Honour</i> . . . . .	20
<i>Military conspiracy. "Libel plot"</i> . . . . .	21
<i>Politics and Constitution of the year X</i> . . . . .	22
<i>The Assembly. The electorate</i> . . . . .	23
<i>The Imperial Court. French society</i> . . . . .	24
<i>Financial society. Finance. Public debt</i> . . . . .	25
<i>Public Receipts and Expenditure</i> . . . . .	26
<i>Taxes. The budget. The Bank of France</i> . . . . .	27
<i>Resumed of the war with England</i> . . . . .	28
<i>Colomb's conspiracy</i> . . . . .	29
<i>Discovery of Colomb's plot</i> . . . . .	30
<i>Arrest and execution of the Duc d'Angoulême</i> . . . . .	31
<i>Establishment of the Empire. Elections of 1804</i> . . . . .	32
<i>Reveries of the Consuls</i> . . . . .	33



## CHAPTER II.

### THE ARMED NEUTRALITY, 1790-1801.

SECT. I. By the Rev. T. A. WARREN, M.A., LL.D., Fellow  
and Tutor of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

SECT. II. By H. W. WARREN, B.A., Trinity College, Oxford.

	PAGES
Early life and education of Paul I . . . . .	24
Accession of Paul I. Changes at Court . . . . .	25
Early policy of Paul . . . . .	26
Russia and Sweden . . . . .	27
Swedish policy of Catherine II . . . . .	28
Paul I and the Rupture of St. John . . . . .	29
Russia and France . . . . .	30
Russia, Austria, and England . . . . .	31
Origin of the First Armed Neutrality . . . . .	32
The First Armed Neutrality . . . . .	33
Failure of the First Armed Neutrality . . . . .	34
Sweden, Denmark, and Great Britain . . . . .	35
Origin of the Second Armed Neutrality . . . . .	36
The Second Armed Neutrality . . . . .	37
Paul I and Bonaparte . . . . .	38
Tyranny of Paul I . . . . .	39
Death of Paul I. End of the Second Armed Neutrality . . . . .	40
Russia's plan of operations in the Baltic . . . . .	41
Battle of Copenhagen . . . . .	42
The Channel and the Mediterranean . . . . .	43
Russia's two actions . . . . .	44



## CHAPTER III.

### THE PACIFICATION OF EUROPE, 1795-1802.

By ARTHUR GOULSTON, Esquire, in letters, Professor of History at  
the *École polytechnique fédérale* of Zurich.

Changes in nature of the war with Europe . . . . .	45
Characteristics of the war . . . . .	46
Peace of Bonaparte . . . . .	47
The war in Germany and Italy . . . . .	48
Napoleon's invasion of Italy . . . . .	49
The passage of the St Bernard . . . . .	50
Bonaparte in Lombardy . . . . .	51
The battle of Marengo . . . . .	52
Results of the battle . . . . .	53
Napoleon's campaign in Germany . . . . .	54
Armistice and negotiation . . . . .	55

	PAGE
Negotiations between all . . . . .	66
The battle of Solferino . . . . .	67
French success in Italy . . . . .	69
The Peace of Innsbruck . . . . .	69
Napoleon's plans against Great Britain . . . . .	70
Influence for and against peace . . . . .	71
Spain, Portugal, and Egypt . . . . .	72
Reconciliation of Great Britain and Russia . . . . .	73
Peace and ideas of Napoleon . . . . .	74
Signature of preliminary of peace . . . . .	75
Government of Austria . . . . .	76
The Peace of Amiens . . . . .	77
French treaties with Egypt and Russia . . . . .	78
Impediments of the Peace . . . . .	79
Provisional nature of the Peace . . . . .	80



## CHAPTER IV.

## FRANCE AND HER TRIBUTARIES, 1801-2.

By Professor GILLIES.

Julien's views about France . . . . .	81
Napoleon's Italian policy . . . . .	82
Fieldwork and the new Republic . . . . .	83
Organization of the Cisalpine Republic . . . . .	84
Napoleon becomes President . . . . .	85
Government of the Cisalpine Republic . . . . .	85
Contest Night in Vice-President. Vices and Tenors . . . . .	87
Rome, Naples, and northern Italy. Relief . . . . .	88
Changes in the Roman Republic . . . . .	89
Disappointments of the Dutch . . . . .	90
Effects of the Revolution in Germany . . . . .	91
The left bank of the Rhine. Reorganization in Germany . . . . .	92
Intervention of Napoleon and the Year . . . . .	93
The Imperial Palace of 1802 . . . . .	94
Intervention of the Revolution in Switzerland . . . . .	95
Policy of the Directory in Switzerland . . . . .	96
Peace and scope of the Revolution . . . . .	97
The Constitution of Switzerland . . . . .	98
The Constitution entered . . . . .	99
Civil war. Napoleon's intervention . . . . .	100
British protests. Increasing difficulties . . . . .	101
Negotiations between Great Britain and Russia . . . . .	102
Napoleon's threats. British demands . . . . .	103
Signature with Great Britain. The Act of Mediation . . . . .	104
Distribution of power in Switzerland . . . . .	105
Results of the Act of Mediation . . . . .	106

## CHAPTER V.

## FRANCE UNDER THE EMPIRE, 1804-18.

By Professor FARNET.

	Page
Napoleon's family. His marriage . . . . .	247
The Constitution of the year XII . . . . .	268
The Senate. The Council of State . . . . .	282
The Imperial hierarchy. The Grand Dignitaries . . . . .	295
The Marshals. The great staff . . . . .	311
The new nobility . . . . .	323
The Imperial household . . . . .	330
The army. Conscription . . . . .	354
Manipulation of the conscription . . . . .	358
The National Guard. Finances . . . . .	365
Economic crisis of 1810. The Bank. Taxes . . . . .	372
Income from church. The Budget . . . . .	378
National Debt. The Funds. Public works . . . . .	379
Imperial police. Manners. The Capital . . . . .	388
Economic policy of Napoleon . . . . .	393
Customs. The Commercial System . . . . .	394
Imports and smuggling . . . . .	398
Foreign trade. Growth of industry . . . . .	404
French manufactures . . . . .	405
Wealth and poverty. Public instruction . . . . .	409
The Imperial University established . . . . .	417
Organisation of the University . . . . .	426
The Institute. The Government . . . . .	431
Theatre and newspapers . . . . .	433
Literature. Characterised . . . . .	435
Mathematics. Mathematics and philosophy . . . . .	439
Science and art . . . . .	440
Architecture. The "Empire style" . . . . .	444
Fencing and sports . . . . .	453
Tranquillity and prosperity of France . . . . .	458
Desastres's plot. Anxiety about Spain . . . . .	477
Rebuses of Talleyrand and Fouché . . . . .	478
The device of Josephine . . . . .	479
Marriage with Marie-Louise. Fouché dismissed . . . . .	488
Ministerial changes (1810-1)	491
Growth of absolutism. Birth of the King of Rome . . . . .	498
Decay of industry. Malin's plot . . . . .	501
Failure of Malin's plot. De masonry . . . . .	504
Council of Regency. The Senate . . . . .	508
The Imperial coronation. Lainé's report . . . . .	510
Napoleon reorganises the Legislative Body . . . . .	517



## CHAPTER VI.

## THE CODES.

By H. A. L. FARRER, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford.

	PAGE
Influence of the Revolution on the law of property . . . . .	240
Its influence on the law of persons . . . . .	240
The legal reaction . . . . .	240
Decaparte as Counsel . . . . .	241
Decaparte as legislator . . . . .	242
The Civil Code and the Testament . . . . .	242
Family law . . . . .	244
Personal control . . . . .	245
The position of women. Divorce . . . . .	246
Divorce. Views of Decaparte . . . . .	247
Civil rights. French citizenship . . . . .	248
Contracts. Interest. Mortgage . . . . .	249
The law of inheritance . . . . .	250
Enactment of the Civil Code . . . . .	251
Value of the Civil Code . . . . .	252
Indications of the Civil Code to Decaparte . . . . .	253
History of civil procedure . . . . .	254
The Great Debates and the Revolution . . . . .	255
The Commission on Civil Procedure . . . . .	257
Legal innovations . . . . .	257
Composition of the Code of Civil Procedure . . . . .	258
History of criminal procedure . . . . .	259
Revolutionary changes . . . . .	270
The reaction. The Criminal Code . . . . .	271
The Jury question . . . . .	272
The Jury undisciplined. Peace in the Department . . . . .	273
The final compromise . . . . .	274
Enactment of the Code of Criminal Procedure . . . . .	275
The Penal Code . . . . .	276
Origin of the Commercial Code . . . . .	277
The Bankruptcy Law. Defects of the Commercial Code . . . . .	278
Enactment of the Codes as a whole . . . . .	279

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE CONCORDATS.

By L. G. WATKINSON-LACEY, M.A., Lecturer in History at New College, Oxford.

Position of the Papacy in 1800 . . . . .	280
Decaparte's overtures to Pius VII . . . . .	281
Negotiations with Spain in Paris . . . . .	282
Cauchy sent to Rome. Decaparte's terms . . . . .	282

<i>Concord in Paris. The Concordat signed</i>	1427
<i>Character of the Concordat</i>	142
<i>The Constitutional Church. The "Fête Supra"</i>	143
<i>The Concordat ratified. The Supreme Articles</i>	144
<i>The new Bishops. Triumph of Bonaparte</i>	145
<i>Further demands of Bonaparte</i>	146
<i>The Italian Concordat. The press. The Church</i>	147
<i>Legacy and conditions. French sent to Rome</i>	148
<i>Convention at Napoleon</i>	149
<i>Quarrel about Jerome Bonaparte. Occupation of Austria</i>	150
<i>Napoleon's demands. Service of Civil Justice</i>	151
<i>Rejection of Napoleon's terms</i>	152
<i>Papal letter refused. Captivity of the Pope</i>	153
<i>Religious and Commercial. Occupation of Rome</i>	154
<i>The Black Cardinals. The National Congress</i>	155
<i>The Grand Alliance. Resolutions of the Pope</i>	156
<i>The Pope in France. Concordat of Fontainebleau</i>	157
<i>Balance of the Pope. The Church in Germany</i>	158
<i>The German States and the Church</i>	159
<i>Belgium's scheme. The French Protestants</i>	160
<i>Belgium, Prussia, and Jews</i>	161
<i>Grand Alliance. Negotiations of Jewish worship</i>	162
<i>Political effects of Napoleon's Church policy</i>	163
<i>The French as a bulwark of liberty</i>	164

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE COMMAND OF THE SEA, 1803-18.

By E. W. WILSON, B.A., Trinity College, Oxford.

<i>Preparations for renewal of war</i>	166
<i>Outbreak of war. The French navy</i>	167
<i>The navy and the strategic position of Great Britain</i>	168
<i>Blockade of the French ports</i>	169
<i>First plan for the invasion of England</i>	170
<i>Changes in the plan of invasion</i>	171
<i>The Boulogne Armies</i>	172
<i>Further development of the invasion plan</i>	173
<i>French activity. Nelson at Toulon</i>	174
<i>Blockade of Brest. Anglo-Spanish relations</i>	175
<i>War with Spain. Napoleon's plan changed</i>	176
<i>British and Allied fleets. Villeneuve at Toulon</i>	177
<i>Nelson in pursuit of Villeneuve</i>	178
<i>Expedition to the West Indies</i>	179
<i>Napoleon's instructions to Villeneuve</i>	180
<i>Villeneuve in the West Indies</i>	181
<i>British movements. Nelson sails for the West Indies</i>	182
<i>Nelson follows Villeneuve back to Europe</i>	183
<i>Collier's action off Cape Finisterre</i>	184
<i>Movements of Villeneuve and Alton</i>	185
<i>Napoleon orders Villeneuve to fight</i>	186

Napoleon's plan of battle . . . . .	227
The approach of the fleets . . . . .	229
The battle of Trafalgar . . . . .	231
Victory of Nelson and Villeneuve . . . . .	233
Death of Nelson. Results of the battle . . . . .	235
Subsequent French losses . . . . .	236
British negotiations in Turkey and Egypt . . . . .	238
The second Copenhagen expedition . . . . .	239
Operations on the Mediterranean. Napoleon's plans . . . . .	241
End of the Spanish colony. Attack upon Brum . . . . .	243
Malta and Sicily. Mediterranean operations . . . . .	245
Colonial operations. The Continental blockade . . . . .	247
The Continental system and British trade . . . . .	249
European wars. French and British losses . . . . .	251
End of the war. Results of the war . . . . .	253

## CHAPTER XL.

### THE THIRD COALITION. I. 1804-6

By Colonel E. M. LLOYD, late Royal Engineers.

Results of the war with Great Britain . . . . .	261
Napoleon's overtures to George III. . . . .	263
Negotiations between Russia and Great Britain . . . . .	265
The Emperor of Italy. The Emperor Francis . . . . .	267
Declaration of Austria. Archduke Charles . . . . .	269
Austro-Russian Treaty. Attitude of Prussia . . . . .	271
France and Sweden. The Allied plan of campaign . . . . .	273
Napoleon and Austria. Blücher refused to Prussia . . . . .	275
War with Austria. The Grand Army . . . . .	277
Russia joins France. The march on the Danube . . . . .	279
The application of Gne . . . . .	281
Question of Prussian neutrality . . . . .	283
Convention between France and the Allies . . . . .	285
Napoleon at Vienna. Archduke Charles in Italy . . . . .	287
The war in Italy. Napoleon's dangerous position . . . . .	289
Russian participation. Russian advance . . . . .	291
French position at Aspern. Plans of the Allies . . . . .	293
Battle of Aspern. Result . . . . .	295
Peace of Presburg. Alliance of France and Prussia . . . . .	297
Tollens of the Allies in Italy and north Germany . . . . .	299
Prussia occupies Saxony. Death of Pitt . . . . .	301

## CHAPTER XL.

### THE THIRD COALITION. II. 1806-7

By Colonel LLOYD.

Napoleon in Paris . . . . .	305
The Franco-Prussian alliance. Attitude of Russia . . . . .	307
Policy of Napoleon in Italy and Holland . . . . .	309

	Page
The Confederation of the Rhine . . . . .	205
End of the Holy Roman Empire. Proposals about Coblenz . . . . .	206
Overtures from Great Britain; Battle of Mainz . . . . .	210
Peace negotiations. Death of Fox . . . . .	215
Murder of Fain. Abdications in France . . . . .	216
Outbreak of war with France . . . . .	218
The Prussian camp. Napoleon's plans . . . . .	219
The French revolution . . . . .	219
Battle of Jena . . . . .	220
Battle of Auerstedt. The Prussian retreat . . . . .	227
Annexation of Prussia and other territories . . . . .	228
Industry nationalised. Berlin and Magdeburg occupied . . . . .	229
The Prussian army annihilated . . . . .	230
Berlin and Turkey. Napoleon at Berlin . . . . .	231
French negotiations with France, England, and Russia . . . . .	232
The Berlin Decree. Poland and Austria . . . . .	233
Napoleon's schemes. The Russian retreat . . . . .	234
Napoleon at Warsaw. The winter campaign . . . . .	235
Battle of Eylau . . . . .	235
French negotiations. Occupation of Parisianists . . . . .	237
A congress proposed. Napoleonic difficulties . . . . .	239
Attack on Great Britain. Fall of Canning . . . . .	239
Russian advances. Battle of Friedland . . . . .	240
Armistice. Alexander's change of mind . . . . .	241
Treaty of Tilsit. Losses of France . . . . .	242
Alliance between France and Russia . . . . .	243

## CHAPTER XL

## THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT, 1807-9.

By J. HOLLAND ROSE, Litt.D., late Scholar of Christ's  
College, Cambridge.

Methods and aims of Napoleon . . . . .	244
Napoleon at Dresden. British expedition to Silesia . . . . .	245
The position and policy of Denmark . . . . .	247
Napoleon's designs revealed to the British Government . . . . .	247
Views and policy of Canning . . . . .	248
Success of the British fleet, and its results . . . . .	249
Swedish withdrawal. Danish alliance with France . . . . .	250
The conquest of Portugal . . . . .	251
Napoleon's policy. Convention with Spain . . . . .	252
French invasion of Portugal . . . . .	253
Flight of the Portuguese royal family . . . . .	254
Break between Great Britain and Russia . . . . .	255
Russia, Turkey, and France . . . . .	256
The subversion of Poland . . . . .	257
Napoleon and the Eastern Question . . . . .	258
Flirtation of England. Anglo-French Convention . . . . .	258
Napoleon's Eastern schemes . . . . .	259

	PAGE
Napoleon proposes for an Eastern expedition . . . . .	211
Negotiations between France and Russia . . . . .	212
Russian invasion of Poland. Trouble in Spain . . . . .	213
Disputes and conclusion of Poland . . . . .	214
Effect of the Spanish rising on Napoleon's plans . . . . .	215
Alarm in Austria. The League of Amiens . . . . .	216
Prussia and Austria. Napoleon's demands on Prussia . . . . .	217
Napoleon's general position improved . . . . .	218
Congress of Erfurt. The Russian Question . . . . .	219
Napoleon, Alexander and Austria . . . . .	220
Overtures to Great Britain. Results of the Congress . . . . .	221
Georgian IV of England. Loss of Finland . . . . .	222
Navigation by Sweden. Abolition of German . . . . .	223
Baron de Prussia Royal of Sweden . . . . .	224
Oppression of Prussia. Fichte's Address . . . . .	225
Theme of Fichte's speech. Prussian education . . . . .	226
Foundation of the University of Berlin . . . . .	227
The University of Berlin. The Topographical . . . . .	228
Early life of Stein. His rise to power . . . . .	229
Political, economic and social reforms . . . . .	230
Land reform. Influence of the King . . . . .	231
Military reform. Rise of Liebig . . . . .	232
The reorganised army. Local self-government . . . . .	233
The new conscription . . . . .	234
Expulsion of Stein. German literature . . . . .	235
Queen Louise of Prussia. Kingdom of Westphalia . . . . .	236
Service in Westphalia. Grand Ducy of Warsaw . . . . .	237
Government of the Grand Ducy of Warsaw . . . . .	238
Contact between Poland and Germany . . . . .	239
Results of Napoleon's campaign . . . . .	240

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE WAR OF 1806

By AUGUST KRAE, Major-General (retired) in the German Army.

Rejoicings of popular masses against Napoleon . . . . .	241
Austrian propaganda. Napoleon's threat . . . . .	242
Austrian motives for war . . . . .	243
Austria without allies. Her position on war . . . . .	244
The army and the resources of Austria . . . . .	245
The Austrian army . . . . .	246
Austrian plan. Distribution of French forces . . . . .	247
Opening movements. Movement of the Austrians . . . . .	248
The "Ratzen campaign." (Steinbock and Schmidt) . . . . .	249
Repulse of the Austrians. Napoleon in Prussia . . . . .	250
The battle of Austerlitz . . . . .	251
Repulse of Napoleon. Effect of the battle . . . . .	252
The battle of Wagram . . . . .	253
The campaign in Poland . . . . .	254
The campaign in Italy, Hungary, and Tyrol . . . . .	255

<i>Restoration of Tyrol. The strong suppressed</i>	558
<i>Attempts of Schill and the Duke of Brunswick</i>	557
<i>The Mulhausen expedition</i>	558
<i>British disaster at Mulhausen. Peace negotiations</i>	559
<i>The Peace of Schombrunn</i>	560

## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM, 1806-14.

By J. HOLLAND ROSE, LL.D.

<i>Origin and importance of the Berlin Decree</i>	562
<i>Influence of the Manifesto and Decree</i>	562
<i>The commercial war against Great Britain</i>	563
<i>Napoleon's measures against British trade</i>	568
<i>Action of Great Britain. The Berlin Decree</i>	569
<i>The Warsaw Decree. British Orders in Council</i>	569
<i>The Milan Decree</i>	577
<i>Apparent probability of Napoleon's success</i>	578
<i>Dependency in Great Britain</i>	580
<i>Napoleon resolves to attack Holland</i>	580
<i>Annexation of Holland. Effects in Great Britain</i>	571
<i>Condition of British foreign trade</i>	582
<i>Tripartite Treaty. Sources of British ships</i>	583
<i>Continental System. French arrangements</i>	584
<i>The system of trade-barriers</i>	589
<i>Causes of French commercial prosperity</i>	578
<i>Imports, exports, and conditions of Napoleon's success</i>	577
<i>Condition of Hamburg and northern Germany</i>	579
<i>Sweden and Russia. Downfall of Continental System</i>	579
<i>Napoleon's economic condition</i>	583
<i>Italy under British influence. The Constitution</i>	585
<i>Policy of the Queen of Naples</i>	588
<i>Parliamentary difficulties. Bonaparte and the Queen</i>	589
<i>System of the Constitution. Death of the Queen</i>	586
<i>Turkey and the Russian Forces</i>	588
<i>The government of Salici II</i>	588
<i>Spain's military reforms. Revolt of Garcia</i>	587
<i>Murder of Salici. Accession of Mahomet II</i>	588
<i>Treaty of Bucharest. No change in Turkey</i>	588

## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE FRENCH DEPENDENCIES, AND SWITZERLAND, 1806-14.

The French Dependencies. By H. A. L. FROES, M.A.

Switzerland. By Professor GUYLARD

<i>Napoleon's view on government</i>	590
<i>Source of French administrative success</i>	591
<i>Defects of the Napoleonic system</i>	591

<i>Napoleon and his enemies. The Italian Kingdom</i>	Page
<i>Foundations of the Italian Kingdom</i>	283
<i>Napoleon's policy for the Italian Kingdom</i>	294
<i>Improvements under the Vienna Regime</i>	298
<i>French Italy. Parliament</i>	307
<i>Poland, Prussia, Russia, etc.</i>	309
<i>Association of Nations</i>	313
<i>Tunisia under French control. The Papal States</i>	318
<i>Annexation of the Papal States</i>	322
<i>Work of the Roman Congress. The King of Rome</i>	322
<i>State of Naples. Accession of Joseph Bonaparte</i>	323
<i>Naples under the government of Joseph</i>	324
<i>Joseph's problems and restrictions</i>	328
<i>Salerno in the Neapolitan Kingdom under Joseph</i>	328
<i>Maria in Naples. French influence in Germany</i>	327
<i>French Germany. The Rheneish Departments</i>	328
<i>Rhenish Departments. Grand Duchy of Berg</i>	328
<i>Berg under Maria and Bonaparte</i>	328
<i>The Kingdom of Westphalia</i>	331
<i>Westphalia under Joseph Bonaparte</i>	332
<i>Ministers at Westphalia. Frankfurt</i>	332
<i>The Grand Duchy of Frankfurt under Bonaparte</i>	334
<i>The Rhgane departments</i>	335
<i>Religion and conscription in Belgium. Belgium</i>	336
<i>Belgium under French rule</i>	337
<i>The Egyptian problem</i>	338
<i>Marmoor's work in Egypt. The Colossus</i>	339
<i>French colonial policy. Tonnant L'Ouverture</i>	340
<i>San Domingo under Toussaint L'Ouverture</i>	341
<i>French government in San Domingo</i>	342
<i>Switzerland under the Act of Mediation</i>	342
<i>Napoleon's dealings with Switzerland</i>	344
<i>Notes of observation. The Continental System</i>	345
<i>Government of the Swiss Diet. Public works</i>	346
<i>Education, philosophy, and literature</i>	347

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE PENINSULAR WAR, 1808-18.

By G. W. Oakes, M.A., F.B.A., *Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.*

<i>Napoleon's move on to Spain</i>	Page
<i>Quarrels in the Spanish royal family</i>	349
<i>French invasion of Spain</i>	350
<i>The revolution of Aragon</i>	351
<i>Intervention of Napoleon</i>	352
<i>Abdication of Ferdinand. The Two Kings</i>	353

	page
Outbreak of the Spanish Insurrection . . . . .	384
The military position . . . . .	385
Napoleon's measures. Massay falls at Valencia . . . . .	386
Duport's march on Seville . . . . .	387
The capitulation of Baylen and its results . . . . .	388
First siege of Saragossa. Peace in Portugal . . . . .	389
Wellington's landing. Battle of Vitoria . . . . .	390
The suspension of Cadix. French reinforcements . . . . .	391
The Central Junta. Its military strategy . . . . .	392
Miura in Spain. Napoleon's return . . . . .	393
Napoleon at Madrid. Miura's plans . . . . .	394
Miura's advance and retreat . . . . .	395
Battle of Corunna. Death of Miura . . . . .	396
Battle of Almoneda campaign . . . . .	397
Fall of Saragossa. Other Spanish defeats . . . . .	398
Wellington's return. French invasion of Portugal . . . . .	399
Breda and Vitor. Battle of Medellin . . . . .	400
Wellington drives Breda out of Portugal . . . . .	401
Wellington's advance. Battle of Tudela . . . . .	402
Breda's advance. Wellington's retreat . . . . .	403
Battle of Almoneda. Siege of Gerona . . . . .	404
Battle of Alfo de Torres and Onda . . . . .	405
Conquest of Avila . . . . .	406
Miura assumes the command. Siege of Cadix . . . . .	407
Miura's progress . . . . .	408
Miura invades Portugal. Alfo de Torres Vitor . . . . .	409
Devastation of Portugal. Wellington's retreat . . . . .	410
Battle of Breda. Capture of Cadix . . . . .	411
Miura at Torres Vitor and Saragossa . . . . .	412
Miura's retreat. Results of the campaign . . . . .	413
The Corps at Cadix. Battle of Breda . . . . .	414
Galant resistance of Cadix . . . . .	415
Battle of Puente Vicos. Fall of Almoneda . . . . .	416
Battle of Almoneda. Breda retreats . . . . .	417
Wellington falls at Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo . . . . .	418
Further Spanish successes. In result . . . . .	419
Battle of Sagunto. Fall of Valencia . . . . .	420
Wellington takes Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz . . . . .	421
Wellington advances against Miura . . . . .	422
Battle of Salamanca. Wellington at Madrid . . . . .	423
French concentration. Wellington falls at Burgos . . . . .	424
Wellington retreats. Results of the campaign . . . . .	425
Improvement in Anglo-Spanish prospects . . . . .	426
Wellington's advance. Joseph's return . . . . .	427
Battle of Vitoria. Joseph leaves Spain . . . . .	428
The war in eastern Spain . . . . .	429
Battle of the Pyrenees. Wellington takes Estaca . . . . .	430
Battle of the Nerv and of Orlon . . . . .	431
Battle of Tudela. Results of the war . . . . .	432



## CHAPTER XVI.

## RUSSIA UNDER ALEXANDER I. AND THE INVASION OF 1812.

By EDWIN STODOLSKY, Professor of Universal History  
in the Imperial University of Odessa.

Alexander's accession. His first councilors . . . . .	450
Character of Alexander I. Michael Speranski . . . . .	454
Russian foreign policy. The war with Turkey . . . . .	465
The Polish Question. <u>Enfilade with Napoleon</u> . . . . .	469
Preparations for war. <u>Tar ut suprimum</u> . . . . .	477
Strength and composition of the Grand Army . . . . .	488
French deficiencies. The Russian drive . . . . .	495
Russian plan of campaign. Crossing of the Niemen . . . . .	499
Napoleon at Vilna. The Russian retreat . . . . .	501
Russian concentrations at Smolensk . . . . .	502
Capture of Smolensk. Russian retreat continued . . . . .	503
Kutuzov takes the command . . . . .	504
Battle of Borodino . . . . .	508
Occupation of Moscow. Burning of the city . . . . .	509
Napoleon at Moscow. Reaction of Alexander . . . . .	517
Moscow evacuated. Condition of the French army . . . . .	520
Napoleon's choice of route. Approach of winter . . . . .	526
The retreat to Smolensk. French losses . . . . .	530
Kutuzov's pursuit. Grave situation of the French . . . . .	531
Preparations for retreating to Smolensk . . . . .	532
The crossing of the Beresina . . . . .	532
Napoleon goes to Paris. Destruction of his army . . . . .	536
French and Russian losses. <u>Causes of the disaster</u> . . . . .	538

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE WAR OF LIBERATION, 1813-4.

By JULIUS VON FRIEDRICH-HARRISON, Ph.D., Archibute, formerly  
Professor of History in the University of Basel.

Effect of the retreat from Moscow . . . . .	558
International conditions after the retreat . . . . .	567
Position of Napoleon. The French army . . . . .	568
The Russian army. Condition and efforts of Prussia . . . . .	570
King Frederick William. Arriving at Potsdam . . . . .	570
Position of the armies. Opening of the campaign . . . . .	571
French retirement. The King leaves Berlin . . . . .	572
Treaty of Kalisz. Memorandum of York . . . . .	572
Exposé fails back to the Elbe . . . . .	574
Defeat of Morand. Exposé fails to attack Berlin . . . . .	575

	PAGE
Opposition met by the Allies. Napoleon's plans . . . . .	312
The French advance. Battle of Gerauldenberg . . . . .	317
The Allies retire upon Bastion . . . . .	318
Battle of Bastion . . . . .	319
Intensive fighting. Armistice of Plönien . . . . .	320
Confusion of the combatants. Attitude of Austria . . . . .	321
Austria joins the allies. Allied losses and plans . . . . .	323
Napoleon's plan. Schwarzenberg's advance . . . . .	324
Campaign on Schatz. Battle of the Katzbach . . . . .	326
Blücher freed. Bernadotte and the army of the north . . . . .	328
Battle of Gross-Beeren. Napoleon at Preussa . . . . .	329
Battle of Lützen. Retreat of the Allies . . . . .	337
The Russian at Preussa. Battle of Kulm . . . . .	339
Napoleon's intention. Battle of Dennewitz . . . . .	340
Hanbury isolated. Napoleon retreats to Dresden . . . . .	343
Blücher crosses the Elbe . . . . .	344
Napoleon concentrates on Leipzig . . . . .	345
Advance of Schwarzenberg's advance . . . . .	347
Preliminary engagements. Departures of losses . . . . .	348
Battle of Leipzig. First day. Allied advance checked . . . . .	350
French counter-attack fails. Intensive combat . . . . .	353
Blücher at Mähren. A day's pause . . . . .	357
Battle of Leipzig. Third day. The allied attack . . . . .	359
The French driven to upon Leipzig . . . . .	360
Battle of Leipzig. Fourth day. French retreat . . . . .	362
Remains of Napoleon's forces . . . . .	364
Views of the Allies. Negotiations at Frankfurt . . . . .	365
Distribution of the Allies. Napoleon's difficulties . . . . .	367
Isolation of France. Blücher's advance . . . . .	368
Napoleon attacks Blücher. Battle of La Rothière . . . . .	369
Napoleon's advance. Confusion at Châtillon . . . . .	370
Napoleon breaks up the army of Schatz . . . . .	372
Onset of the defeat of Blücher. His recovery himself . . . . .	373
Schwarzenberg's retreat. Blücher acts independently . . . . .	375
Triumphant Châtillon. Schwarzenberg advances . . . . .	376
Blücher reinforced. Battle of Wagram . . . . .	377
The Conference closed. Napoleon's maneuvers . . . . .	378
The march on Paris. Fighting outside the city . . . . .	380
Napoleon at Fontenoy. Surrender of Paris . . . . .	382

## CHAPTER XVIII. ✓

### THE FIRST RESTORATION, 1814-5.

By H. A. L. FISKE, M.A.

Entry of the allies into Paris . . . . .	388
Alexander I and Talleyrand . . . . .	389
Napoleon at Fontenoy . . . . .	391
Napoleon's abdication. Question of the Regency . . . . .	392
Treaty of Fontenoy. The Restoration . . . . .	393

Legislation of the Senate. Return of Napoleon	247
The Provisional Government. Louis XVIII	251
The return of Louis XVIII	252
The Charter	253
The Treaty of Peace	254
Popular feeling. The Ministry	255
The Princess. Financial difficulties	257
Financial Policy. The Army	257
The Legions of Honour. Military discipline	258
The Church. Royalty and Constitutionalists	259
Discussions on the Charter. Finances in Europe	270
Unpopularity of the Government	271
Resumption of public opinion. Peace	272
Peace and Toleration. Napoleon leaves Elba	273
The return of Napoleon	274
Flight of Louis XVIII. Fall of the monarchy	275

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1814-18.

J. A. W. WARR, LL.D., F.R.S., Master of Petrehouse, Cambridge

The First Peace of Paris	278
Treaty of Chaumont, and its effects	277
Expectations of the Congress	278
Previous separate compacts. Convention of Kalisch	279
Opening of the Congress. The Emperor Francis	280
The Tsar and the King of Prussia	281
Minor Kings and Princes	282
Katzenelnbogen, Wagramberg, Davis	283
Lalauze. Talleyrand. Castlereagh	284
Wellington. Metternich. Wilhelm von Humboldt	285
Baron de Salm. Larnach. Barclay	286
Dispossession of the smaller German States	287
Other interests. Conclusion of the Four Powers	288
France advanced. Conclusion of the Eight	289
Territorial changes: France	290
Territorial changes: Great Britain. Austria. Russia	291
Territorial changes: Prussia	292
The Polish-Russian difficulty	293
Security suggested by Prussia	294
Failure of Polish mediation	295
Involved tactics. Alliance against Metternich	296
Invitation of war. Defensive Triple Alliance	297
The Powers resume their steps. Compromise	298
Part of treaty assumed by Prussia. Given	299
The French question	300
The Prussian question settled	301
Trouser. Parma, etc. Louis	302

	PAGE
Medusa, etc. The Legionnaires . . . . .	400
The Two Sicilies. Mount. Malta . . . . .	404
Spain and Portugal—Olivença. The Netherlands .	405
The new Netherlands State. Scandinavia . . . .	406
Denmark and Sweden. The German Constitution .	407
First diplomatic negotiations . . . . .	408
Early drafts of a Constitution . . . . .	409
The Twelve Articles. Obstructions . . . . .	410
The writings of the German Commission suspended .	411
Impracticable schemes. Wellington's draft . . . .	412
Reflections resumed. The National Commission .	413
Declaration as to the abolition of the slave-trade .	414
Rome. Proceedings. Results to February, 1815 . .	416

## CHAPTER XX.

### THE HUNDRED DAYS, 1815.

By Professor Oman.

Reconstruction of the Ministry . . . . .	418
Napoleon returned to power . . . . .	417
Falls negotiations. Napoleon's army . . . . .	418
Military movement of Napoleon . . . . .	419
The Constitution and the <i>Champs de Mars</i> . . . .	420
Maret's campaign and defeat . . . . .	421
The allied forces. Wellington's army . . . . .	422
Blücher's army. Napoleon's plans . . . . .	423
Napoleon's military arrangements . . . . .	424
First collision with the Prussians . . . . .	425
Wellington's position. His early concentrations .	426
Wellington and Blücher. Battle of Ligny . . . .	427
Prussian retirement to Wavre . . . . .	428
Battle of Quatre-Bras . . . . .	429
Les Français versus d'Orsény in pursuit . . . . .	430
Wellington returns to Mont St. Jean . . . . .	431
The British position . . . . .	432
Napoleon's battle-plan . . . . .	433
Napoleon's confidence. D'Erlon's advance . . . .	434
D'Erlon repulsed. Approach of the Prussians .	435
The cavalry charges . . . . .	436
Reversal of Blücher's advance . . . . .	437
Ney's attack. La Haye Sainte taken . . . . .	438
Repulse of the Imperial Guard . . . . .	439
End of the French army . . . . .	440
Responsibility of Orsény . . . . .	441
Orsény's retreat. Napoleon at Paris . . . . .	442
Second abdication of Napoleon . . . . .	443
Napoleon's flight. Advance of the Allies . . . .	444
The Second Restoration . . . . .	445

## CHAPTER XXI.

## THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, 1814-1818.

By Dr A. W. WARR.

	1818
Effect of Napoleon's return . . . . .	345
New Treaty of Alliance. Rapid settlements . . . . .	347
Naples and Sicily. The Germanic Confederation . . . . .	349
Final conference on the Federal Act . . . . .	350
The Federal Act accepted . . . . .	352
Adoption of the Federal and the Final Act . . . . .	353
Provisions of the Final Act. Its primary and . . . . .	355
Treatment of France . . . . .	357
Great Britain and the Final Act . . . . .	359
The Netherlands. Poland . . . . .	361
Poland. Saxony . . . . .	363
Prussian gains. Hanover . . . . .	365
Swiss Sonderbund. Frankfurt . . . . .	367
The Germanic Confederation . . . . .	369
Austrian gains . . . . .	371
Italy. Unsettled claims . . . . .	373
New acquisition. The duchies . . . . .	375
Papal protest. Swiss neutrality . . . . .	377
Negotiations for peace with France. New frontier . . . . .	379
The Holy Alliance . . . . .	381
The Second Peace of Paris . . . . .	383
General results of the Congress of Vienna . . . . .	385
Shortcomings of the results of the Congress . . . . .	387
Questions posed by or left over . . . . .	389
Representative institutions . . . . .	391
Actual achievements of the Congress . . . . .	393

## CHAPTER XXII.

## GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, 1815-1818.

By G. P. GOUGH, M.A., M.P., late Scholar of Trinity  
College, Cambridge.

Change in the policy of Pitt . . . . .	395
Effect of the French Revolution in England . . . . .	397
Repressive measures. Conflict with Portland . . . . .	399
Marriage of the Prince of Wales. Treasury Bill . . . . .	401
Financial measures. Withdrawal of the Whigs . . . . .	403
War loans and taxes. Fiscal laws . . . . .	405
Catholic Emancipation. Pitt resigns . . . . .	407
The King's illness. Addington Prime Minister . . . . .	409
Pitt's relations with Addington . . . . .	411
The Peace. Proposals for Pitt's return . . . . .	413
Ministerial changes. Revival of the war . . . . .	415

Pitt returns to power. The new Ministry	page
Fall of Maletia. Pitt's last speech	381
Death of Pitt. Fox forms Ministry	383
Death of Fox. Grenville resigns	389
Weakness of the Whigs. The great Bazaar	397
Reform and Cobden. The Portland Ministry	399
Portland resigns. Foxworth. Sir Francis Baring	409
The Agency. Foxworth's death. Liverpool Premier	410
Fox's relief. Bismarck. Factory Act	411
General elections. Lindley. Education. Reform	421
Irish. Religious grievances	429
Wilde Tone and Gordon. The Irish Catholics	434
Catholic Relief Bill. Growing disaffection	435
Irish Legislation. Secret societies	437
Parliamentary reform. Fitzwilliam Viscount	437
Fitzwilliam's proceedings. The Catholic Question	443
Reform of Fitzwilliam. Its causes and effect	446
Orange Societies. Insurrection Act	448
Orange system. Subsidies and oppression	450
Grenville's French feelings. Death of Tone	450
Project of Union. Adams resigns	453
Methods of proceeding. Last Irish Parliament	454
The Act of Union. Arguments for and against	455
Results of the Union. Foxworth's resignation	456
Failure and death of Emmet. Daniel O'Connell	457
Gordon and Bage. Economic conditions	460

## CHAPTER XXIII

### THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1781-1811.

**India and Ceylon.** By the Rev. W. H. Murray, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of St John's College, Oxford.

**The Colonies.** By H. E. Murray, M.A., Bolt Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford.

The work of Warren Hastings	page
Indian conflicts. Appointment of Cornwallis	710
Legal and other reforms of Cornwallis	711
The Permanent Settlement of Bengal	712
The Permanent Settlement carried out	713
Relations with Goffs and Madrasdath	714
War with Tipu. Affairs of the Carnatic	714
Death of Warren Hastings	716
Act of 1784 resumed. Conflicts under Bute	717
Embassy to China. Rise of Bentinck	718
Consolidation of Maletia power	719
Death of Bentinck. Conflicts in Maletia affairs	720
Government of Bute. Lord Macartney resumed	721
Indian conflicts. Alliance with the Maras	721
Death and death of Tipu. Settlement of Mysore	722
Settlement of the Carnatic, Secot, and Tanjore	724

	PAGE
Treaty with Ouda. The Maratha confederacy . . . . .	754
The Maratha War. Defeat of Sindia . . . . .	756
War with Holkar. Defeat of Morar . . . . .	757
Reforms in education, civil service, and finance . . . . .	758
Question of free trade. Wellesley returns . . . . .	759
Negotiations with Holkar and Raghoo Singh . . . . .	760
Lord Minto in office. Minto at Vellore . . . . .	761
Warfare in Afghanistan and Persia. Fourth War . . . . .	763
Reform of the Charter. Ceylon . . . . .	764
Expedition to Egypt. Summary of the period . . . . .	764
The rebellion and the Great War . . . . .	764
The founding of New South Wales . . . . .	766
Captain Philip. Early struggles of the colony . . . . .	767
Reforms of King. Benthin's expedition . . . . .	768
High and Macquarie. Progress of the colony . . . . .	769
Settlements in Australia. State of Canada . . . . .	740
French population of Canada. First Governors . . . . .	741
Government of Quebec. State of the law . . . . .	742
The Quebec Act. The United Empire Loyalists . . . . .	743
The Constitutional Act . . . . .	744
Charter of the Canadian Legislature . . . . .	745
Orly and Porcari. Diffusion of government . . . . .	746
Quebec development. General despatch . . . . .	747
Explorations of the Far West. The West Indian . . . . .	747
Islands captured. Occupation of Cape Colony . . . . .	748
British occupation. Government in West Indies . . . . .	749
St. John. The slave-trade. Malta . . . . .	750
War with Napoleon. Occupation of the Cape . . . . .	752
St. John. Government of the Cape . . . . .	753
Reform and Mauritius. Reform in Java . . . . .	754
Treaty of Paris. Colonial results of the war . . . . .	755

## CHAPTER XXIV.

## ST HELENA.

By H. A. L. FISKE, M.A.

The abdication of Napoleon . . . . .	758
Napoleon removed to St. Helena . . . . .	759
Political importance of the captivity . . . . .	759
The removal of exile . . . . .	760
Provisions against escape. Sir Hudson Lowe . . . . .	760
Prisoners. Napoleon's autobiography . . . . .	761
Question of Napoleon's writings and conversation . . . . .	762
Napoleon's opinions . . . . .	762
Napoleon's policy in Spain, Italy, and Germany . . . . .	764
In Turkey, Egypt, and the West Indies . . . . .	766
Napoleon's designs and early aims . . . . .	766
The French colony . . . . .	767
The Imperial system . . . . .	768
Death of Napoleon . . . . .	769
Napoleon's significance in history . . . . .	770
His legacy to France . . . . .	771

# LIST OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES

CHAP.		PAGE
	General Bibliography . . . . .	779—86
	Manuscript Sources for the History of the Con- sulate and the Empire . . . . .	787—8
I, V.	France under the Consulate and the Empire . . . . .	789—96
II.	Sect. I.—The Baltic Powers . . . . .	799—808
	Sect. II.—Naval Operations . . . . .	809
III, IV.	The partition of Europe. France and her allies . . . . .	811—7
VI.	The Code . . . . .	825—9
VII.	The Consulate . . . . .	819—2
VIII.	The Command of the Sea . . . . .	819—21
IX, X.	The Third Coalition . . . . .	824—5
XI.	Tilsit and Erfurt . . . . .	827—31
XII.	The War of 1809 . . . . .	833—5
XIII.	The Continental System . . . . .	836—45
XIV.	The Dependencies . . . . .	840—49
XV.	Peninsular War . . . . .	851—3
XVI.	The invasion of Russia . . . . .	854—7
XVII.	The War of Liberation, 1813-4 . . . . .	858—67
XVIII.	The First Restoration . . . . .	868
XIX, XXI.	The Congress of Vienna . . . . .	869—71
XX.	The Hundred Days . . . . .	875—7
XXII.	Great Britain and Ireland, 1793-1815 . . . . .	878—82
XXIII.	The British Empire . . . . .	883—91
XXIV.	St. Helena . . . . .	893—4
	<hr/>	
	CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF LITERARY EVENTS . . . . .	894—9
	Index . . . . .	901—46



## CHAPTER I

### THE CONSULATE, 1799-1804

THE law of 19 Brumaire served as a Constitution from November 11 to December 25, 1798. The "Councils of the French Republic," Sieyès, Roger Dumas, and Bonaparte, formed an "executive Consular Commission invested with the full powers of the Directory." They governed collectively; all three enjoyed equal powers, Bonaparte ranking no higher than his colleagues; and they were to assume the presidency in turn and in alphabetical order. Thus the Provisional Consulate was nothing else, to employ Aubert's expression, than a "Directory reduced to three members." The Councils reorganized the Ministry; they retained Cambacérès as Minister of Justice, and Fouquier as Minister of Police; they appropriated Gaudin to the Ministry of Finance, Barthès to that of War, and Talleyrand to that of Foreign Affairs. Maret acted as Secretary to the Consulate. It devolved on the two intermediate Commissions, those of the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of the Ancients, to embody in laws "the resolutions laid before them definitely and obligatorily by the executive Consular Commission for dealing with all urgent matters of police, legislation, and finance." These bodies met in the former meeting-places of the two assemblies and held regular sittings, to which the public were not admitted. Such was the organization of the provisional consular government.

The Consulate aimed solely at avoiding disturbances, and, as they were most careful not to offend anyone, and at the same time to remain independent, their policy wore the appearance of liberalism. By their proclamation of November 18, in which the Consulate swore "to be faithful to the Republic, one and indivisible, founded on equality, liberty, and the representative system," they resumed the republicanism. On the other hand they promulgated (November 15) the repeal of the revolutionary Law of Hostages (of 28 Messidor, year VII, or July 18, 1798) which threatened the relatives of émigrés, if denied notice, and persons notoriously opposed to the Revolution. Moreover, the coup d'état having been organized with a view to thwarting the plans of the

judicial, some sixty officers, conspicuous for their advanced views, were condemned on November 17, some to transportation to French Guiana, and some to detention in the Charente Inférieure under the observation of the police. In the end, however, no one was punished. On the sentence of transportation was commuted the detention on November 25, and the sentence of detention was annulled on December 26. In order to "enlighten officers in all parts of the Republic as to the means and the true object of the transactions of 18 and 19 Brumaire," the Council sent delegates into the departments, one for each of the 84 military districts. These delegates displaced such officials as were hostile or unbecoming, but otherwise exercised no executive authority. Finally, on the day of their last sitting (December 34), the Constituent passed a law empowering the Government to authorize the return to France of "every proscribed person who had been condemned by means to deportation without trial and by a simple act of the Legislature."

But it was not enough to keep public opinion quiet; the Government was confronted by want of funds. It is said that, when Gaudin took over the Ministry of Finance, not more than 187,000 francs (4,000,000) in cash remained in the treasury. Gaudin, however, had worked in the Finance Department since his nineteenth year (he was born in 1780), and his skill, experience, honesty, industry, and adaptability secured him the possession of his portfolio until 1804. He continued in the first place to provide for immediate necessities. In conjunction with Bonaparte he obtained (November 24) an advance from the Paris bankers, and supplemented it by an extraordinary lottery; at the same time he reorganized with a master-hand the administration of the direct taxes, which then formed the principal resource of the State. The law of November 24 created in each department an office for the collection of the direct taxes, under the control of the Ministry of Finance. The administration thus created quickly wiped out the enormous arrears left by the local officials of the Revolution in regard to the drawing-up of tax-rolls. The current price of government securities (five consols at 5 1/2) made the improvement effected. It had fallen to 7 francs in 1799; but the price rose steadily after Brumaire, and reached 44 francs in 1800.

In the west the work of pacification had begun before 18 Brumaire, and proceeded, at first, independently of the political changes which had occurred in Paris. The Chouans had again taken up arms in 1799. The royalist forces were divided into six principal bodies. 'Garnier and d'Archiacamp were in Lower Poitou and the Vendée; Châtillon and d'Arbogé commanded in Angers against Nantes; Bourmont in Maine kept watch on Le Mans; La Fédérale by in Upper Brittany round Fougères; in the Morbihan, Georges Chédouat lay near Vannes; while in Normandy Flotie and Brulart had worked on the campaign without any great success, though without disaster. With a view to meeting the royalists, the Directory had given the command of the "Army of

England" (as the forces operating in the western departments were still called) to General d'Hédouville. The choice was an excellent one. D'Hédouville had been the friend and the chief assistant of Shyris during the first pacification of the west, and had a thorough knowledge of the men and conditions to be dealt with, and the best way of dealing with them. He fixed his head-quarters at Angers on November 4, 1793, and, instead of fighting, opened negotiations. Hostilities were suspended, and the existing armistice was confirmed by a proclamation of d'Hédouville on November 24. The royalist chiefs, satisfied as to the pacific intentions of the General, met for consultation at Poitiers on December 2. The tidings which were received of the general course of the war were far from encouraging; and Monsieur (the Comte d'Artois, brother of the King), whose presence was expected, did not appear. The meeting therefore almost unanimously declared for peace. The armistice was regulated and extended to January 31, 1794, a plan for a general pacification was submitted to d'Hédouville on December 28, and d'Hédouville was deputed to discuss its terms with the authorities in Paris.

It was now necessary to determine the form of government. The law of 19 Brumaire had not abolished the Directorial Constitution. The Legislative Body merely stood adjourned to February 20, 1800, and was legally bound to "reassemble at Paris on that date in the buildings allotted to it." It is true that the two intermediate legislative commissions were "charged with the task of formulating the necessary organic changes in the Constitution"; and in this matter the initiative rested with them. The Executive Councils Commission might "lay before them its views on the matter"; but there was no question of "a definite and obligatory proposal." Thus the men of Brumaire themselves admitted that the Legislative Body, immediately on its reassembling, should, of its own authority, carry through the revision of the Directorial Constitution: this was the very act for which it had been purged. But things fell out otherwise; and the most important work of the Provisional Committee was the framing of a new Constitution.

Each of the intermediate Commissions appointed a "section" to examine proposals relating to the Constitution; and the sections consulted Shyris. Nothing could be more natural, since from the beginning of the Revolution Shyris had enjoyed the reputation of a philosopher and a political thinker. Many of his phrases had lived; he was, even more than Bonaparte, the leader of the men of Brumaire, who had appointed him to the Provisional Committee. Both his past and his present marked him out as the oracle to be consulted.

So early as November 11 he had begun to declare his opinion on the subject of a Constitution, his confidence being backed by Mouton, a member of the constitutional section of the Intermediate Commission of the Five Hundred. Shyris began with enthusiasm: "Order democracy is an absolute." It was necessary therefore to separate it. From this

followed a twofold principle: "No one should hold office except with the confidence of the nation; and no one should be appointed in office by those he has to govern." In other words: "Confidence should come from below, authority from above." Little by little, in fragmentary fashion, life began to shape to his ideas. The nation was to prepare lists of Notables, out of whom the members of the Assemblies and the officials of the State should be chosen. At the head of the official hierarchy, a Grand Elector, enjoying an annual grant of 5,000,000 francs, was to preside over Finance. The Grand Elector was to appoint the two chiefs of the executive, the Council for Home Affairs and the Council for Foreign Affairs; and they in their turn were to appoint their respective agents. The legislative authority was to be entrusted to two bodies, the Tribunate, whose business it was to discuss laws, and the Legislative Body, which voted on them. Behind both these assemblies was the Senate, a body conservative in character, choosing its own members, and generally supervising the work of the state machinery. The Senate was to appoint the Tribunes, the members of the Legislative Body, and the Grand Elector; if he or any other person seemed likely to become a danger to the Constitution, the Senate was to efface him by absorption, that is to say, by appointing him a senator.

Bonhy de la Morthe, Bouché, and Talleyrand had arranged interviews between Bonaparte and Sieyès, but the two Councils could not agree. Bonaparte therefore took to smoking each evening in his rooms at the Luxembourg his two colleagues, the constitutional experts (December 2), and subsequently the members of the Intermunite Commission. These meetings were in no sense official. There was general discussion; Sieyès propounded his ideas; Bonaparte convinced them. "The Grand Elector," said he, "will be a shadow, the colonnade shadow, of a *roi fainéant*"; and he went on, in a familiar tone, "How can you imagine that a man of any talent or activity would consent to settle down like a pig fattening on so many millions?" This provoked a retort. Bouché pictured a "First Consul" overriding the other two. The destiny of France was bandied about in every repartee.

After a few days, Danton, who belonged to the section of the Five Hundred, was requested to draw up, in a series of articles, a *résumé* which would serve as the basis of a formal discussion. Then the work began again. Bonaparte alternately opposed and approved the negative plans of Sieyès and Danton, selecting from each what was most in accordance with his own views. His influence grew; he began to speak with authority. On the evening of December 10 the discussion of the details relating to the legislative and the executive authorities had been completed; there remained the detailed study of the organization of the judiciary and the departments, and finally the reformation of the whole to the regular deliberations of the two Commissions. But Bonaparte chafed at the delay; it almost made him ill, and he determined to put

an end to it. On the evening of December 18 the usual meeting was held in his apartments. He suggested to the members of the committee that they should affix their signatures to the articles as drawn up, and they consented. It was a drawing-room *coup d'état*. Bonaparte, Cambacérès, and Lebrun were named *Consuls*; Sieyès and Roger Ducos were placed at the head of the list of future senators. The Constitution was complete (25 Frimaire, year VIII; December 18, 1799).

The 95 articles of which the Constitution was composed fell under three principal heads: the electoral system, the Assemblies, and the executive. The electoral system was simple, that devised by Sieyès under the name of *liste de notabilité*. General suffrage formed its basis. In each "communal district" the electors chose a tenth of their number, the tenth forming the "communal list"; those named on the "communal list" chose in each department a tenth of their own number, who formed the "departmental list"; those again named on the "departmental list" chose a tenth part of their number, who formed the "national list." From these three lists respectively were selected the public officials of the districts (*arrondissements*) and the departments, and those destined for the service of the State. As a matter of fact, the lists were not completed till the year IX (September, 1801); and in the interval the composition of the various Assemblies and of the official hierarchy had been settled in its entirety, so that the lists were only useful for the purpose of filling up vacancies. Under this system popular suffrage was rendered completely ineffective.

The Assemblies were four in number: the Conservative Senate, the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the Council of State. The Senate chose the Legislators, the Tribunes, and the Censors from the "national list"; it confirmed or annulled as unconstitutional the measures referred to it by the Tribunate or the Government. The senators were appointed for life, and were irremovable; each received an annual salary of 85,000 francs. They were sixty in number, to begin with; and two were to be added yearly during ten years, when the maximum number of eighty would be reached. The first two senators (Sieyès and Roger Ducos), in conjunction with the Second and Third Consuls (Cambacérès and Lebrun), were to appoint a majority of the Senate, after which the Senate was to add to its own numbers by co-optation from lists of three candidates, the Legislative Body, the Tribunate, and the First Consul presenting one apiece.

The Government alone could initiate legislation. Treaties, whether of peace, alliance, or commerce, were to be proposed, discussed, passed, and proclaimed in the same manner as legislative enactments. The Budget, in the shape of a yearly financial law, went through the same process. Proposals for legislation and ordinances regulating the public administration were drawn up by the Council of State; but the organization of the Council of State was left indefinite in the Constitution.

The Tribunal was to discuss projects of law; it could pass or reject them, but it could not amend them, it could state its opinion on laws passed, or to be passed, but the Government was not obliged to take it into account. The Tribunal numbered one hundred, each Tribunal received a yearly salary of 15,000 francs. The Legislative Body "made the law", it heard the three Tribunals and the three Councils of State, who appeared before it as delegates of their respective bodies, and then gave a secret vote without previous discussion. The Legislators numbered 300, and each of them received 15,000 francs. Both Tribunals and Legislature were nominated by the Senate from the national list; and a fifth part of their body was to be renewed every year.

To sum up, the power of the legislature was very slight, not only because it was divided between two Chambers, neither of which possessed initiative, while both were nominated by the Council of State and the Conservative Senate, but still more because neither legislative body had any popular foundation. The Senate created itself; the Tribunals and the Legislative Body were merely creations of the Senate. On the other hand, the executive power was strongly organized; and all real authority was concentrated in one man.

The executive was entrusted to three Councils appointed by the Senate for ten years, and always re-eligible. For the first time the Councils were mentioned by name in the Constitution. The First Council, Bonaparte, was alone to promulgate laws, and to appoint and dismiss at pleasure all functionaries, whether civil or military; even in regard to other acts of the Government the Second and Third Councils possessed nearly "a consultative voice." The First Council received 500,000 francs a year; the Second and Third Councils received 250,000 francs each; either of these might, if necessary, even temporarily supply the place of the First Council; but in point of fact the First Council alone possessed authority. It is true that no measure of the Government could become effective unless it were signed by a minister, and that the minister, being responsible, might be prosecuted by order of the Legislative Body on a charge laid by the Tribunal. The Councils, however, were irresponsible, and no servant of the Government, other than the ministers, could be prosecuted with respect to transactions relating to his office except on the decision of the Council of State. The irresponsibility of the Councils and the quasi-irresponsibility of the various functionaries of the administrative machinery, both from above and from below. The checks imposed by the Constitution on the First Council were purely illusory.

That the Constitution was drawn up in great haste is plain from the irregular order of the constituting clauses and from certain remarkable omissions. The communal district (*commune*) is not defined, the organization of the judiciary is barely outlined, and the organization of the departments is not indicated at all. A clause framed with dangerous vagueness places "local administration" under the control of the ministers.

No machinery is provided for filling vacancies in the Legislative Body and the Tribunals. True, the Constitution guaranteed the rights of those persons who had acquired national property, and confirmed existing legislation against the *Jacqiris*; but, contrary to the custom of the Revolution, it made no declaration of principles, and it was silent as to liberty of the press, liberty of meeting, liberty of association, and liberty of conscience. By its weakness no less than by its position, manifestly the Constitution tended towards an undivided despotism.

The last clause of that document stated that the Constitution should forthwith be offered for acceptance by the French people. The law of December 14, supplemented by the Council's decree of December 14, regulated the arrangements for the plébiscite. The voting was not secret. The poll in each commune was to continue for three days from the date of arrival of the necessary instrument at the chief town of the section. In consequence of this provision, the taking of the plébiscite lasted, in the departments, till nearly the end of January.

The period of voting seemed long to politicians in the capital. Only five men were actually in office: three, namely, who had been mentioned by name in the Constitution—the three former provisional Councils and the two new Councils. Bonaparte had shown great judgment in his choice of the two latter. Cambacérès was a native of the South, serious and able, he had been a member of the Convention, and was rightly regarded as an able lawyer. He justified the confidence which Bonaparte placed in him, and proved himself a shrewd, well-loaded, and sound adviser. If he did nothing to prevent Bonaparte from becoming a despot, if he even aided him to become one, he succeeded in sometimes tempering the eccentricities and harshness of his master, at any rate in matters of detail. Lakan was thirty years older than Bonaparte; he was a Norman, phlegmatic and retiring, and was believed to be still at heart a royalist. It was possibly for this very reason that Bonaparte chose him, in the hope that his example would win over the wavering; for Lakan was by no means a well-known man, and had played no prominent part during the Revolution. His name was the first on the list of the Intermediate Commission of the Council of Ancients, and he was said to possess literary talent and some knowledge of finance, but he never showed any disposition to take the lead.

Thus, while a few of the men of Revolution had made their fortunes, the rest were still kept waiting. Once again Bonaparte resolved to force the pace; and he was the more inclined to this, since the information received as to the result of the plébiscite was encouraging. A law passed by the Intermediate Commission on December 23 provided that the new Constitution should come into force two days later (i. e. *Nivôse*, year VIII), in other words, on Christmas Day. Bonaparte extensively chose the date of a great Christmas festival for the inauguration of his government.

Beyss and Roger Dumas, in conjunction with Cambon and Lebrun, had already drafted the list of the first members. They settled it definitely on the evening of December 24. The Senate filed up its own members on the following day, and proceeded forthwith to nominate the members of the Tribunal and the Legislative Body. Bonaparte interfered little in these appointments, which were made chiefly under the influence of Beyss and in a sufficiently liberal spirit. The Senate was reserved for distinguished men, and included several men of science and philosophers who had served the Revolution as members of public bodies or by their works, and several former ministers and members of the various revolutionary assemblies. Similarly, 65 former members of the Council of Five Hundred and of the Assembly were included in the Tribunal, and 228 in the Legislative Body. As was fitting, orators and men of letters, speakers and writers, were appointed to the Tribunal: less well-known deputies, with some miscellaneous celebrities, composed the Legislative Body. The appointments were made with a view to the task which the Constitution assigned to each body. The Senate, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunal were fairly representative of the surviving politicians of the Revolution. By this time, however, the men of the Revolution no longer formed the only party in France. They were confronted by the group embracing Bonaparte—the Councilors of State and the heads of the bureaucracy.

The ordinance of 3 Nivôse, year VIII (December 24, 1799), defined the powers and the composition of the Council of State, as to which the Constitution had been silent. Two days before (December 24) the councillors had been appointed by the First Consul, and they had been installed on the day when the Constitution was inaugurated (December 25). Their maximum number was forty, which was raised to 45 by the *Senatus Consultum* of 18 Thermidor, year X (August 4, 1800); but in point of fact it never exceeded forty-five. It included former revolutionaries of every section, generals, administrators, lawyers, administrators who had held office before the Revolution, former states and former nobles—all men of high attainments, energy, and ability.

They were divided into five sections—those of finance, civil and criminal legislation, war, education, and home affairs—with a president at the head of each. Lebrun acted as General Secretary. Questions were first discussed in "sections," afterwards in a general meeting under the presidency of the First Consul. Each councillor received a yearly salary of 25,000 francs. The minister, who at the outset could only attend the Council for the purpose of consultation, had, after 1800, the right to vote in the Council according to their rank, and took part in its deliberations. Certain high functionaries, such as Fouché, Prefect of the Seine, and Dalmat, Prefect of Police, enjoyed the same rights.

The activity of the Council of State, which at the outset was considerable, went on increasing from year to year. The number of



subjects discussed in general meetings rose from 511 in 1830 to 8,365 in 1834. In short, the control exercised by the Council was all-embracing. To be more precise, the subjects coming under the purview of the Council may be classified under six principal heads, the drafting of codes, laws, and *Conseils d'Etat*; the drawing up of ordinances relating to the public administration; the interpretation of statutes by means of opinions given on points stated by the Government; the settlement of administrative disputes; the consideration of demands for the presentation of functionaries other than ministers, for acts done in their official capacity; and finally an appellate jurisdiction as a "Court of Review" (*appel comme d'abus*) in pursuance of the articles organiques of 18 Germinal, year X (April 8, 1802). In short, the Council of State was at once an administrative body comprising the heads of all the great departments, a quasi-legislative body, and a judicial body with special powers. It filled the place of a tribunal, a Chamber, and a council of ministers, and was responsible to the First Consul alone.

The Council met daily. At certain times Bonaparte summoned general meetings at the Tuileries almost every evening. On these occasions Bonaparte was, as it were, *ex familia*. When the discussion turned on questions which related neither to the personal aims of the First Consul nor to his secret schemes for a dictatorship, everyone spoke his mind freely. Bonaparte himself set the example, and his "opinions in council" are amongst the most striking testimonies of his astonishing grasp for organization.

Simultaneously with the installation of the Council of State, Bonaparte was occupied with the reconstruction of the ministry. Cambacérès, who had become Second Consul, was replaced by Abrial as Minister of Justice; while Lucien Bonaparte became Minister of the Interior. Of those who had held office before 18 Brumaire, Fouché alone retained his place, as Minister of Police. Important ministerial changes followed shortly after. The chemist Chaptal succeeded Lucien Bonaparte (January 23, 1801); Derris became Minister of the Navy (October 8, 1801). Barbé-Marbois became the first Minister of the Public Treasury (September 27, 1801), and Dejean the first Minister of Military Affairs (*administration de la guerre*) March 21, 1802. Finally, Mègean replaced Abrial with the title of "Chief Judge and Minister of Justice" (September 14, 1802). The list of portfolios and of their holders under the Consulate was now complete. There were in all ten ministerial departments: foreign affairs, war, military affairs, navy and colonies, finance, the treasury, justice, home affairs, police, and the office of Secretary of State.

The fear that his ministers might grow too important was ever present in Bonaparte's mind. He never summoned them to deliberate in common, but conversed with his aides or worked with one of them apart from the rest. We have seen that originally the ministers

had merely a consultative voice in the Council of State, and that, under the Constitution, they alone of all functionaries were responsible for their acts. These provisions were, however, insufficient to satisfy Bonaparte. Owing to the nature of their duties, one of the ministers might have gradually assumed a dominant position, viz. the Ministers of War, Finance, the Interior, and Police, and the Secretary of State. It is unnecessary to dwell on the importance that might have attached to the Ministers of War and Finance in the France of that period. The Minister of the Interior wielded a very wide authority; matters relating to public order, local administration, public works, education, relief of the poor, religion, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, fell within his province. Still less delicate and more formidable was the power of the Minister of Police. Ubiquitous and irresponsible, his eye was everywhere; if a plot was to be denounced, he denounced it; if, as sometimes happened, one was to be invented, he invented it. Finally, every document emanating from the First Consul and all reports addressed to the First Consul passed through the hands of the Secretary of State. He moved about with Bonaparte, received directly from him his secret commands, put them into official language, and counter-signed them. His office raised him above the rest; but Bonaparte would not hear of a prime minister, and took his measures accordingly.

In the first place, he was most careful in his choice of men. Berthier, an admirable minister and in the field an excellent Chief of the Staff, was useless without a leader. "If you leave him to himself," said Bonaparte, "he is not capable of commanding a battalion." Moret was, as some one said, "a civilian Berthier"; and he only used his influence to secure the most lucrative places for his relations and friends. Gaudin's subversion we have already had occasion to notice. Two men alone eluded their master's denunciation—the mysterious Fouché, and, in another department, Talleyrand.

In the second place, Bonaparte insured the importance of the principal ministries by dividing their functions between two holders, a measure analogous to that which weakened the legislative authority by distributing it amongst several bodies. It was not only with a view to improving the administration, but also for a political purpose, that, by the side of the Ministry of Finance, a Ministry of the Public Treasury was created: the first to deal with income—"foregone without notice"; the second with expenditure—"action without foresight"—a plan which resulted in constant disputes between the two departments. In like manner, by the side of the Ministry of War was placed the Ministry of Military Affairs; beside the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of the General Police (created on January 8, 1796); beside the Ministry of General Police, the Prefecture of Police in Paris (March 8 and July 1, 1800). The last-named magistrate controlled the police of Paris and of the department of the Seine, and at the

same time, in conjunction with the Prefect of the Seine, took an active part in the municipal administration. He was subordinate to the Minister of General Police, but only in his capacity as a police official; and his semi-independence, the importance of his district, and the personal rivalry between Dabot and Fouché, rendered the Prefecture a counterpoise to the Ministry of Police.

Finally Bonaparte established, within the principal ministries themselves and with the view of still further diminishing their importance, independent bodies, temporary or permanent according to their functions, which, under the name of General Boards (*Directeurs Généraux*), were almost always entrusted to Councilors of State. The system of General Boards was one of the original features of the Napoleonic system. It often contributed to the rapid transaction of business; from a political point of view, it in a measure legalized the assumption of executive power by the Council of State to the detriment of ministerial authority.

While the appointments to the various political and governmental offices were thus being completed, the work of the plébiscite was proceeding but slowly. In a proclamation issued on view of this event (December 18), Bonaparte had formulated in remarkable language the principles of the new Constitution. "The authorities which the Constitution creates are strong and virile, competent in all respects to guarantee the rights of the citizens and the interests of the State. Citizens! the Revolution has remained faithful to the principles from which it sprang. It is now at an end." Bonaparte moreover, when he became First Consul, took care to mark his accession to power by a series of measures calculated to prove, in a striking fashion, that a new era of harmony and peace had dawned for France. On December 25, 1799, he despatched a letter to the King of England advocating peace; and, by an application of the law of December 24, he authorized the return to France of forty proscribed persons belonging to the Moderate party or to the Mountain. On December 27 the Council of State, pretending for the first time a formal "opinion," declared that the Constitution had revoked by implication the enactments which excluded the disreputable and obnoxious of *laigrité* from public office. On December 28 a similar decree substituted for the oath hitherto imposed on functionaries and ministers of religion a simple declaration of fidelity to the Constitution. New Year's Day, 1800, was, with revived respect for the Christian calendar, fixed for the opening of the legislative session. The plébiscite closed with a general season of reconciliation, of weakness, and of peace. The result was proclaimed on February 12; the Constitution was adopted by 3,011,047 votes against 1,688.

Local administration had still to be organized. The law of 28 Floréan, year VIII (February 17, 1800), was the last of the series of great organic enactments which marked the beginning of the Consulate

and supplied what was lacking in the Constitution. It loans the basis of the French administrative system to the present day.

As we remember, the Constitution omitted to define the *communal arrangements*. It was a question whether the national municipalities of the Directory should be retained under this name. The law in question divided the matter by grouping the 6000 or 7000 *cantons* of the Republic in 394 *communal arrangements*. At one end of the scale, the system of division into *Departments* was preserved; at the other, there remained the 35,000 to 40,000 *communes* (cities, towns, and villages) of former days. Had these *communes* been grouped together in national municipalities, the spirit of local self-government might have been developed; divided amongst 40,000 petty units it could not fail to die out. This was precisely the end in view: the administration was destined to pass altogether from the inhabitants themselves to the central authority. When introducing the law of 28 Floréal before the Legislative Body, Bouché pointed out three distinct activities which it was intended to direct: (1) the administration properly so-called; (2) official decisions on points relating to taxation, involving the distribution of assessments as between groups and individuals; (3) the decision of litigated points in dispute as all *Departments* of administration. According to him, "To administer is the business of one man, to judge is the business of several."

The duty, then, of administration was "confided to a single magistrate in each administrative division," viz. to the prefect in the *Department*, to the sub-prefect in the *district* (*arrondissement*), and to the mayor and his assistants in the *commune*. The assessment of the direct taxes was to be adjusted as between the *districts* by the council of that *Department*, and as between the *communes* by the council of the *district*. The General Council and the District Councils could initiate proposals; they voted the additions to the direct taxation necessary to meet the special needs of their respective areas; and they supervised the expenditure of these funds by the local officials. In the cities, towns, and villages, Municipal Councils were to assist the mayor and his coadjutors in "settling the domestic affairs of the community," to audit and collate the municipal accounts, to consider questions relating to the administration of the property and estates of the *communes*, loans, streets, and additional taxes. The mayor and his coadjutors kept the public registers and supervised the local police, in conjunction with commissioners of police in towns of more than 5000 inhabitants, and with commissioners general of police in towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants. Finally, the power of deciding matters in litigation throughout the *Department* was entrusted to the council of the prefecture, the prefect acting as president and having a casting vote.

All the appointments to posts in the administration and in the judiciary were made by the First Council or by the prefect from the

**List of Notability.** All autonomy disappeared. Popular election was a thing of the past. The "administration and the notability were brought together"—such was the phrase; but the administration was, in fact, nothing else than the central power, which pressed heavily on the local government. Monarchical centralisation was now more than enough and more burdensome than before 1789.

The first prefects were appointed on March 8; and Bonaparte, in his manner was, chosen well. The first generation of his administrative officials consisted, as a rule, of men of a superior type. Bonaparte did not trouble himself to enquire to which party a man had belonged or what was his origin; he appointed former members of revolutionary assemblies, men who had filled posts during the Revolution or even under the monarchy, generals, and (later) members of the nobility; all he required was industry, experience, and obedience. Under the energetic impulse of a picked body of functionaries the local administration worked with an apparent smoothness which hid its defects, with a regularity often excessive, but with admirable regularity throughout.

On February 18, 1800, two days after the promulgation of the law which completed the equipment of his government, Bonaparte established himself at the Tuileries, the former palace of the Kings of France. On that day Bonaparte took visible possession of power. His political methods were now very different from those he had adopted during the Provisional Consulate. His object was the maintenance of order rather than pacification; and the distinction is important. According to circumstances, he employed in turn repression and indulgence.

In his dealings with the *Chouans* in the west, Bonaparte had just shown that he was quite ready to employ repression. His patience had been tried by d'Hédouville's attempts at negotiation. And when (December 27) d'Andigné, accompanied by Hyde de Neuville, one of the leading royalist agents in Paris, came to discuss with Bonaparte the question of peace, the interview ended in acute disagreement. On the following day (December 28) an ordinance and circular proclamation announced that all *Chouans* who failed to surrender within ten days would be treated as rebels, but it granted an amnesty to those who laid down their arms. Subsequently, on January 8, 1800, at the expiration of the days of grace, still severer measures were decided on. The Army of England became the Army of the West: General Reyna was to replace d'Hédouville, and was to quarter his army of 60,000 men in the disaffected districts, and subject the inhabitants in all the districts of war. On January 18 the Constitution was suspended for three months in the departments of the west; and Rome received power to make regulations, even to the extent of inflicting the death penalty. Bonaparte's strong methods took the place of the mild and ingenious treatment of d'Hédouville; and the intention of the Government was to strike

hard and quickly, so as to make an end of the matter before beginning the campaign of 1890 against the Coalition.

D'Hédouville had not despaired of the success of his policy, and was continuing his negotiations; while the Abbé Ravier, the parish priest of St Louis d'Angers, was severely urging the cause of peace upon the royalist leaders. The armistice was to expire on January 31. D'Audoubert and Dumont submitted on the 28th, Châtillon and the royalists of Angers on the 30th. The process of disarmament began forthwith, and D'Hédouville conducted it with his habitual prudence and moderation. He had disinterestedly accepted the post of Chief of the Staff to his success, and he remained at Angers while Buge marched into Brittany in order to commence operations. Buge's task was an easy one. La Péralaye surrendered without a blow (January 23); and, after some fighting, Douarnent (January 25) and Georges Cadoudal (February 14) submitted in their turn. Organized Chouannerie was at an end.

Normandy was within the military authority of General Lefèvre in Paris, where Generals Gachon and Chamberlain, at the head of 10,000 men, were despatched against Froté (January 29). The latter became aware that the struggle was hopeless, and restrained his adherents from any military movement after February 4. He sent representatives to Alençon to treat with Guibé, the general in command there, who was soon after joined by Chamberlain. On February 1, Buge etc declared that Froté "should surrender at discretion, and that he might count on the generosity of the Government, which was anxious to forget the past and to unite all Frenchmen." It is not known whether the order and the promise of the First Council were transmitted to Froté, or, if they were, in what circumstances; what is certain is, that he surrendered without resistance at Alençon. There he was arrested with some of his officers and sent forthwith to Paris (February 18). On the way he was met at Vernon by an order from Lefèvre that he should be tried by court-martial; sentence was pronounced on the 17th; and on the 18th Froté and his companions were executed.

Several of the royalist leaders came to Paris, some of their number hoping to find in Bonaparte the long-expected restorer of monarchy. Bonaparte became the intimate of Fouché, with whom he had natural affinities. Cadoudal obtained an interview with the First Council (March 2). He was prepared, after a certain delay, and on condition that he should be paid for it, to give his support to the Government. Moreover, while the European war lasted, there was always a possibility that a disaster to the French arms might revive the royalist cause. The agents at Paris were already planning fresh schemes, when Fouché got wind of the matter and seized their papers, which were laid before the Council of State (May 8). Those members of the party who thought they were compromised sought safety in flight; Cadoudal and Hyde de Neuville escaped to England.

The First Council dealt with republican opponents as he had dealt

with the *Clubs*—by repression. Immediately upon its assembly, the Tribunate took upon itself to play the part assigned to it by the Constitution. On January 3 Doreyrie, and on January 5 Benjamin Constant, made open allusion to the subservile tendencies of Bonaparte. A newspaper was followed. Bonaparte, much annoyed, at first took part in it, and attacked his adversaries through the inspired press; then suddenly he cut the matter short. There were 75 political newspapers in circulation at that time in Paris; an edict of January 17, 1800, suppressed 40 and forbade the publication of any fresh ones. But more was to follow. On April 5, 1800, Fouché was informed that the Council intended to suppress three of the existing journals "unless the proprietors could show their editors to be men of such character and patriotic principles as to be proof against corruption." One paper only succeeded in furnishing the necessary guarantee; the other two disappeared. In the following month yet another newspaper was suppressed for misbehavior, so that not more than 11 political journals were left, in addition to the *Monitor*, which had become the official organ. A press bureau was in operation at the Ministry of the General Police, and by an order of the First Council, dated April 5, 1800, a theoretical censorship was established at the Ministry of the Interior.

On the other hand, Bonaparte treated with indulgence those who had taken the leading role in the Revolution. The measure passed on November 15, and on December 26, 26, and 27, 1799, restored some grace of mind to the two or three hundred thousand Frenchmen—olden-time nobles or relatives of *émigrés*—who, under the revolutionary laws, had suffered a species of proscription while still remaining in France; and a few of the proscribed were allowed to return from abroad. But there still remained outside France about 145,000 *émigrés*, against whom the Constitution maintained in its full force the severity of the Revolution. There could as yet be no question of recalling these nobles, but the law of March 6, 1800, fixed December 26, 1799, as the date for closing the list of *émigrés*.

The second Italian campaign interrupted Bonaparte's domestic activity. He set out to join the army on May 6, 1800. Cambacérès took his place during his absence. The victory of Marengo (June 16) was important, not merely from a military point of view, but because it was, in the words of Hyacinthe de Noville, "the consummation of Napoleon's personal authority." It added to his glory and popularity, and, while not ending his ambition, brought it into greater prominence. A pamphlet written by someone in his confidence, probably Fouché, already compared Napoleon, not to the "villain" Cromwell, or to the "usurper" Monk, but to Caesar. Bonaparte made haste to return to Paris, and was there at the beginning of July. He feared that, during his absence, both royalists and republicans would recruit themselves, and he wished to make an end of party strife.

Louis XVIII himself had long cherished the hope that Bonaparte would restore the monarchy; and he went so far as to write to him on February 20, 1804. Bonaparte waited till after Marriage, and then sent a plain answer: "Your return is not a thing to be wished for, it could only be made over 180,000 corpses" (September 7). Cadoudal had returned from London to Brittany (June 2), but Chouanerie had degenerated into a form of brigandage similar to that which disturbed the South and central districts of Central France. A law of February 7, 1801, empowered the Government to establish in the departments, *whenever it thought necessary*, special tribunals, half civil, half military: these courts were subject to no appeal, and were empowered to inflict every degree of punishment, including capital, in cases of brigandage, larcinage, malicious assemblage, and attacks on the purchasers of nationalised property. These exceptional courts were of much use in the suppression of brigands and Chouans. Cadoudal returned to England at the close of 1801; the last shot was fired on January 5, 1802. The *Army of the West* was disbanded on May 31, and the maintenance of order was handed over to the *gendarmerie*. In Paris the republicans had resumed all thought of action; and their agency confined itself to correspondence and the collection of intelligence. The party seemed to have suffered final defeat.

The republicans were relatively numerous in the Senate, in the Tribunats, and in the Legislative Body; but they had no leaders, no organisation, and no genuine support in the country. "They accepted," said Fauriel, "the Constitution of the year VIII, as subsquending the greatest extent of liberty which it was possible to enjoy after the end and the success of the Revolution." They said, however, that the Republic was doomed. Bonaparte called them *ultras*, and they in turn called him an *ultras*. The advanced republicans—"Jacobins," "enthousiastes," "sans-culottes," "enclousures," and others"—looked back with regret on the democratic institutions of the Revolution; they were few in number, but were reported to be resolute. Bonaparte held them up as a warning to the constitutional republicans. "Do you want me to lead you over to the Jacobins?" he asked. They protested loudly against the idea of any understanding with those "enclousures." Less even than the republicans did the republicans seem to be in a position to offer any serious resistance to Bonaparte.

In keeping watch on both parties alike, the police played an important part, and soon developed into one of the fundamental supports of Bonaparte's government. Fauriel and his agents, Dubois and the Prefecture of Police, were not sufficient. The chief staff of the Paris garrison, the *gendarmerie* and the agents of the Home Office in the departments, the Post Office officials who opened letters, the innumerable spies and informers in Bonaparte's pay, all became part of his police. His informers denounced each other and the public. By Bonaparte's orders



everyone was kept under observation except himself, spying and denunciation were universal. This system contributed not a little to lower the tone of public life and of individual character. Constitutional opposition became impossible; *Chouanerie* had been stamped out; conspiracy afforded the only means of contending with Bonaparte. "They conspire in the street; they conspire in the salon," said the ex-deputy Artois; and the remark (with *Démocrate*) is characteristic of the time. The police was prepared, on occasion, to organize plots in order to gain credit by denouncing them, and by supplying the Government with opportunities for employing harsh measures with a greater appearance of justice. There can be no doubt that the pretended conspiracy of the Jacobins, *Démocrate*, Artois, Topino-Lébrun, and Camille, who were arrested on October 16, 1800, on the charge of plotting the assassination of the First Consul at the Opéra, had been organized by agents of the police. Nevertheless, much was made of it; the parliamentary bodies formally congratulated the First Consul on his happy escape; and the Jacobins were forthwith put on their trial.

On the other hand the royalists conspired, and conspired seriously. On June 19 Cadoudal wrote that the "indispensable blow" was about to be struck at Paris. Of the five or six *Chouans* despatched to Paris, two only—*Lincelles* and *Saint-Hippolyte*—perished in the attempt. They were joined by Jean Oudon, who happened to be in the capital. They hid themselves so skillfully that the police lost sight of them, but on December 24 they made their presence felt. On the evening of that day, when Bonaparte was on his way from the Tuileries to the Opéra, the conspirators exploded an infernal machine. Many were killed and injured, but Bonaparte himself escaped unhurt.

There was violent indignation. Bonaparte himself, the police who had been taken unawares, the best instructed royalists then at Paris (*Démocrate* and *Hyde de Neuville*), vied with each other in scolding the Jacobins. Bruchet drew up a list of suspects (January 1, 1801); and the Government framed a decree condemning them to deportation. The Council of State gave its opinion that this decree was in the nature of a formal "order of the State Police," and that "it was unnecessary to embody it in statutory form." The Senate was then called upon to rule, by a *Sénatus-Consultum*, that this "Order of the Government" was a "measure tending to preserve the Constitution" (January 8). There was some show of resistance; but Borys met it by alleging that the welfare of the country was at stake; and the constitutional republicans in the Senate shrunk from making common cause with the Jacobins. It was then, by means of more than doubtful legality, that the first *Sénatus-Consultum* was forced through. A hundred and thirty anarchists, Jacobins, and "Septembriseurs" were, by a parliamentary act of government, condemned to deportation. They were forthwith despatched to Nantes, but not more than fifty were deported to the colonies; the

not were allowed to remain under the supervision of the police. The persons implicated in the pretended Opere conspiracy were sent to the guillotine (January 23). The Jacobin party, so far as it can be called a party at all, was disposed of, and the constitutional republicans, who had supported the Council in their policy of terror, were reduced to compulsory silence. The police in the end discovered the true authors of the explosion in the Rue St. Nicolas. Lavoisier succeeded in escaping to America, where he became a Catholic priest; Saint-Martin and Carbon were taken, condemned (April 2), and executed forthwith (April 21).

Bonaparte's popularity was increased through the general horror excited by the attempt on his life. It was increased still more by the glory derived from the conclusion of the Treaty of Lunenburg (February 3, 1801). The main lines of his policy now became clear, *his aim was to reconcile the old France with the new, those who had suffered by the Revolution with the Government which had sprung from it.* The first steps taken in this direction were the negotiations relating to the Concordat, to be discussed in a later chapter. The treaty with the Pope was signed on July 12, 1801; and the ratifications were exchanged on December 18. A statutory enactment was, however, necessary to render the arrangement binding; and in spite of every effort the measure seemed likely to encounter strenuous opposition in the Tribunal and the Legislative Body. The time had come for the partial renewal of these two bodies; and the method of renewal was not defined by the Constitution, except that twenty Tribunes and sixty Legislators were to retire. Instead of determining the selection by lot, the Senate decided, on January 18, 1802, that it would name by vote the 20 Tribunes and the 60 Legislators who were to continue in office. This was a mere contrivance, designed to facilitate the exclusion of some order pretence of retaining others. The result was that no leader of the Opposition remained a member of the Tribunal. The bodies, thus purged, were convoked in extraordinary session, and the Concordat, together with the *Article Organique*, became the law of 10 Germinal, year X (April 3, 1802). Meanwhile the Peace of Amiens (March 25) had still further enhanced the prestige of the First Consul. A *Te Deum* was sung at Notre Dame on Easter Day, April 13, 1802, and was attended by the Consular court, in all the pomp of the hygienic monarchy. This act appeared to question what had occurred, and to reconcile France with the Church.

In order also to reconcile the new France with the old, the Senate's *Consultation* of April 22, 1802, granted an amnesty in regard of the crime of emigration to all persons "who may be guilty thereof." The exceptions were not numerous. The decree of October 20, 1800, had ordered the first general amputation in favour of the pliable Anguile, with their wives and children. The individual exemptions of the rich and noble had been largely added to by reason of the tolerance of the Government and the weakness of the police. The Senate

Convention of April 25 put on end to beguiles in detail; it specified the various classes of *delégés* who were not to profit by the amnesty,—resistant leaders of war against the Republic, persons who had taken office abroad, and a few others; but the total number of those excepted was not to exceed a thousand. The *delégés* were required to return before 1 Vendémiaire, year XI (September 25, 1802), and to swear fidelity to the Constitution. Having fulfilled these requirements, they were at once to resume possession of so much of their property, as had not been alienated; but they were declared incapable of re-entrance, under any pretext, whether which had been authorized or not. The rights of those who had purchased such property were thus again implicitly guaranteed by the senatorial decree.

Bonaparte such as these deserved their reward, and Bonaparte had already made up his mind that the reward should take the shape of the *Consulate for Life*; but this he was not to obtain without further manipulation of the Constitution. On May 6, 1802, a message from the Council announced the Treaty of Amiens to the Tribunate and the Legislative Body. It was received with enthusiasm in both bodies, and the Tribunate unanimously adopted a resolution, proposed by Charles de Faller, that there should be given to General Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic, "a signal pledge of the gratitude of the nation." This resolution was communicated to the Senate. So far the proceedings were quite regular; but the question then arose what the pledge should be. The republicans expected that it would be merely titular; but Bonaparte's supporters, secretly incited by Cambacérès, proposed the *Consulate for Life*. The Senate adopted a middle course, and resolved by a *Senate Commission* (May 8) to re-elect Bonaparte for the ten years immediately following the ten years for which he had originally been appointed.

Bonaparte expected more than this; but, yielding to the advice of Cambacérès, he concealed his dissatisfaction. He thanked the Senate, adding: "You deem that I owe a fresh mention to the nation; I am ready to perform it, if the commands of the people confirm what your vote allows" (May 9). It was then that he referred the question from the Senate to the people. But he did more than this. The Council of State, when consulted (May 10) on the wording of the question to be put to the nation, recommended it thus:—"Is Napoleon Bonaparte to be made Consul for Life?" For the first time the numerous Christian sects accompanied the surname Bonaparte, and it took its place in history by an illegal act; for there was nothing to justify the Council of State in thus framing the question to be solved by a new plebiscite. A *Conciliar edict* published the same day (May 10) arranged for the taking of the ballot. The Assembly yielded, Carnot being the only Tribune who opposed the *Consulate for Life*.

It was not enough for Bonaparte to receive rewards; he desired also

to be in a position to bestow them. The Constitution had decided that soldiers should receive a recompense from the State, in the shape (it would appear) of grants from the national property. But the Council decree of December 18, 1793, gave general application to a system instituted by Bonaparte in the armies, which he recommended, of presenting "acts of honour" to soldiers who had distinguished themselves. The law of May 19, 1800, created a "Legion of Honour," with the view of rewarding merit and services both military and civil.

A "Grand Council," presided over by the First Consul as Chief of the Legion, was to appoint the legionaries. These were divided into 18 "cohorts," each composed of 1 Grand Officer, 30 Commanders, 30 officers, and 300 legionaries; each Grand Officer received 5000 francs a year, each Commander 2000 francs, each officer 1000, and each legionary 250 francs. At the head-quarters of each "cohort" there was to be a hospital for the treatment of sick, injured, and needy legionaries, the expenses of which was to be defrayed out of the State domain. Soldiers who had received "acts of honour" became legionaries as a matter of course. The details of the organisation were to be the subject of future regulations. In 1803 the rank of Grand Eagle was created, and made superior to that of Grand Officer. The number of members largely exceeded the figure originally fixed. In 1805 Napoleon had already made 18,500 appointments. The number of legionaries averaged during his reign 80,000, of whom 1800 were civilians.

In expounding the motives of the law, Bonaparte remarked that the creation of the Legion of Honour "resembled the issue of a new coinage; but that, while money issued from the Treasury, this new coinage, drawn from the mine of French honour, was surpassing in value and inalienable in amount." Bonaparte held that man's actions are guided, not by a sense of duty, but by a desire for honour, if not for honour, and the belief has ever since exerted a detrimental influence on the French people. The republicans strenuously opposed the measure; it passed the Council of State by only 14 votes to 10, the Tribunal by 50 to 68, and the Legislative Body by 166 to 139. The Legion of Honour attracted great prestige, and became a valuable aid to government: but, at the outset, it was so repugnant to public opinion that Bonaparte did not venture to hold formal distributions of the first decorations till after the establishment of the Empire.

It now became more and more evident that Bonaparte aimed at personal rule. After the suppression of the Jacobins and the rest of the republicans, the opposition consisted of the republicans party alone; they were very weak, but the government brought them substantial reinforcements. The army was still deeply imbued with republicanism and free thought; and Napoleon was aware of this. He had therefore got rid of the republicans most attached to the spirit of the Revolution, by sending them to San Domingo. They had embarked on December 31, 1801, shortly

after the signature of the preliminaries of the peace with England. On the conclusion of peace, the generals, now released from service, flocked to Paris; and even those who had supported Bonaparte on 18 Brumaire were now—whether owing to a spirit of republicanism, or to jealousy of the First Consul, it is difficult to say—in opposition. Angereau, Bruns, Delmas, Gervais St-Cyr, Jourdan, Lannes, Lemoine, Oudinot, Macdonald, Bessières, Suchet, Moreau, Bernadotte, Moreau—all, especially the three last, were hostile to Bonaparte.

The details are obscure, but it seems probable that the most serious danger which threatened Bonaparte in his progress to supreme power was to be found in this quarter. From April to June, 1800, the generals met frequently to discuss in secret councils their grievances against "Satan Bonaparte." What was still more serious, the military opposition was joined by the civilians; by Sieyès and the republican writers, by Madame de Staël and her following, and by the *abbés* who met at Auteuil in the house of Cabanis.

Bernadotte, rather than Moreau, appears to have been the pivot of the military conspiracy. But on principle, as he said, and also, no doubt, to protect himself in case of failure, Bernadotte was desirous to act by legal means only, after obtaining a vote of the Senate. Various plans of government were proposed, one being the division of France into military districts which should be assigned to various generals, the district of Paris being given to Bonaparte. Bonaparte suspected what was in the wind, and hastened to disconcert military aims. "Never will military government take root in France," he declared at the Council of State on May 4, 1800, "unless the nation has first been bruted by fifty years of ignorance. The army is the nation." The police therefore set to work. They first attempted to repeat the coup which had succeeded so well against the Jacobins; they trumped up a conspiracy of assassination, and two officers, Donnadieu and Fourmont, were arrested on the charge of compassing the death of the First Consul (May 7). The actual conspirators were to be sought elsewhere. On May 20 General Bessières, Bernadotte's Chief of the Staff, began secretly to despatch from Rennes into every corner of France pamphlets violently attacking Bonaparte. "Soldiers" (such was their language), "you have no longer a country; the Republic has ceased to exist. A tyrant has seized upon power, and that tyrant is Bonaparte."

Delolme, the Prefect of Police, was the first to draw Bonaparte's attention to this "libel plot." Fouché started the theory of a royalist conspiracy; but before long General Simon, with some other officers, was arrested at Rennes (June 22). Bonaparte wisely hushed the matter up; nothing became known; Simon was dismissed without trial, and Bernadotte was sent to take the waters at Plombières. Fouché was appointed a senator (September 14, 1800); and the General Police Office was again attached to the Department of Justice (September 18, 1800). One by

use, the opposition generals were sent away from Paris on distant missions. Madame de Staël, who had returned to Coppet in May, 1802, was forbidden to re-enter Paris; and when, in the following year, she returned into France, she was actually expelled (October 15, 1803). The steps taken to suppress the plot were as obscure as the plot itself; but for Bonaparte there was still a line in the path—Russia.

While Bernadotte's conspiracy had thus come to nothing, the plotters mentioned above the position taken by Bonaparte. The result of the count, which was made public on August 2, 1802, was 5,508,665 "yes" against 3,374 "no." It would seem that, speaking generally, the émigrés had abstained; and it will be noticed that the number of those who voted "no" had sensibly increased. Nevertheless, this plébiscite made, without doubt, the political abdication of the French nation in favour of Bonaparte and the system of Consuls.

Now that Bonaparte was master of the situation, he drew up, of his own authority, a fresh Constitution, which he first laid before his two colleagues and certain confidential friends. He then sent it to the Council of State, which approved it forthwith, and later on the same day to the Senate (August 8, 1802). As if by accident, "the approaches, the court, and the anti-rooms of the Luxembourg were filled with guardsmen." The Senate accepted the measure, voting on it without discussion; and it was henceforth known as the "Organic Statute Constitutions of the Constitution of 16 Thermidor, year X."

Under it the Consuls were appointed for life, the Second and Third Councils being appointed by the Senate on the presentation of the First. The First Consul had the right to nominate his successor; if his candidate were rejected by the Senate, the right of nomination reverted to the two other Councils. The First Consul retained all the power given him by the Constitution of the year VIII; and, in addition, he was to enjoy the sole right of ratifying treaties of peace and alliance, which were no longer looked upon as matters for legislation. On these subjects, he had only to confer with his Privy Council, whose members he nominated before each sitting. A Privy Council was to draft the Senatorial Consults.

The Councils were to preside in the Senate, which, at the time, consisted of 60 members. The number was raised to 100, and the appointment of senators was henceforth left to the First Consul, who had the right of presentation in case of a vacancy created by the Constitution of the year VIII, and of absolute appointment to the vacancies created since that date. In this fashion Bonaparte disposed of 24 seats and could easily obtain a majority. The Senate was to settle by organic Senatorial Consults any point not provided for by the Constitution; it could dissolve the Legislative Body and the Tribunals, and if necessary suspend the Constitution. Its power was enlarged in proportion as it became more subordinate to the First Consul, and it was henceforward his servile instrument. The creation of *académiques* (January 8, 1803) completed

its subjection. In each of the districts into which the country was divided for the purpose of legal appeals, a senator whose Bonaparte wished to reward received a life-grant from the national funds, yielding an income about equivalent to a senatorial salary. The only conditions imposed on the grantee were a three months' residence in the locality during each year, and the forwarding of a report on the state of public opinion in the district.

The *Legis of Notability* was replaced by a fresh system. The cantonal assemblies, composed of all citizens domiciled in the canton, were to be nominated by the Government; and their presidents were to be appointed by the First Consul. They were to nominate, under certain conditions, the candidates for the municipal councils, and also, from among the 500 most highly taxed citizens of the department, the members of the electoral colleges of the districts, and of the electoral college of the department. The latter were chosen for life, and their presidents were appointed by the First Consul. Two candidates for each vacancy in the district and departmental councils, also for each vacancy in the Tribunal, the Legislative Body, and the Senate, were to be nominated by the duly qualified colleges, whether district or departmental, respectively. In fact, in spite of the democratic air of the national assembly, the scheme created a system of nomination of those personally qualified, combined with a power of actual appointment reserved to the First Consul. The Tribunal was to be reduced to fifty members from the beginning of the year XIII (1804-5). The *senatus* Senate Committee of 38 Præfets, year XII (December 29, 1803), placed the appointment of the President of the Legislative Body in the hands of the First Consul.

It is not without reason that the Senate Committee of 16 Thermidor, year X, is generally known as the Constitution of the year X. The Constitution of the year VIII was still in existence, but it was to be changed as to be hardly recognisable. The First Consul had become an autocrat, and no constitutional limit to his authority remained.

Apart from the establishment of the Consulate for Life, so fraught with evil for the future, the year 1804 might be reckoned one of the most splendid in the history of France. The restoration of peace, the victories won, the conquests achieved, the numbers of revolutionary soldiersmen, the personal fame of Bonaparte, the return of order and the revival of trade—all combined to make existence brilliant and enjoyable.

A new Court had by degrees been formed at the Tuilleries. A Governor of the Palace (*Duc*), four *Præfets* of the Palace, and four ladies (of whom Madame de Béarnot was one) as waiting on Madame Bonaparte, had been appointed by Bonaparte. Scrupulous, who was accustomed to the ways of good society, and Bonaparte, who was anxious to imitate us them, were agreed in requiring a certain amount of decorum from the crowds attending their receptions; and royal wages and stipends supplanted by degrees at the consular Court.

Bonaparte soon wearied of all this grandeur, and gladly resumed a simpler life during the days which he passed in the company of his intimates at St Cloud or at Malmaison, the estate acquired by Josephine in 1793.

In Paris, the salons, those centres of conversation in the days before the Revolution, were once more formed. The *Salon* met at Artois at the house of Colbach. Madame de Staël had a circle composed of Camille Jordan, de Gisors, Benjamin Constant, Fauriel, and others. Two intimate friends of Madame de Staël, the melancholy and pathetic Madame de Beaumont and the lovely Madame Récamier, the wife of a rich Paris banker, also held their salons. In the aristocratic Faubourg St Germain a few repellent houses already half opened their doors. The politicians of old France resumed their, and elegance in dress again prevailed. Whenever a new office was created, a minute description was given of the uniform of the new officials; Paris fashions again ruled; the practice of *salutement* ceased; a lady was no longer addressed as "*Citoyenne*" but as "*Madame*"; and "*Citoyen*" was not heard after 1804.

The consular Court and the refined society of the salons had thrust into the background the numerous riches—the stock-jobbers, financiers, bankers, speculators in national property, army contractors, gilded officers, gamblers and adventurers, who had been in the ascendant under the Directory, and whose misconduct had discredited the system which allowed them the foremost place. The dissipated class lived as they had done during the Directory, much out of doors. They frequented the cafés on the boulevards, and filled the well-known restaurants of the Palais Royal; thence they betook themselves to the public gardens, to driving saloons, to gaming-houses, or to the theatre. Paris was very gay during the winter of 1800-3. Never before had so many foreigners been seen. Miss Helen Williams entertained at her tea-table, at one and the same time, Capot, a Neapolitan bishop, Eminence, and Fox. Twenty-two accounts are extant of journeys to Paris or other parts of France undertaken by Englishmen between 1800 and 1803; and in September, 1800, there were said to be 10,000 English tourists in Paris.

In the departments, to be sure, the aspect of things was less brilliant. During 1800 certain Commissions of State had been sent on a tour of inspection through the military divisions; and their reports, published by Bonaparte, show how much still remained to be done. The sad plight of the ruined houses, the destruction of property, the dilapidated state of bridges, ports, roads, public buildings, and roads, the continued insecurity, the prevalence of brigandage, the poverty of hospitals and public charities, the almost complete interruption of public works during long years, often led to the districts impaled the appearance of ruin and distress. It was, however, an appearance only. In the country districts, the 1,500,000 producers of national domains had had their titles guaranteed by the Constitution; and Bonaparte was careful to obey their laws whenever an opportunity occurred. The populace of



the towns, were far from sharing the republican regrets of the middle classes, they were enthusiastic for Bonaparte, for his military glory, and for the blessings of peace. Work was plentiful and wages were high; and the two industrial exhibitions, which Chapuis, the Minister of the Interior, had organised in Paris in 1801 and 1803, gave brilliant proof of the progress that had been achieved. One more fact will help us to understand the amazing rapidity with which the Consular administration reorganised the public services, and the deep-seated optimism of which successive politicians gave so signal a proof. In 1789, according to Lefebvre, France contained not more than 36,000,000 inhabitants. The census of the year IX. showed 37,347,600 *ec.*, including the newly-acquired territories, 38,111,963. The empire, even during the Revolution, a remarkable increase of the population.

We shall consider, in a later chapter, the reforms and undertakings which, begun under the Consulate, were continued under the Empire. We propose to deal in the same way with agriculture, manufactures, trade, literature, science and art, and to confine ourselves for the present to the finances. The first thing necessary was to clear off existing obligations. The market was still loaded with paper of all sorts, assignation vouchers, *assignats*, warrants for arrears of interest, subsequent bills of former issues, &c. There were securities of more than sixty descriptions; all were more or less depreciated, their total amount it is impossible to estimate. In order to relieve the money market and restore healthy conditions, Gaudin took steps to buy up these various securities: that is, he called them in, and, on their being returned to the Treasury, gave in exchange for them receipts of an amount proportionate to their nominal value. The operation was carried through rapidly and on the strictest lines, sometimes so strictly that it had almost the appearance of partial repudiation. What was done, however, was justified by the needs of the moment and by the dishonest jobbery which had prevailed under the Directory. Steps were also taken to consolidate various portions of the Public Debt outstanding. This operation was not complete at the close of the Consulate, and was continued under the Empire.

The combined result of all these operations was an increase in the Public Debt. In the year XII (1803-4) it showed a total of about 45,800,000 francs in perpetual annuities (without counting life annuities), being an increase of 2,859,000 francs on the amount existing after the last budget of the Directory. But, if the Public Debt was thus increased, it was done for the purpose of discharging existing obligations. Bonaparte issued no assignates to cover loans; in this respect, he adhered to older systems of finance. He found the necessary resources in the extraordinary receipts: these were of two sorts, external and internal. The extraordinary external receipts consisted of the war contributions, subsidies, and payments of every sort made by conquered countries or by foreign

Powers. An estimate of their total value, even approximate, is unfortunately impossible. They reached by far their highest point under the Consulate in the year XII (1803-4), when they amounted to 128,000,000 francs, of which 50,000,000 francs represent what was paid by the United States for Louisiana. The extraordinary internal receipts were the result, in the first place, of the special measures adopted at the beginning of the Provisional Consulate. In the second place, the sale of the national domains, wisely conducted, provided nearly an appreciable sum. According to Stœrn, the Consulate received in all nearly 660,000,000 francs from the extraordinary internal receipts.

The ordinary receipts under the Revolution consisted almost entirely of direct taxes, and we have seen with what ease Gaudin, as soon as he was appointed, proceeded to reorganise them. The finance law of February 25, 1804, provided that "all collectors of direct taxes should be appointed by the First Consul," and that there should be, "so far as possible, one collector in each city, town, and village." The administrative hierarchy was therewith complete and fully controlled under the State. By its wise management the taxes were got in with far greater facility and produced better results.

Under the Revolution the indirect taxes had been reduced to a minimum. Besides the customs and the postal revenue, there only remained the registration and stamp duties, with certain miscellaneous taxes on public conveyances, articles of gold and silver, playing-cards, and tobacco. Contrary to Gaudin's advice, Bonaparte refused for a long time to impose any new indirect taxation, not because he condemned it in principle, but because he could not meet the dangerous unpopularity of the *saïes* and *gabelles* of the ancien régime. Eventually he consented, but he proceeded at first with the greatest caution. Even under the Directory, *taxes dom (patrols)* were again levied in Paris and certain other cities, on respect of articles intended for local consumption; and the law of February 24, 1800, made the levying of town dues obligatory "in towns where the public hospitals had not revenues sufficient for their wants." Thus the new indirect taxation was at first devoted to local purposes. Subsequently, Bonaparte decided to avail himself of it for State purposes also, and a law of February 28, 1804, imposed a tax on liquors, and provided for concentrating the management of all indirect taxes, old and new, in the hands of a single General Board, the combined *Octroi and Excise Office (droits réuni)*.

The two first budgets of the Consulate (years VIII and IX, 1799-1801) were still loaded with arrears which were in process of liquidation. But the typical budget, and the one which exemplifies best the happy results of Bonaparte's financial policy, was that of the year X (1801-2). According to the corrected figures, the payments (701,846,818 francs) and the receipts (741,656,639 francs) practically balanced each other. According to the figures given by Nicolas, 45 per cent. of the receipts

were derived from direct taxation, 25 per cent. from the forests and national domains (including the amount produced by sales), 27 per cent. from indirect taxation, 8 per cent. from various sources and extraordinary receipts. Of the payments, the charges in connection with the finances and the public debt absorbed 47 per cent., the army and navy 45 per cent., and the expenses of administration 8 per cent. An exact balance was secured by strictly adjusting expenses to receipts; and the taxes were collected easily because they were relatively very light. In 1793, according to Talley, of every 100 francs of net income, the peasant paid 14 francs to the assigner, 14 to the Church, 15 to the King, and kept only 19 for himself. After 1800 he paid nothing to the assigner or to the Church; he paid 31 francs in all to the State, the department, and the commune; and he kept 29 francs for himself. "These figures," as Talley remarks, "are all-important." Further, on August 11, 1800, the State was able to announce that the government situation would be paid punctually and in cash as they fell due. This promise was strictly kept.

From a financial point of view, as well as in other respects, the year 1801-2 marked the zenith of success. After the year XI, the expenses entailed by the renewal of war and the reappearance of extraordinary sources of income lowered the character of the budget. On the other hand, Bonaparte was perpetually tampering with the legitimate control of the Assembly. On no single occasion were his financial proposals presented in a strictly legal and correct fashion. The consequence was that, in spite of the results achieved, complete confidence was never felt. The average price of the 5 per cent. annuities did not exceed 60 francs. This was, to use Boissy's forcible expression, "a masked affront offered daily to Bonaparte by an irreconcilable Bourse."

It was a sounder policy which prompted the creation of the Bank of France. There were several houses at Paris which carried on a discount business, collected debts, received deposits, opened current accounts, and issued notes payable to bearer and at sight. The oldest of these was the Bank of Current Accounts (*Caisse des comptes courants*), founded June 28, 1726, with a capital of 8,000,000 francs. Its condition was very prosperous; and Bonaparte decided that, under a fresh name, it should extend its field of operations. On January 18, 1800, a general meeting of the shareholders voted the dissolution of the company, and on the same day an ordinance decreed the establishment of the Bank of France. Its capital amounted to 50,000,000 francs.

The operations of the Bank of France resembled those of the Bank of Current Accounts; and its managers and directors, known as reports and censors, were elected by the shareholders. What distinguished the Bank of France from the company which it replaced was its intimate relation with the Government. The First Consul, the members of his family, and the high officers of state took shares in it. It was even the custom of the Bank that during several years the holders of

government securities received their arrears. The Bank was moreover entrusted with other financial duties; for instance, with the custody of the funds subscribed to the national lotteries. The law of April 18, 1803, increased the capital of the Bank to 45,000,000 francs, and granted it for fifteen years the exclusive privilege of issuing bank-notes. The other banks which enjoyed a right of issue either went into liquidation or were bought up by the Bank of France.

Bonaparte meanwhile pursued his ambitious designs. Through the medium of Fouché he proposed to Louis XVIII., who was then at Wagram, that he should renounce his right to the Crown in return for an indemnity. Louis declined the offer, and in a decisive reply, published on March 8, 1803, he confirmed all his rights. A striking victory was required to reduce him to impotence. Bonaparte's famous outbreak against the English ambassador, Lord Whitworth, at the diplomatic reception on March 13, 1803, was intended to be at once a reply to the declarations of Louis XVIII. and to the reluctance of the British Government to carry out the terms of the Peace of Amiens. War with Great Britain broke out afresh in May, 1803. Public opinion was not in favour of war; but, of all the members of the French Coalition, England was the most devoted in France. Bonaparte's popularity was not affected. With much parade he organised the camp at Boulogne for an invasion of England. Some historians have doubted whether Boulogne was his real design; but in any case all his available troops remained till 1803 concentrated at Boulogne and in the neighbourhood, practising the same manoeuvres and inspired by a common enthusiasm. The camp at Boulogne was a crucible in which the various divisions of the republican forces were fused together, and from which emerged, homogeneous and trained to his hand, the "Grand Army" of the Emperor.

Like Bonaparte, the royalists hailed with joy the resumption of hostilities. They persuaded themselves, and their correspondents at Paris stated, that "no one believed in the permanence of the new régime." The circles in London were much excited. They hoped that the British Government would once more lend them its support; and, as a matter of fact, the proceedings of certain British agents—of Drake at Munich, and of Spencer Smith at Stuttgart—were of a nature to encourage the conspirators. In February, 1803, a certain Michel de la Tourie arrived in London with the information that the Jacobins and republicans still formed a powerful party, which was ready to associate itself with the royalists in overthrowing the tyrant. The idea was attractive. A plan of operations was devised: it embraced an insurrection at Paris, risings in the west and south, assistance to be sent by England, and the landing in Flanders of the Comte d'Artois or some other member of the royal House. Success seemed to be assured.

New Michel de la Tourie was probably a secret agent of Fouché.

The former Minister of the General Police had obtained a subscription from Bonaparte; and his personal agents acted independently of the official police, who were now attached to the Ministry of Justice. Fouché, with consummate skill, took advantage of the situation thus created. The conspiracy of 1803-4 was in part his work. His ambition was to become a minister upon more, and he saw the advantages which Bonaparte might reap by the discovery of a fresh plot.

On August 21, 1803, Cadoudal left London with a few trusted friends, of whom one, by name Quétel, seems also to have been a police agent in England. Cadoudal crossed the Channel on a cutter from the British fleet commanded by Captain Wright, landed at night at Berck, near Dieppe, and proceeded to Paris. He was furnished by the British Government with drafts for a million francs to enable him to organize the insurrection in the capital. Meanwhile General Lajolais, an old friend of Pichegru, had seen General Moreau at Paris, and had talked to him of Pichegru; and, as Moreau seemed to preserve the blindest recollection of him, Lajolais thought himself justified in announcing that Moreau was inclined to follow Pichegru's example and make common cause with the royalists. On January 16, 1804, Pichegru, Lajolais, Rivier, and the Polignons landed, and secretly entered Paris.

It only remained for the royalists to come to an understanding with Moreau, the leader of the republican party, with a view to common action. Lajolais arranged an interview between Pichegru and Moreau on January 16; and an appointment was made for 7 a.m. on January 17 in the Boulevard de la Madeleine. Moreau proceeded thither with Lajolais; but Pichegru also brought a companion whom Lajolais introduced: it was Cadoudal. Moreau at once withdrew. During the following days (February 2 and 3) Pichegru called on Moreau; but his visits were vain; Moreau had never been willing, and was at this moment less willing than ever, to associate himself with the royalists.

The official police were at a loss. They had suspected some conspiracy, of whom Quétel was one; but the whole affair remained a puzzle. They suspected a plot of some sort, but they were ignorant of its nature; and Bonaparte taught them with their ignorance. At the end of January, however, when the conspiracy was ripe, and Moreau appeared to be sufficiently compromised, Bonaparte and Fouché rushed to act. Orders were given to place on their trial certain of the royalists who had been arrested by the police. Quétel was one of three; and he made haste to confess (January 25) all he knew,—the nature of the conspiracy, the presence of Georges Cadoudal at Paris, and the expected arrival of a prison. There was great excitement. On February 1 a General Board of Public Safety was opened at the Ministry of Justice; at the head of it was Réal, a friend of Fouché. Action was delayed for a few days in the hope of obtaining fresh evidence against Moreau. When it became clear that he would not move, he was arrested (February 16).

A general uproar suddenly succeeded the mysterious silence of the previous weeks; and the public excitement reached its height when the police discovered and arrested Pelegrin (February 19), Georges Cadoudal (March 9), and soon afterwards most of the other conspirators.

The whole performance had been arranged with the greatest skill; but what rendered the conspiracy of 1802 a model of police parsimony was the fact that a real conspiracy existed, and that Fouquier himself did not know everything. The conspirators were expecting a prince. The question was, which prince, and where was he? Savary, chief of the *gendarmes à cheval*, betook himself to Brille to keep an eye on Monseigneur, the Comte d'Artois. But it was not Monseigneur's way to run any risks; he remained where he was. Enquiries were hastily made as to the residence of the other princes; and on May 8 there came from Strasbourg some astonishing information.

The Duc d'Angoulême, son of the Duc de Bourbon, and grandson of the Prince de Condé, was living at Eitheimen, less than two leagues from the Rhine. He came now and then secretly into Strasbourg. With him were supposed to be Dancourte and an English agent, Colonel Smith, who had just come from London and was clearly in correspondence with Duke. The expected prince could be no other than the Duc d'Angoulême. On March 10 Bonaparte summoned his colleagues, the two Consuls, with Talleyrand, Fouquier, and Régnier, to a privy council, at which it was decided to arrest the Duke, in spite of the fact that Eitheimen was in the territory of Baden. Generals Ordener, Cacheloupert, and Fricton were sent at the head of a small force; and during the night of March 12 they arrested the Duke at Eitheimen. He was at once sent on to Paris. Meanwhile, the papers seized at Eitheimen, and the reports of the officer commanding the expedition, had reached Bonaparte. Every thing pointed to a mistake. The Duke was not conspiring; he was being quietly at Eitheimen. With him was, not Dancourte, but the old Marquis de Thémery, whose name, disguised by German pronunciation, had occasioned the blunder. Schmidt (not Smith), came from Freiburg, not from London; the Duke had never been at Strasbourg; and, if it was true that he had wished to take service in England against France, and that he was in receipt of a pension from the British Cabinet, there was in all this nothing that was not natural in the case of an exiled royal blood.

Bonaparte, however, paid no attention to these facts. Was he under the influence of one of those fits of rage, genuine or simulated, to which he was subject? Was his object to make a terrible example, to avenge himself in the person of the Duke on the prince who had not arrived to take command of the "armées"? Was it to prove to the republican party that the blood which was about to flow would render reconciliation between himself and the Bourbons impossible; or was it to bind to himself, by making them his accomplices, those of his followers whom he

suspected of sympathy with the fallen dynasty? At all events, Bonaparte was resolved that the Duke should die.

On the morning of March 29, a meeting of the privy council decided to summon immediately a military commission of seven members, to be presided by Morit, ex-Governor of Paris. At 11 o'clock Morit made his nomination, appointing as president General Hulin, who commanded the Central Guard. At half-past five the Duke arrived at the castle of Vincennes, where two hours before his grave had been dug. At nine in the evening the members of the commission met at the castle. A detachment of troops commanded by Serary was also present. At 11 o'clock the Duke was subjected to a preliminary examination in his room. At 1 a.m. on the 31st he appeared before his judges, Serary standing immediately behind Hulin. The examination was short, and revealed nothing. At half-past two the Duc d'Angoulême was shot.

By midday on the 31st the news-boys were shouting the news in the streets of Paris. An immense emotion was created, and Bonaparte strove to profit by it at once with a view to carrying out his grand design. On March 31 he caused Régis to read in a report on the intrigues of Dukes; and on March 31 he laid this report before the Senate. The result, however, did not answer the expectations of the First Consul. Not till four days later did the Senate draw up an address, in which, while reproaching the recent plots, they urged that, with a view to punishing similar attempts, a "High Court or National Jury" should be established, in order to safeguard the existing system of government. They further brought the First Consul "to complete his work, by rendering it, like his glory, immortal."

The wish thus expressed was exceedingly vague; and the most determined supporters of Bonaparte dared not as yet pronounce the word "hereditary." A series of intrigues, of which very little is known, occupied the following weeks. On the surface a great movement of opinion, partly genuine, partly manufactured by the Government, swayed the country in favour of Bonaparte, by whose death the English and the conspirators had meant to compass the destruction of France. The columns of the *Messenger* were filled with addresses breathing devotion and enthusiasm. The Opposition was finally overcome. When Bonaparte at last, on April 13, replied to the address of the Senate, he put the question in plain terms: "You have resolved that it is necessary that the supreme magistracy should be hereditary. . . . I now ask you to explain fully what is passing in your mind."

Already, on April 23, Curie, a member of the Tribunal, had brought forward a resolution that Bonaparte "should be declared Emperor," and "that the Imperial dignity should be declared hereditary in his family." The debate began on April 30. Curie alone spoke and voted against the proposal. The decision of the Tribunal, given on May 3, was communicated on May 4 to the Senate, which replied to the message of

April 25 as follows: "Glory, gratitude, devotion, reason, the interests of the State, all unite to proclaim Napoleon hereditary Emperor."

For some days Bonaparte was engaged in dawdling up, with the aid of his policy council, a new constitutional instrument, which was approved by the Council of State on May 15, and laid before the Senate three days later. After a short debate, the Senate passed the measure, which thus became the "Organic Senate Constitution of 58 Floréal, year XII" (May 15, 1804). By Clause 1, the "government of the Republic is entrusted to an Emperor, who takes the title of Emperor of the French." By Clause 2, "Napoleon Bonaparte, now First Consul of the Republic, is Emperor of the French." By Clause 3, "the Imperial dignity is declared hereditary." So soon as the vote had been given, the Senate met in a body to be closed; and then Cambacérès, Second Consul and President of the Senate, hailed Napoleon by the title of "Imperial Majesty."

A fresh plebiscite, ordered by a decree of May 19, was to give its sanction to the Imperial Constitution. Meanwhile the trial of the conspirators went on. There is no doubt that many of them were put to the torture in prison. Fouché died there on April 18, whether he was murdered, after being tortured to no purpose, or committed suicide, we cannot say. During the trial Moreau refused his quiet self-questioning, and his replies were repeatedly applauded. Cadoudal showed courage and firmness. The judges were at first, by seven votes to five, in favour of acquitting Moreau, but Savary and Jéze, who watched the proceedings from an adjoining room, induced them to reconsider their decision. In the end, the court sentenced Cadoudal and nineteen of his companions to death; Moreau, Jéze de Polignac, and three others, were condemned to two years' imprisonment; the rest were acquitted or sent before another tribunal. Bonaparte eventually agreed to pardon Moreau. Yielding to Josephine's entreaties, he consented, for imprisonment, the death sentences passed on eight of the accused, viz. Lajolais, Rivière, Armand de Polignac, and the other members of the nobility who were implicated with Cadoudal. The conspirators of common birth were executed, with their leader, on June 18, and on the following day Moreau sailed for America. The result of the plebiscite was not published till November 25, when the corrected figures gave 3,573,319 "yes" against 1,549 "noes." "We have done more than we hoped to do," Cadoudal had said in prison, "we meant to give France a King, and we have given her an Emperor."

Such was in fact the final outcome of the Consulate. From 58 Brumaire onwards Bonaparte had ruled without ceasing at the reorganisation of France, but always with a view to his own interest. Hence the double aspect of the whole history of the Consulate. On the one hand, there is Bonaparte's continuous ascent to supreme power. Profiting as much by the general feeling of weakness as by the popular enthusiasm which he aroused, he forced his way, by a series of small steps *d'état*, by slight breaches of the Constitution, by ministerialty, by the greed and the



deeds which he excited, and by the over-riding personal influence which he exercised on those around him. His policy was at once very simple and highly diversified. He pointed to holding himself aloof from party; he belonged "neither to the Red Sheep nor to the Red Caps," to quote the picturesque phrase of a contemporary writer; he was "neither royalist, nor republican"; he meant that there should be but one party in France—his own. But in the rapid development of his policy he showed marvellous versatility. During the Provisional Consulate he maintained a waiting attitude. Afterwards, down to Marseilles, his aim was to bring about pacification, either by repression or by milder methods. Between Marseilles and the Peace he maintained order and laboured systematically to reconcile the old France and the new. After the Peace and the Consulate for Life there was a halt in his triumphal progress, which gave him time to prepare for the Empire.

On the other hand, it was Bonaparte who directed the reorganization of France; and never perhaps in history was a work so formidable accomplished so quickly. Order and regularity were established in every branch of the administration. The greater part of the institutions founded during the Consulate have survived to the present day; and it is no exaggeration to state that it was Bonaparte who created contemporary France. For the very reason, however, the Consular system weighed heavily on France during the nineteenth century. Devoted by one man for his own ends, concentrating everything at Paris, leaving in the provinces at large neither liberty nor initiative, and affecting a democracy just the better to crush democracy itself, it deranged the political balance of the country and for a long time paralyzed the national spirit. From the civil and economic point of view, Bonaparte continued the work of the Revolution: all Frenchmen retained their equality before the law; and those who had become owners of national property were secured in their possessions. But, from the political point of view, Bonaparte restored the arbitrary traditions of the old monarchy, and often his institutions were more oppressive of the people. The Council of State and the King's Council, prefects and subprefects, sub-prefects and sub-delegates, the Prefect of Police and the Lieutenant-General of Police, the *deuts républicains* and the *maires*, are but brothers and sisters, the children of one father—who is no other than absolutism. And the consequence is that, although starting from the Consulate, the history of France during the nineteenth century has been, in many respects, nothing but a long and tedious reaction against the system created by Bonaparte.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE ARMED NEUTRALITY.

## PART I.—THE BALTIC POWERS (1790-1801).

On November 17, 1796, Catharine II died. Paul Petrovitch was proclaimed as Tsar of the Russia. During the long and disastrous reign of his mother, Paul had been rigidly excluded from all government affairs. A man of forty-two at the time of Catharine's death, he had been kept for years in a condition of tutelage. While prisoner, workhouse, and foreign ambassadors were according to the toilet-dresses of a Petushkin or a Flacon Zakhoff, the heir to the throne was devoid of all political influence. His very children were reared from his control on their birth, and educated without reference to his wishes. Exposed at the Winter Palace or at Tsarskoe Selo to the humiliation of the presence of the numerous favorites of Catharine and covertly jibed at in the circle surrounding the Empress, Paul avoided the Court. Living during the summer at his country-house, Pavlovsk, during the autumn at another country place, Gatchina, he nursed himself after the fashion of his father. Just as Peter III had had his Holstein guards drilled after the pattern of Frederick the Great, so Paul, indulged by Catharine with the title of Grand Admiral and with permission to retain in service some battalions of musketeers, had set up a small army which he clothed and drilled on the Prussian model.

It would have been a powerful or singularly sweet nature which should have induced menaced the position of the Grand Duke Paul. Paul's nature was not of the equable, forgiving type. It was marked by many of the worst peculiarities of the murdered Peter III and of Peter the Great. He was morose, stiff, narrow-minded, and given to sudden fierce gusts of wild, unreconciling passion. He was capricious, erratic, unstable, varying from point to point with each changing mood and influence. Not perhaps naturally cruel, and capable at times of thoughts and deeds of generous charity, he was a bitter and vindictive enemy. Evil spirits were had back, ready to suggest to Paul that the empire reaved by his mother was rightly his own; but the Grand Duke had been possessed of sufficient wisdom to refrain from any overt attempt against Catharine's rule. The poison had, nevertheless, not been without

its effect. Mother and son were divided; and, in the later years of Catherine, the estrangement became ever more acute. It was universally believed at St. Petersburg that, at the time of her sudden decease, she was on the point of promulgating an edict nominating her grandson Alexander as her successor, to the exclusion of Paul.

Then an explanation is found for the first internal legislative act of Paul's reign, and for the trend of his earliest proceedings. Immediately after his coronation, an Imperial edict declared the order of succession to the Russian throne to be that of primogeniture from male to male in the direct line. A deep seated hostility against the confidence and conceptions of his mother constituted the first key to his initial policy. "Never was there any change of scene at a theatre so sudden and so complete as the change of affairs at the accession of Paul I. In less than a day costumes, manners, occupations, all were changed." So writes the future minister of Alexander, the great Pole, Adam George Czartoryski. The army of Catherine made its ceremonious entry into St. Petersburg; its rank and file were distributed among the existing Imperial Guards, in which corps its officers received high promotion. The aristocratic gentlemen, who had made merry with the Catherine fairs, found themselves suddenly under its heel. The military profession became a real thing. Favored courtiers who had attended drill once a year, and old officers who had never suet powder, whilst yet imagining that Russian troops could march anywhere, were called out for daily military parades under a martinet discipline. The dress and accoutrements of the Prussian army superseded the old Russian equipments. (1796)

The Court was revolutionized. Platon Zuboff was permitted to write to his Lithuanian estates; his brother Nicholas was actually promoted; but the dramatic incident of the extinguishing of the coffin of Peter III. at the Alexander Nevski Convent, and its consequent to the Winter Palace to be by that of Catherine, when Prince Bariatinski and Adam Czartoryski were compelled to watch by its side, and to walk behind it—well both Imperial corpses were laid in the same vault, struck the note of the new reign. Count Beshobrodin, close amongst the trusted associates of Catherine, was singled out for continued confidence; and Beshobrodin was believed to have earned the title of Prince and the marquis's gift which the Empress showered upon him, by handing over to Paul no less a document than the decree whereby Catherine had proposed, on her next birthday, to declare his exclusion from the throne. Beshobrodin was entrusted with the conduct of foreign affairs. Beshobrodin, who had been crafty enough to select from the Grand Duke an heir—heavy the privileges of wearing the Catherine uniform, became Minister of War. Arakcheyev, a poor artillery captain of 37 years of age, who had earned Paul's gratitude by organizing his tiny Catherine battery, took charge of the police as Commandant of the capital. Paul's friendship with Catherine and Schilt to Peter III were the first passports to distinction.

Now was it the Court only that felt the change. Russia in general specially realised the worst that had been prophesied of Paul. That he should attempt to introduce order into Russian finance, and that corrupt officials, alike in St Petersburg and in the provinces, should learn to tremble at his name, was only too desirable; but in other directions his domestic changes were less satisfactory. Paul was a born despot, and had the old Russian sense of his own dignity. Not only was a stilted court ceremonial introduced and enforced with a rigor which made each day's attendance a dangerous ordeal for the trembling courtiers, but in the streets of the capital the signs of the basest subservience were enacted by the new Tsar. Princes and ladies were compelled to descend from their vehicles into the snow to salute the passing Imperial carriages. At the coronation at Moscow, the Polish war then being relegated to a side gallery; and, when the unhappy Stanislas, ill and wounded by the moderate length of the ceremonial, ventured to sit down, a messenger sent directly by Paul compelled him to stand during the remainder of the service. The atmosphere of disguised pity and kindly familiarity, which had surrounded Catherine, was exchanged for a reign of terror.

In his early dealings with foreign Powers, Paul's proceedings were not unmarked by wisdom. He recalled the Russian forces from Persia and Georgia. He released Potocki and other distinguished Polish prisoners. He invited Stanislas to St Petersburg and received him with royal honors. He even went so far as to express to Koscusko his personal disapproval of the partition of Poland. He instructed Osterman to announce by circular to foreign Courts a policy of peace. Russia, and Russia alone, he said, had been engaged since 1756 in war. The action was exhausted; he could not refuse to his subjects the repose for which they sighed. He would remain faithful to Russia's alliance, and oppose by all possible means the purposes of the mad French Republic, but he could not in the first days of his reign send a Russian army beyond his borders. Kalchberg, dispatched to Berlin, was commissioned to declare that the new Emperor sought neither conquest nor aggrandizement; he was even permitted to inform Caulard, Ambassador at the Prussian Court, that the Tsar did not consider himself at war with France, that he was disposed to live on friendly terms with her, that he would engage her often to hasten to conclude the war, and would offer Russian mediation for the purpose. The Baltic policy of Catherine was confirmed. The close relations of friendship with Austria remained, which had been rebuilt by Catherine, were naturally renewed; General Grigori Golovkin was sent to Stockholm to announce the accession of Paul; and advantage was taken of the occasion to negotiate negotiations for the match between the Swedish King and the Grand Duchess Alexandra. In these proceedings, the Russian Maria and Alexander were, Malmsholm, Holzhoff, who continued to exercise considerable restraining influence on the mind of Paul, lent their aid.

Paul was as good as his word. The Russian squadron, which had been co-operating with the British in the North Sea and the Channel, was recalled. The design of despatching a Russian army of 60,000 men to the Rhine, which Catherine had been nursing, was dropped. The oppressive customs of recruiting which she had enforced was given up. But there was no slackening of vigilance against the progress of French republican principles. Hostility to the French Revolution was, indeed, a religion with Paul; it has been rightly recognised as the dominant principle of his reign. When, in his later days, he bent towards Bonaparte, it was because he recognised in him the most powerful foe of Jacobinism. Russian subjects were recalled forthwith by Paul from western travel. A strict censorship, directed against revolutionary principles, was imposed upon the theatre and the press. Foreigners entering Russia were required to present passports attested by a Bourbon Prince. In certain directions Paul's violence against Parisian manners under the new régime was more and even went to the level of cruelty. Freeloading, wastefulness, and high rollers were denounced as symbols of licentiousness. The unhappy master of a round hat was chased by the police in the streets of the capital and outposted at the nearest guard-house. Even the ambassador Whitworth found it necessary to change his headgear.

It was impossible that a ruler with Paul's want of mental balance should succeed in avoiding for any long period serious contention, international or domestic. His first diplomatic failure was with Sweden.

Gustavus III and Catherine II had made peace at Wardö in August, 1790. Gustavus, in his eagerness to engage in active opposition against revolutionary France, had shown a desire to compose his differences with his nearest foe. The outcome was the defensive Treaty of Drottningholm, October 19, 1791. Gustavus required money for his proposed campaign. He had inextricably lost the subsidies formerly contributed from Versailles to impoverished Sweden: he obtained by the treaty the financial aid of Russia. In the course of the negotiation, Gustavus formulated the suggestion of a marriage between his heir and the Grand Duchess Alexandra, the daughter of Paul and the favourite grand-daughter of Catherine. The dowry of a Russian Grand Duchess was a matter of serious consideration for Sweden.

The assassination of Gustavus (March, 1792) shook the Swedish monarchy, whose power had recently been on the increase, and put an end to the anti-French projects of Sweden. The Regent, Charles of Sudermania, took a different line from his predecessor in international politics. Baron Benzelstierna, who was recalled to Court as the Regent's confidential adviser, was a devoted Lutheran priest, who, having been in Paris during the revolutionary ferment, had, seemingly without much warrant, earned the reputation of a Jacobin. Returning to Stockholm, he played with France and intrigued with the Porte against Russia. Catherine II was speedily made aware of Sweden's return to her old

paths; but Count Stackelberg, the Russian Minister at Stockholm, was instructed to keep on foot the negotiations for the proposed marriage. Stackelberg represented somewhat strongly against the desirability of the Regent with Constantinople, and his mail was demanded (May, 1780), while Catherine on her side stopped the Swedish subsidy. Though the marriage treaty continued to be treated, various circumstances combined to widen the breach between Catherine and the Swedish Government. Baron Arnstelt, a personal enemy of Rasteborn and a Russian sympathiser, leaked a plot against the Regent. The conspiracy was discovered. Arnstelt escaped, and ultimately took refuge in the dominions of Catherine, who haughtily refused his extradition. The Regent retaliated by publicly announcing in Stockholm a match between Gustavus Adolphus and a Princess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The French party was again in the ascendant in the Swedish capital.

Catherine II started herself to stare off this diplomatic duel. It was at length announced that Gustavus IV Adolphus would, in company with his uncle, visit St. Petersburg. The Regent and Rasteborn suddenly displayed seeming eagerness for the Russian marriage. The visit was duly paid. The preliminaries were apparently arranged to mutual satisfaction; the day of the formal betrothal was fixed, and the company actually assembled for the ceremony. But the bridegroom came not. He had refused to sign the document dictated by Catherine and presented to him at the last moment, whereby the future Russian Queen of Sweden was to be permitted the free exercise of the Orthodox faith. The Regent and Rasteborn had only too easily judged the character of the young Swedish King. Reputed a prodigy of learning, he was greedy, narrow-minded, irrevocably obstinate, and a fanatic in religion. Moreover he was as little ready as was his father to stomach the attitude of superiority which was assumed by Catherine towards decaying Sweden. The marriage negotiations were abruptly broken off. The excitement caused by this incident was the immediate cause of the apoplectic seizure which carried off Catherine.

That Paul should have offered the *porcupine* to be married afforded strong testimony of his desire to be on good terms with his Swedish neighbours. Golovkin, despatched to Stockholm in the first instance to announce the accession of the new Tsar, started himself to reopen the marriage treaty. He met with an absolute rebuff. The position of either party had in fact changed in the least since the catastrophe of October—November, 1786. Gustavus Adolphus endeavoured to atone for his treatment of Golovkin by a civil communication to Paul; but the Tsar's patience was at an end. Golovkin was recalled; the Swedish agent, Klingensperre, was ordered to leave St. Petersburg; and the match was finally at an end (March, 1787). Gustavus IV Adolphus married Frederica Dorothea of Baden (October 31, 1787), whilst the Grand Duke Alexander found a husband in Austria.

The attitude of Paul towards France did not remain long unchanged. His initial bias was against the republican government. On their side, the Directory displayed no consistent attitude for cultivating the friendship of the energetic and capricious Tsar. The magnificent career of Bonaparte in Italy, closing with the Peace of Campo Formio (October 17, 1797), made them less careful of Russian susceptibilities. The possession by the French of the Ionian Islands conflicted with Russian schemes of future Mediterranean aggrandisement. On the other hand, Austria was little content either with the peace or with the action of the French negotiation at Rastatt; whilst England, whose peace negotiations at Lille (June–September, 1797) had failed, was willing enough to secure a powerful, active ally. Already on February 21, 1797, the signature of a treaty of commerce marked the progress made at St Petersburg by British diplomacy. Whitworth endeavoured dully to involve Paul in German politics as guarantor of the Peace of Tilsit; the Tsar took the bait; and the refusal of the French to admit his representative, Rasumovski, to the deliberations at Rastatt was a severe blow to the imperial power-propos.

In January, 1797, Paul embarked upon that petstrophe of the Knights of St John which lent a singular colour to his whole remaining career. Years later, Alexander I affected to have disapproved in the proceeding on the part of his father a war design to knit together all the nobility of Europe in an alliance of loyalty and honour against the heresies of those squabbling ideas which were attacking and undermining all roots of society. Paul was, in a word, an eighteenth century Crusader. While not sharing Catherine's pseudo-chivalry, Paul had all her willingness to share in European politics, a willingness which, in her case, had produced the mediation of Tilsit and the First Armed Neutrality. At one period in her career, Catherine, in pursuance of her anti-Turkish designs, had endeavoured to establish useful relations with Malta, and her heir had been reared to enthusiasm for the Knights of St John by the perusal of Voltaire's history.

Shortly after Paul's accession, the *Beats* of the Order, Count Guido Litta, appeared at St Petersburg with a petition for the reestablishment of a Grand Priory of the Knights which had formerly been headed without much success in Volynia. On January 15, 1797, Paul entered into a convention with Litta; he reestablished the Order in his dominions, and endowed it with large resources. Cardinal Litta, Papal Nuncio in St Petersburg, worked hard in hand with his brother in pursuance of a Latin Church intrigue.

The Grand Master, the Prince de Rohan, and the Jesuit Fathers were alike looking to find their account in St Petersburg. Rohan nominated Count Litta an ambassador of the Knights to the Russian Court, offered Paul the title of Protector of the Order, and sent him La Valletta's name. Paul accepted the offer with enthusiasm (November—

December, 1797). Already in February, 1797, Bonaparte had captured at Ancona despatches of Paul which revealed a design on the part of the Tsar to seize Malta. When the news arrived of the surrender of Malta to the French in June, 1798, the Russian Knights met, declared the deposition of the treacherous emperor of Bohemia, the Grandmaster Baron Hapsburg, and threw themselves upon the grace of Paul. By an act signed on September 14, 1798, Paul proclaimed his determination to take the Order under his supreme direction, promising not only to maintain its privileges but to establish it in its ancient splendour.

On October 21, 1798, the Knights pushed their cause by electing Paul to the Grand Mastership. The little, ungainly Tsar of Orthodox Moscow assumed the language of the headship of the great medieval Latin Crusading Order, created a second Grand Prince for Russia, inaugurated a pompous ceremonial of initiation, and decorated his favorites with brightly uniform and crosses. Any diplomacy would be unfortunate which should come adrift with a cross. The Elector of Bavaria having declined to recognize the new Grand Master, his representative at St Petersburg was Katsaroff arrested and conducted to the frontier by Cossacks. Meanwhile the French Directors had been adding further fuel to the fire of Paul's resentment. They authorized the called *Duchakowia* to collect Polish legions in Italy. Nikita Potemotch Fomin, the Russian representative at Berlin, intercepted (January, 1798) a French despatch wherein there was talk of the revival of an independent Poland. Paul, on his part, had furnished cause of offence to France. He had taken into his pay (December, 1797) Gode's corps of *ouffres*, which had been discharged from the Austrian establishment after the signature of the Peace of Campo Formio, and had established Louis XVIII in the palace of the old Duke of Courland at Mitau with a pension of 800,000 roubles (February, 1798). On the part of Paul, there were mere acts of chivalry; but for the French they were nevertheless a look of hostility. A Russian squadron joined the fleet under Lord Duncan in July. When word reached St Petersburg that a French expedition was fitting out at Toulon, Paul, suspecting that he might be the object of attack, caused the Russian Black Sea coast to be put in a state of defence. Negotiations were opened with Vienna for a new coalition against France.

A palace revolution at St Petersburg quickened the course of events. Katsaroff, Paul's Turkish valet, had obtained over his master's mind an influence well-nigh magical. Without troubling himself to enmesh upon the uncertain tide of political affairs, Katsaroff was open to trade with confidence for place. Mademoiselle Nalidoff, in an evil hour, induced Paul to dismiss Rostopchin, the eldest of the new ministers, from the charge of the War Department, and to substitute in his room her own nephew. Rostopchin, banished to Moscow, found means to ally himself with Katsaroff, who looked askance at the rival influence of Mademoiselle



Schidloff. A deft suggestion that the world regarded Paul as its future leading-strings excited the ire of the Tsar. The introduction to Court of a young beauty, Mademoiselle Legobbin, did the rest. The star of the Empress and her satellites paled. Rostopchin came back to St. Petersburg to take charge of foreign affairs. It was Rostopchin who was the soul of the Russian alliance with Paul.

The campaigns of the Second Coalition and the sources of the entanglement of Paul from Austria have been described in a previous volume. When Gerdorf led back the remains of his gallant army into Russia in the autumn of 1798, all Russia accused the Austrians of treachery. To Paul's anger at political betrayal was added the fury of personal resentment. His favourite daughter, the Grand Duchess Alexandra, had, after the failure of the Swedish match, married the Archduke Joseph, Prince Palatine of Hungary. The jealousy of the Empress drove the beautiful Russian from the Austrian Court. When Paul heard of this, his rage was boundless. For a time British diplomacy prevented a violent explosion; but, long before the insult offered to the Russian flag on the capitulation of Ancona (November 29, 1798) had become known in St. Petersburg, Cobenzl, challenged by Paul to answer, "without if or but," whether Austria would restore the Pope and the King of Sicily to their dominions and sovereignty, had failed to give a satisfactory reply and been rebuked by the Court; and the troops of Gerdorf had begun their homeward march through Bohemia and Moravia. The sole result for Russia of the campaign of 1799 was the conquest of the Ionian Islands in alliance with the Turks. Paul longed to avenge himself upon Austria. He was still willing to act against France, but it must be with other allies. He proposed a new coalition formed of the northern Powers, to the exclusion of Austria. But for such a league neither Prussia nor England was prepared.

Many tokens of defiance between England herself and Russia were not wanting. The combined Anglo-Russian expedition in Holland was a total failure. The Russians had suffered heavily; and the Duke of York capitulated at Alkmaar (October 18). On October 8, 1799, Bonaparte landed at Palermo. On November 2 (18 Brumaire, year VIII) the Directory was overthrown; and on the next day the Consulate was established. The eagle eye of Bonaparte took in at a glance the political situation. His first thought was to entice Prussia from her attitude of neutrality; his next to drive off Paul from the Coalition. The first approach to Paul was made through Hamburg; but negotiations were treated in Berlin, whither Paul had sent Kaulbar as agent to restore friendly relations with Frederick William. In Malta, then close pressed by a British squadron, Bonaparte recognised the inevitable apple of discord between England and Russia. He offered, should the garrison be compelled by famine to evacuate the place, to hand over the island to the Tsar as Grand Master of the Knights of St. John. No suggestion

could have been better fitted for its purpose. The victory of Marengo (June 14, 1800) had fixed the admission of Paul upon Bonaparte. Shortly afterwards the wily First Consul belied yet another lie. The British Government had declined to receive in exchange for French prisoners Russians who had been captured in Holland and elsewhere. Bonaparte offered to restore without ransom the Russian prisoners, some 6000 in number, as a particular mark of his esteem for the brave Russian troops, and of his desire to please the Tsar. He made known his recognition of the labours taken by Paul in Sardania, Naples, and Rome. Paul was measured aside through his shrewdly and his moderate pride. General Spangenberg was despatched (October 16) to Paris to open, under cover of restoring the Russian prisoners, direct negotiations with the First Consul. He was received by Bonaparte on December 6th.

Meanwhile, on September 5, 1800, Malta capitulated; but the British Government showed no disposition to surrender the island to the Tsar. Paul's anger found vent in the *Second Armed Neutrality*.

For the initial conception of this league it is necessary to go back twenty years. In 1793 Great Britain was at war with her revivied American colonies, with France, and with Spain. The commerce of neutral Powers must always suffer more or less at the hands of powerful naval belligerents. Such belligerents had always claimed the right to capture at sea, not only the public property of a hostile State, but the private property of hostile vessels found on the high sea under a hostile flag. They had assumed, in the exercise of the right of blockade, authority to cut off all approach by sea to certain ports and coast-lines; and they had seized, as contraband, goods of various kinds when carried on the high sea to a hostile destination, even when under a neutral flag. Until the close of the first half of the eighteenth century, they had claimed and exercised, without general protest, the power to capture on the high sea hostile property, though laden on board neutral merchantmen. Finally, in order to secure their rights in these and other particulars, they had assumed a right of visit and search over all merchantmen encountered on the high sea.

The interests of belligerent and neutral in respect of these positions were obviously divergent. It was to the interest of the belligerent to spread the net wide; it was to the interest of the trader to secure the closest freedom of traffic. So early as the seventeenth century the Dutch, as great seafarers, made it a point of diplomacy to secure by special treaties with various Powers the recognition of the principle "*free ships, free goods*," i.e. that the neutral flag exempts from seizure ordinary belligerent property laden thereunder. Frederick the Great had endeavoured, with indifferent success, to erect the principle into an universal rule. In a spirit dictated by less purely selfish considerations, various treaties had been contracted for the definition of contraband, and for the determination of the rights and duties of the neutral merchant in general. The

shippers of the Baltic coast mainly in articles which were of direct belligerent utility—timber, tar, hemp, cordage, and provisions. The leading exports of Russia included cereals, leather, iron, hemp, oil-seeds, pitch and tar; Sweden and Germany traded in similar products; and Denmark exported provisions. It was natural that these Powers should feel with particular acuity the restrictions imposed alike by Great Britain and by her opponents in the naval contest arising out of the American struggle for independence. The practice of Great Britain was based upon the medieval *Consuetudo del Mare* and the precedents of several centuries; the practice of France and Spain, embodied in various royal instructions and in particular in a French ordinance of 1681, was even more severe.

Out of these circumstances the pathway of two chiefs for Catherine II's favour opened the First Armed Neutrality. Sir James Harris was seeking to draw Catherine more closely into a British alliance; and Potemkin was apparently supporting him. They sought to make capital of some Spanish misbehaving of Russian commerce in the Mediterranean. Nika Ivanovitch Psaki, whose star was paling before that of Potemkin, replied with a scheme which, while it offered to Catherine the proud position of the protectress of the north, struck hard, under cover of rules of general application, at the naval power of Great Britain. On February 28, 1786, a circular declaration was forwarded to foreign Courts, wherein Catherine announced certain principles "founded on the primitive law of peoples," which she proposed in future to defend by sailing out, if necessary, her maritime force. These principles were, in brief: (1) that neutral vessels may navigate freely from port to port, and on the coasts of nations at war; (2) that belligerent merchandise, with the exception of contraband, is protected by the neutral flag; (3) that the character of a blockaded port belongs only to that before which there is a force of vessels, anchored and sufficiently near to make the attempt to enter manifestly dangerous; (4) that the nature of contraband is strictly defined. Each of these principles pointed to a possible real clash of belligerent power. They were designed to reflect upon, and could in fact be turned against, certain features of the British maritime practice which, however, admitted of serious defence; namely, the legal principle known as "the Rule of 1756," the doctrine of Occasional Contraband, and the contention that a notice sent by a government to neutral Powers that a blockading squadron is on its coast constitutes a sufficient warning of the existence of a blockade. Gustavus III. of Sweden, personally piqued against George III., and ready to revive his waning popularity with his Swedish subjects by becoming the champion of greater neutral trading freedom, quickly ranged himself with Catherine. Denmark was yet more prompt. Bernstorff, in a state-paper of May, 1786, declared the Baltic closed to the armed vessels of belligerent Powers. By a series of conversations

signed at Copenhagen and St. Petersburg, a league was established between the three Powers for the common support of the cause. Thus the First Armed Neutrality came into being (1780). France and Spain hailed Catherine's programme with more enthusiasm than regard for any danger. Holland, Prussia, Austria, Portugal, and the Two Sicilies, in the course of three years, successively acceded to the league. Great Britain accepted herself with commendable skill. She replied in studied tones of courtesy to the communications of the Northern Powers; she anticipated the accession of the States General to the Armed Neutrality by a declaration of war; and the Dutch, receiving no notice from Catherine, were severely punished.

The First Armed Neutrality, as an onslaught upon British naval power, was a failure. The long-standing commercial tie which bound the two countries was too close to admit of Catherine embroiling herself with England in pursuit of what for her was little more than a crusade of empty glory. The efforts of Gustavus III. to bring about the meeting of an international congress, by which the principles of the Neutral League should be embodied as a maritime code, were fruitless. When the revolutionary war broke out, the Powers of the Armed Neutrality, as they became involved in the struggle, threw their principles to the winds. Catherine herself united with England in the endeavour to prevent other "Powers not implicated in this war from giving, on this occasion of common concern to every civilized State, any protection whatever, directly or indirectly, in consequence of their neutrality, to the commerce or property of the French on the sea or in the ports of France" (Convention of March 16, 1793). Spain, Prussia, and Portugal entered into similar undertakings. A Russian fleet cruising in the Baltic and the North Sea arrested all neutral vessels bound for French ports, and compelled them either to return or make for a neutral harbour. Ground between the upper millstone of the allied Powers and the gather of French retaliatory measures, the neutral States suffered severely; and in March, 1794, Denmark and Sweden were constrained to form an alliance for the common defence of their trade.

But the loom of the First Armed Neutrality had not been entirely lost. Various treaties adopting its principles had been made between 1763 and 1769, and, down to and throughout the dark days of the revolutionary struggle, one Power remained true to its allegiance. Denmark, under the guidance of Andreas Pöten, Count Bernstorff, an honest, penetrating patriot, remained consistently neutral, and a bold and firm supporter of the claims of neutral nations. A new item was now added to the programme of the neutral States. In 1783 an old dispute was revived between England and the Scandinavian Powers. Queen Christina, the daughter of the great Gustavus, had in 1659 advanced the pretension that the declaration of a neutral quarrying office as to the character of the cargoes of the vessels under its survey

should invalidate the right of search, and the Dutch had occasionally ventured to advocate this contention. By Great Britain, as by other strong naval Powers, the contention was always repelled. When, in 1780, the suggestion was again brought forward by Gustavus III., Catherine declared that the principle contended for was implied in her programme, and she included it in her treaties.

In 1789 the convoys of the Dnepr and Swedia were largely increased, in consequence of renewed activity on the part of the French Directory; and this particular question rapidly assumed importance. In January, 1794, a large company of Swedish merchantmen bound for the Mediterranean, under the convoy of a Swedish frigate, was stopped in the Channel by a British squadron under Commodore Lysterfield, and, on offering a show of forcible opposition to search, the merchantmen were brought in for adjudication. In June, 1799, in the case of the *Maria*, one of the captured vessels, Sir William Scott, the famous admiralty judge, after the production of the Swedish official instructions which expressly prohibited submission to search, pronounced sentence of condemnation on the broad general ground of submission to the assertion of "an incontestable right of the lawfully commissioned cruisers of a belligerent nation." With Denmark the question was debated in a yet more striking fashion. In December, 1799, the commander of a Danish convoying frigate fired upon British boats which were endeavouring to search vessels under his charge off Gibraltar. Marry, the British chargé d'affaires at Copenhagen, demanded an explanation. Count Strarup, far from disavowing the proceedings of the officer, defended his conduct and called upon the British Government for reparation. This affair was still under discussion, when in July, 1800, in similar circumstances, the *Fryge*, a Danish frigate, was captured with the six vessels under her convoy, after a smart action with a British squadron in the English Channel. The Danish Government demanded the immediate restitution of the vessels and prompt satisfaction for what they deemed a signal insult to the honour of their flag. The reply of Great Britain was the immediate despatch of Lord Whitworth to Copenhagen, while a British fleet under Admiral Elton entered the Sound. A body and presumptory interchange of state papers ensued. Neither party would state its pretensions; but at length mild demands prevailed, and on August 23, 1800, a convention was arrived at whereby Great Britain restored the *Fryge* and the other captured ships, and on her side Denmark agreed to suspend for the present the grant of convoy.

Denmark, as was natural, had communicated early with Russia. Paul's indignation against Great Britain was already rising fast. Earlier in the year he had dreamed of a Northern League against France; he now fell back upon his mother's diplomacy and launched his bolt at his late ally. On August 27, 1800, he issued a declaration wherein, after referring to the *Fryge* incident, he invited the monarchs of Prussia,

Denmark, and Sweden to unite with him in the re-establishment of the principles of the Armed Neutrality in their full force, and announced his determination to place his subjects and those of his allies "out of the reach of a similar violation of the right respected by every people." When news arrived that a British squadron had passed the Sound, Paul ordered the requisitioning of all British property found within his dominions (August 26). The signature of the Anglo-Danish convention temporarily frustrated his plans; then Malta fell, and Paul was thoroughly aroused. On November 7, 1809, the Count Gurov of St. Petersburg announced the imposition of an embargo on British vessels in Russian ports, to be maintained until such time as the island of Malta should be surrendered to the Order of St. John. The crews of two British vessels having successfully resisted the execution of this decree and made their escape from the port of Narva, the Tsar ordered the burning of a third vessel which had remained in the harbour. Many British seamen were marched as prisoners into the interior of Russia, and were exposed to terrible hardships.

Other Powers contributed to inflame the fury of Paul to the point of madness. On September 4, a British squadron cut out two Spanish frigates from the port of Barcelona. The Spaniards declared that in this action use had been made of a neutral Swedish galley, and preferred a wholly respectable demand that the captured ships should be restored by Sweden. Prussia supported the Spaniards in their claim. On November 23, the Prussian Government took possession of Cuxhaven, on the pretext that a British cruiser, driven with its Prussian prize into that neutral port by storm of weather, had thereby violated the neutrality of northern Germany, of which neutrality Frederick William openly declared for himself the rôle of protector. The Tsar's brain was whirling. With one hand he drew together his Baltic neighbours; the other he held out to Bonaparte.

Gustave IV. Adolphus, who on attaining his majority had repudiated the Bonaparte Alliance, hurried in person to St. Petersburg, where he arrived on November 22. Within a few days' time (December 14-15, 1809) a series of treaties knit together Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia in the Second Armed Neutrality. Rashtropkin was the Russian negotiator. The articles agreed on were, in effect, as follows:

(1) Every neutral vessel may navigate freely from port to port and on the coasts of nations at war.

(2) Goods belonging to subjects of the belligerent Powers, with the exception of contraband, are free on neutral vessels.

(3) In order to determine what characterizes a blockaded port, this designation shall be given only to one where there exists, owing to the blockade being maintained by vessels anchored and sufficiently near, an evident danger in entering; and no vessel navigating towards a blockaded port shall be regarded as having contravened the present

conviction, unless she shall, after having been warned by the commander of the blockading squadron, attempt to enter by force or stratagem.

(4) Neutral vessels can be arrested only for just cause and on view of evident facts; they shall be adjudicated upon without delay, the procedure followed shall be uniform, prompt and legal, and on each occasion, over and above the compensation awarded to those who have suffered loss without having been in fault, there shall be granted complete satisfaction for the trouble done to the neutral flag.

(5) The declaration of the officer, commanding the vessel or vessels of the Royal or Imperial Marine, accompanying the convey of one or more merchant vessels, that his convey has not on board any contraband merchandise, shall suffice to prevent any visit on board his vessel or any vessel of his convey.

These principles of 1800 differed from those proclaimed in 1780 in (1) the addition of the article touching convey; (2) the greater stringency with regard to what constitutes a valid blockade; (3) the provision as to the necessity for formal apology to the neutral flag.

Napoleon was eagerly watching the course of events in the north. On December 7, 1800, he instructed Talleyrand to announce to neutral and allied Powers "that the French Government, having principally at heart to oppose the invasion of the sea and to co-operate with neutral Powers in ensuring their flags to be respected, and appreciating the truly patriotic zeal of the Emperor of Russia for the common cause of all Continental Powers, will not treat for peace with England until, these sacred principles having been recognized, the Russian, Danish, Swedish, American, and Prussian flags shall be respected on the sea as the vessels of these Powers are on land, and until England shall have acknowledged that the sea belongs to all nations." On January 20, 1801, on hearing of the British embargo on Russian vessels, the First Consul forbade forthwith any capture of Russian ships, declared that he regarded the Republic as already at peace with the Tsar, and attributed only to the great distance which separated the two countries the delay in the formal signature of a treaty.

On January 18, Paul despatched Kalushoff to Paris to treat definitely for peace. Great was Napoleon's excitement when he heard of this. "Peace with the Emperor is nothing in comparison with an alliance which will overcome England and preserve to us Egypt," Paul wrote to Bonaparte (January 27) suggesting a French diversion on the coast of England, a proposition to which the First Consul readily agreed. He requested Bonaparte (February 16) to concert with Spain to obtain the accession of Portugal and of the United States to the maritime prohibitions of the north. He proposed a vast scheme for the invasion of India. A Russian army under Kozlov was to march from Orenburg by way of Bokhara and Khiva; a French army under Masséna was to pass down the Danube to Taganrog, thence by the Don and the Volga to

Arctickian, whence, combined with a Russian fleet, it was to proceed by way of Hank and Candahar. The difficulties of the long journey through wild and hostile lands, difficulties which Bonaparte clearly recognised, took into consideration in the eyes of the excited Tsar. The recent peaceful amputation (January, 1801) of the territory of the Georgian prince, George the son of Heraclius, seemed to pave the way for this various campaign. The Hottentots of the East Coast actually set out on the march.

Bonaparte, on his side, was looking forward to and actively furthering the establishment of a system which aimed at the commercial exclusion of Great Britain from the Continent. The British Government, informed of what was passing, demanded an explanation from Denmark. Count Bernstorff frankly admitted that the negotiations in which the Northern Powers were engaged had for their object the preserving of the engagements of 1780, but maintained that the views of Denmark were absolutely defensive, pacific, and incapable of giving any offence, and that her accession to the Northern Alliance was in no way incompatible with the convention of August 25, 1800. The moral power of the peace-loving Christian VII was failing, but the Prince Royal supported Bernstorff in a determined stand. The British Government was not prepared to accept the Danish restrictions, however courteously urged. On January 16, 1801, an embargo was placed on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels in British ports; and a British fleet under Parker and Nelson was fitted out for the Baltic. The interested Powers prepared energetically for resistance. Denmark had not hitherto ratified unconditionally the convention of December 18: she now gave in her formal adhesion (February 17, 1801). On March 23, 1801, an embargo was placed on British vessels in Danish ports; and on the same day Danish troops entered Hamburg and declared the Elbe closed to the English. A few days later Danish troops took possession of Lübeck. On March 13 Gustavus IV Adolphus tightened his relations with St Petersburg by a new treaty of commerce, in which Paul refused himself to depart from the arrogant position of superiority which Sweden had found so objectionable in Catherine. The vacillating Government of Prussia at length abandoned its neutral attitude; Prussian troops occupied Danow and Stettin; the Wismar and the Ems were shut to British trade. The voice was the voice of the Northern League; but the hands were the hands of Bonaparte. "Every one," he wrote in his message to the Senate, February 18, 1801, "must needs be subject to the exclusive sovereignty of England! She acts against Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, because Russia, Sweden, and Denmark have entered, by treaties of guarantee, their sovereignty and the independence of their flag. The Powers of the North, unjustly offended, very rightly count on France. The French Government will avenge with them an injury common to all nations, without losing sight of the fact that it fights only for peace and the welfare of the world."



The vengeance of England fell, not on the arch-investigator, Boudier or Corcoran, but on the Danes. On March 30 Parker and Nelson forced the passage of the Sound, the task being materially facilitated by the repugnance of the Swedes, and on April 2 was fought the battle of Copenhagen. But one arch-investigator had already met his doom.

For months past the malice of Paul had been becoming more and more apparent. His wild fits of ungovernable and unceasing rage wrought havoc around him. Imperial in moments of generosity, he was terrible in his anger. There was no consistency in his favors. Undeserved degradation followed with glaring obvious promotion equally awarded. Men of all ranks were persecuted on the shadow of suspicion. Officers of the guard were locked and cuffed or confined in warehouses for the most trivial offences. Ministers were called to their estates for a chosen word. Scores of undersecretaries were despatched to Siberia. One by one, Paul drove from him his most faithful servants. Surovoff, returning from his glorious efforts in Italy, was hotly reprimanded upon a formal parchment, and sunk under the blow. Bessouloff was again exiled. The inflexible Assolinskoff was disgraced. In the provinces Paul was not unpopular. He was known to spare chances for ameliorating the lot of the serfs, and the country landowners, who was not brought into contact with his momentary misanthropy, was by no means dissatisfied with a monarch who was the terror of officials. The soldiers looked with no dislike upon the tyrant who maltreated their superiors. But in the Court, in official circles, and in the capital in general the atmosphere of suspense became unbearable. The universal fear found vent in a conspiracy.

It was not the conspiracy of a populace demanding liberty, or of politicians desiring to form new constitutions. The monarchs were indeed suffering in consequence of the cutting off of British trade, but that alone would have been of small avail to raise a Russian revolt. It was the combination of men within the Imperial circle who trembled each moment for their property and lives. Count Nikita Petrovitch Pashin, formerly Minister at Berlin and now a member of the Council for Foreign Affairs, led the way. He selected Count Fahlen, who, in addition to other high appointments, held the post of Commandant of the capital, which gave him control over the police. Fahlen, a man of iron nerve, the trusted agent of Paul, became the protector and central figure of the plot. A skillful intriguer brought about the union of the two Zakhoff, Platon and Nicholas. General Benavigne and other great officers were brought in. But without the sanction of the Grand Duke Alexander the conspirators dared not proceed. Alexander was approached. The dangers of the situation were pointed out to him. It was proposed to him that Paul should be deposed. Alexander stipulated that no badly ill should befall his father. He forgot that in a land like Russia there can be but a stop for a deposed sovereign between a prison and a grave. Still, Alexander hesitated to give the signal even for deposition. The crisis came when

it transpired through Fahlen that the Tsar was modifying the imprisonment of the Empress and her sons, and the adoption as his successor of the young Prince Eugene of Württemberg. At any moment the blow might be struck by the Tsar—at any moment Arnichewoff might be recalled, when Fahlen's ability to protect the plotters would be at an end. At two o'clock in the morning of March 25, 1801, after supping and drinking freely, two parties of officers, led by Fahlen, Beringgen, and the Zuboffs, entered the Mikhailovskii Palace. Paul I was brutally strangled; and Nicholas Zuboff reported to the horrified Alexander his accession to the throne.

The Second Armed Neutrality had received its death-blow. The spirit of the North was not crushed by the battle of Copenhagen; Sweden maintained a bold front, and Bonaparte filled the air with indignation, menacing cries. But no glimmer of Malin's dream blinded the eyes of Alexander. He made known forthwith his willingness to negotiate with England. Dumas, despatched to St. Petersburg on April 25, had soon to report that France had nothing to hope or to fear from Alexander. Under a maritime convention negotiated by Lord St. Helens with France, and signed on June 19, 1801, amicable relations were restored between Russia and Great Britain. The latter accepted verbally certain of the principles of the Armed Neutrality, namely, that neutral vessels might navigate freely to the ports and on the coasts of nations at war, that such vessels should only be stopped for just cause and in respect of evident fact; that they should be adjudicated upon without delay; and that the procedure followed should always be uniform, prompt and legal. She agreed that the right to visit merchantmen under neutral convoy should not be exercised by a privateer. But she obtained the recognition of the general right of her belligerent vessels of war to visit and search neutral convoys, of her belligerent right to capture hostile property under the neutral flag on the high sea, and of the validity of a blockade maintained by cruising ships. The convention was drafted in terms which were calculated to satisfy the amour-propre of Alexander, but the substantial fruits of victory in the maritime discussion were practically left in the hands of England. Already an end had been put to the war of hostile embargoes between Great Britain and the Baltic Powers; and Alexander had mediated the withdrawal of the Danish fleet from Hamburg (May 25). The retirement of the Prussians from Hammer and Bornen was delayed some time longer; the Swedes and the Danes for some months stood out for better terms; but on October 25, 1801, Copenhagen unwillingly adopted the convention of St. Petersburg; and on March 25, 1802, Gustavus IV Adolphus reluctantly handed in his abdication.

## Sec. II.—NAVAL OPERATIONS (1800-1).

When Napoleon set sail for Egypt in 1798, the Directory's plan of invading England was abandoned. But one of the first consequences of the success of French successes on the Continent in 1800 was that the First Consul revived the project, and in 1801 he decided to construct a flotilla of gunboats and small craft on the coast of the Channel. So little, however, was actually done that he probably only intended to use the flotilla as a means of obtaining a satisfactory peace by playing upon British fears. It was not till the summer of 1801 that the flotilla began to take serious shape. Meantime the attention of the British navy was attracted to another quarter, viz. to the Baltic. The Armed Neutrality of the Northern Powers, described above, threatened not only the commercial but the political interests of Great Britain. As these Powers possessed forty-one sail of the line as coalition for or war, the British Government at once determined to strike a vigorous blow against them, so as to render their assistance in the war with France.

A fleet of eighteen sail of the line and a number of smaller craft was hastily assembled at Yarmouth, under the orders of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson, now a Vice-Admiral, as second in command. Undoubtedly the Admiralty looked askance at Nelson, after his supposed disobedience to Keith in the Mediterranean in 1798. But this appointment of a superior officer who lacked decision and energy was a gross mistake, and came near causing a failure. Owing to Parker's delays, the expedition was slow in starting; Nelson was not admitted to his chief's confidence, and, when the Sound was reached, Parker preferred to negotiate, instead of striking, and did not listen to Nelson's suggestions and bold advice to aim the intended blow at Rosin, disengaging Denmark. Compelled to act as his superior decided, Nelson was finally entrusted with an attack on Copenhagen, where the Danes had collected a formidable flotilla to cooperate with the land defences. Their ships and ships together amounted near 700 guns.

Nelson's plan was to pass to the south of Copenhagen before a north wind, sailing through the Outer Deep, which joins the King's Channel a little to the south of Copenhagen. The King's Channel runs under the forts of the city; and he intended to move northwards up it, as soon as the wind shifted to the south. The British ships would then have their retreat secured in the event of the attack misarranging. Nelson was personally charged with the conduct of the action, which involved great hazard both from the Danish guns and from the shallow water. He sailed for ten sail of the line and was gone twelve, while

Nelson remained in reserve with eight ships, including six of light draught—a very impetuous disposition, since the first principle in war is to employ all possible force at the point of contact. For this, however, the commander-in-chief must be held responsible; he had shown so much timidity and hesitation that Nelson probably feared to share his by asking for every reasonable ship. It is also true that Nelson underestimated the strength of the Danish defence.

On April 1, 1801, Nelson's division sailed southward before a north wind to the point where the channels join below the city, and there anchored, waiting for the wind to shift. On the 2nd the change came; and about 9 a.m. the division weighed and stood up the King's Channel to attack the Danes. There were many misadventures; one ship could not weather the shoal which parted the two channels; two others ran aground through error of the pilots. But, with the rest, Nelson anchored in line parallel to the Danes, making no attempt to concentrate on a part of their force, and fought a fierce and protracted battle, in which the greater capacity to take and give hard knocks carried the day. To Parker's eye, neither seemed to be going as badly as the other. At the crisis of the battle he made signal No. 25, "Discontinue the action"; and the signal was reluctantly acted upon by Captain Ross with the smaller craft. Nelson, however, was equal to the emergency. He turned his blind eye to his telescope when the signal was reported to him, and gave orders that it should not be repeated by his ships, and that his own battle-signal, No. 16, "Engage more closely," should be kept flying. His independence was triumphantly justified. The other ships in the line did not think or obey the order to withdraw, and Parker's signal had no influence on the engagement. If executed, it would have resulted in a British defeat and in the loss of the ships which were aground. At no point in his career did Nelson give evidence of greater judgment and tenacity.

The crisis passed with the signal; the Danish fire began to slacken; and flames showed in several of the Danish ships. Unwilling to destroy the disabled vessels of the enemy's flotilla, filled as they were with wounded, anxious to avoid reflecting further injury upon a nation which he would have spared had his own policy been adopted, and, it may also be, feeling some concern for the safety of his injured or grounded vessels, he proposed to the Danes that firing should cease and that he should take possession of the prizes, threatening that if the action continued he would blow them into the air, ships and crews. A truce was arranged; Nelson took possession of the Danish fleet; and after some days of negotiating, his mingled boldness, tact, and firmness brought the Danes to consent, on April 3, to a suspension of hostilities.

The news of Parker's dilatory proceedings and of his signal reached the Admiralty at home, and led to his supersession. Nelson thereupon disbanded the movements of the fleet. There is no documentary

foundation for the story that the signal of recall was merely perfunctory, and had been arranged for beforehand. On the contrary, the evidence of journals and logs, is decidedly against such a view; and Grouse, the young admiral under Nelson, thought that, if the signal had been obeyed, the fleet would have been destroyed. His judgment as to the brilliancy of Nelson's conduct will be endorsed by posterity. "Considering," he said "the disadvantages of navigation, the approach to the enemy, their vast number of guns and mortars on both land and sea, I do not think there was ever a bolder attack." The British loss was 560 killed and severely wounded; the Danoes lost between 3000 and 3500.

There was no further fighting in the Baltic, as the death of the Tsar Paul was followed by a change in Russian policy. Nelson returned to England, and, much against his own wishes, was placed in charge of the fleet watching the French in the Channel. It was a service in which his BH was unconsciously misled, while his talents for grand strategy found in it no scope. Nor was his presence really required, for it does not appear that the Admiralty took the French preparations at all seriously. On August 13, 1801, anxious to force a decisive action, he delivered a desperate attack on the French coast at Boulogne, but was repulsed with heavy loss. In October an armistice was concluded between the two Powers, and fighting ceased.

In the Mediterranean, great efforts were made by the French to send reinforcements to Egypt and to prevent Lord Keith, the British commander-in-chief on the station, from disembarking an expeditionary force there. Rear-Admiral Ganteaume, with seven battleships of the fleet which Bruce had brought to Beut in the previous year, put to sea in January, 1801, seeking the British fleet, passed the Straits of Gibraltar without encountering, and might have stood away for Egypt, to land his 5000 troops under General Saburgut. But his fleet appears to have failed him. He steered for Toulon, fully believing that powerful British forces were pursuing him, and that Keith was in front of him. He also alleged as an excuse the many mishaps that occurred on board his ships. Jerome Bonaparte, who was on board the flagship, has given a vivid picture of the storms of the Admiral and the panic which seized him at the mere report that twelve sail had been sighted in the night. He was ordered once more to put to sea and carry out his mission, making an attempt on Porto Ferrais on the way. The attempt failed, but in June he came within 300 miles of Alexandria, and only retired when he found that the British were there in some force. He failed to land his men on the coast of Tripoli, as he had intended, since British vessels were sighted just as the disembarkation was about to begin, and in July he returned to Toulon, having captured a British line-of-battle-ship on the way westward.

In June Rear-Admiral Lincoln was ordered to sail from Toulon with three ships of the line and proceed to Cadix, thence to take under his

command six Spanish ships of the line, which had been given to France by the Spanish Government and manned with French crews. Learning, however, that the British Admiral Saunders was off Cadix with six ships of the line, Liner got into Algeiras and anchored there. As soon as Saunders knew of the arrival of the French, on July 5, he sailed for Algeiras, and on July 8 stood into Algeiras Bay and attacked Liner, who was anchored close inshore, under the protection of powerful batteries and supported by a large number of Spanish gunboats. The failure of the wind hampered the attack, and a British ship of the line, the *Furber*, ran aground and was captured by the French. Saunders sustained a distinct repulse, though he inflicted a heavier loss in men upon the French than he himself suffered. He took the battered remainder of his fleet to Gibraltar, and there refitted his ships with the utmost energy; while Liner appended to the French Rear-Admiral Dumanois le Pelley and the Spaniards at Cadix, to come at once to his help before the British should again attack him.

On July 9, a Franco-Spanish squadron of six sail, under Vice-Admiral Moussas, joined Liner at Algeiras; and on the 12th the allies sailed for Cadix, leaving behind the prize taken from the British. The allied admirals were together in a frigate; no signals for the two fleets had been hoisted. Saunders, with his five credible ships, followed them at once, and began a running action with them in the late hours of the night. A Spanish three-decker was the first ship brought to action; she speedily caught fire, and dropped astern, when she fell in with two of her comrades, which opened fire on her, mistaking her for a British vessel. As the final result of this tragic error, two great Spanish three-deckers destroyed one another, both being burnt with the greater part of their crews. A third vessel surrendered to the British after a short engagement at close quarters. The rest of the allied fleet reached Cadix after sustaining the British attack, and as this ground claimed a victory. It was a strange defeat, for the allies lost three ships and 3000 killed, wounded, and prisoners to a far inferior force, while inflicting on the British but insignificant loss. But, though Liner's fleet had not obtained any success of importance, it fought better than any French fleet in this first period of the war, and it deserves every credit for the action at Algeiras, which illustrated more the risk of attacking even an inferior enemy when covered by forts and gunboats.

## CHAPTER III

## THE PACIFICATION OF EUROPE (1799-1802).

Scarcely before the *coup d'état* of Brumaire, the President of the Directory, when celebrating the *fête* of the Tenth of August, had declared that anarchy would never again raise its head in France, and that the last had been seen of those self-styled delegates of Heaven, who held Frenchmen in subjection and looked upon the law of the land merely as the instrument of their own good pleasures. The night which men were never to see again, they saw almost immediately. France desired rest and peace, and she called Bonaparte to her aid, a man who was by nature incapable of giving her either. War was counted to the political code which Bonaparte was pursuing; for he held, as did the Directory, that the fortunes of the Republic depended on the continuous extension of its rule. The Republic, however, was henceforth to be merged in the personality of Bonaparte; and the abolition of war into a system of government was a policy which he made his own. The object in view was no longer, as it had been under the Convention, to restore to France her "natural" limits, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, but the making of fresh conquests beyond her borders. On the morning of Brumaire Napoleon proclaimed the fact to his soldiers. "Our task," he said, "is not to defend our own frontiers but to invade the territory of our foes." Moreover, in spite of his pacific assurance at the commencement of the Consulate and of his protests that the faction which he had assumed was purely civil, it was as the army that he relied for the accomplishment of "those great things" which since 1793 his ferrid and enthusiastic imagination had kept in view. At the end of 1799 the French treasury had run dry: Bonaparte proclaimed that it should be replenished with funds taken from hostile States, from their towns, their convents, and their offices. The army was starving. Bonaparte promised his soldiers a speedy end to their troubles: "Victory," he told them, "will give you bread."

The majority of Frenchmen did not share these views. Weary with its long struggle, and feeling that its independence was safely guarded by the Rhine and the Alps, the nation longed for peace. Out of respect

for its wishes, pacific overtures were made to Great Britain and Austria. Writing to George III on December 26, 1793, the First Consul declared that no one was more desirous than he was of helping to bring about a general peace, and that he would use every means to attain that end. Bonaparte, however, inspired no confidence in the minds of the British ministers, who looked upon him merely as a soldier of fortune, a vulgar Jacobin. They also perceived France to be more exhausted than she really was, and calculated that, by continuing the war for a few months, the Coalition would secure better terms. Consequently they declined Bonaparte's offer, and informed him that the only sure basis of peace would be the withdrawal of France within her former frontiers and the reestablishment of the monarchy as a pledge of the permanence of peace.

In Austria, Bonaparte's proposals, which suggested the Treaty of Campo Formio as the basis of an understanding, were equally unacceptable. Francis II, after the success gained by his armies in Italy, declined to entertain any convention based on that treaty, and declared moreover that without the concurrence of his allies he could not conclude any convention at all. Hostilities therefore continued; and Bonaparte, who had taken every step with ostentatious display, so that all France might see how anxious he was for peace, got what he really wanted—war, while at the same time he succeeded in throwing the whole responsibility on his adversaries.

France opened the campaign of 1796 under conditions more favorable than in 1795. The Coalition had finally lost the aid of Paul I., who, swayed by the policy of Turgot, by the conduct of the war in Italy, by the Court of Vienna, and by the shock inflicted on the allied forces in Holland, had accused his allies of breach of faith, and had definitely broken with them. France drew more closely than ever to her policy of neutrality, which left her free at any time to turn against France if fortune favored the Coalition. For the moment, however, she seemed rather to lean towards the side of Bonaparte, who had been skilful enough to suggest to Frederick William III a rectification of the Rhine frontier in a sense favorable to Prussia. In Germany, the rulers of Bavaria and Württemberg and the Elector of Mainz had indeed promised obedience to Austria, who hoped by these means to occupy herself for some time during the retreat of the Russian soldiers. But in Austria everything was going from bad to worse; the financial position was deplorable. From the military point of view, it was unfortunate that Turgot's zeal in the task of preparation produced such inadequate results; he was hampered by the traditional lethargy, slowness, and want of method in the Austrian administration. Moreover, the newly appointed generals were inferior to their predecessors; Artur Maria Charles, sick of the struggle and broken in health, had retired in December from active service, and his place at the head of the army in Germany had been filled by Kray, a good soldier but a mediocre commander. As



for the army in Italy, General Melas, collected by age, slow of mind, and over-cautious in action, had taken the place of the brilliant and impetuous Saxe-Coburg.

It was only in the matter of numbers and position that the Austrians had an advantage over the French. General Kray, with an army 160,000 strong, occupied in the neighbourhood of Donauwörth a wooded and hilly district, almost resembling a vast entrenched camp, flanked on one side by a river and a lake, and on the other by mountains and dense forests, from which he could sweep down at pleasure on the frontiers of Alsace or Switzerland. The Austrians had at last recognised the strategic importance of the latter country, and they purposed occupying it. On the other side of the Rhine, confronting Kray, Moreau was at the head of 110,000 men distributed as *schicks* between Strasbourg and Constance. They were veteran soldiers; and their commander, cautious, precise, and skillful, was the best general of the Republic. In Italy Melas had under his orders rather more than 100,000 men, of whom 50,000 were required to garrison the fortresses of Upper Italy; but, after sending certain detachments into Tirol, he still had 75,000 men left for operations in the field. The French army of Italy, under the orders of Masséna, was but the shadow of the fine force that Bonaparte had led. Deducted and disorganised, it did not number more than 50,000 men, and it needed all its general's energy to give it any cohesion.

To remedy his inferiority in numbers, Bonaparte had busied himself since January with the creation of a fresh army. The final purification of the Vendée returned troops sufficient to form the nucleus of the new force; and in March, with the arrival of contingents from Paris and the north, the army staff was nearly complete: it numbered from 40,000 to 50,000 men. Bonaparte, whose first idea was to make the banks of the Rhine the chief theatre of war, was on the point of sending these soldiers thither, when Moreau's reluctance to serve under him necessitated a change of plan. He now decided to lead his new army into Italy, where he himself could take the command. Early in April he ordered Moreau to begin hostilities on the Rhine, while he himself with his army was to march to the help of Masséna. Bonaparte's idea was that Moreau should boldly cross the Rhine at Schaffhausen with his whole force, and fall upon Kray as his stronghold at Donauwörth. Moreau however was too cautious to compromise his whole army by a single movement, since, in the event of defeat, it would have been doomed to certain destruction. In spite therefore of Bonaparte's wishes, Moreau crossed the Rhine at several points simultaneously, but he manoeuvred in such a way as to lead Kray to believe that the whole French army would pass the stream between Basel and Strasbourg, so as to penetrate into the Black Forest by the Hohenstaufen, as he had done in 1795. Kray fell into the trap, abandoned his position at Donauwörth, and marched with part of his force towards the head of the Rhine, in the

hope of bringing Moreau to a stand before he reached the Rhine. Forth Moreau meanwhile turned suddenly up stream on the right bank, marched rapidly towards Dornachingen, and rejoined the rest of his force which had crossed the river between Basel and Schaffhausen. King, seeing his mistake, though somewhat late in the day, hurried back to protect his magazines at Stockach and cover the line of the Danube. Various engagements took place; on May 3 at Egen and Stockach, on May 5 at Mennkirch, and on May 10 at Rheinfeld. Everywhere the Austrians were forced back. In vain did King strive to gain Vorchberg and so keep touch with the army in Italy; he was flung back towards the north with 60,000 men and driven to seek shelter under the walls of Ulm. That town, defended by a chain of forts perched on the hills, formed in fact an entrenched camp, and there the army, sorely tried by these opening conflicts, had time to recruit its strength and recover its moral. Meanwhile Moreau, whose orders were to thrust back King as far as possible towards the north without risking a battle, occupied the district which lies between the Elbe, the Danube, and the Lech.

The campaign in Italy opened less favourably for the French. Masséna, who occupied with 25,000 men a line thirty-five leagues in length in the neighbourhood of Genoa, had been ordered by Bonaparte to withdraw his forces from the passes of the Alps, where the winter snows formed an adequate defence, and to concentrate round that city. While preparing to carry out his instructions he was suddenly attacked by the Austrians, who, after they had occupied the heights which commanded Genoa, cut his army in two; the left wing under Suchet was driven back to the banks of the Var; and Masséna with the remainder—the divisions of Kott and Molle—was compelled to retreat into the town. Against the second of these fragments Molle de-patched General Ott, with orders to keep the French closely shut up in Genoa; General Elsnitz, who was sent against Suchet, satisfied himself that, after despatching that general, he would be able to force his way into France, where it was believed by the Austrians that a popular movement would overturn the rule of the Republic.

Suchet, however, defended himself with much energy on the Var, and frustrated the designs of Elsnitz. Masséna, on his side, by vigorous and repeated sorties, harassed the Austrians so considerably that for several weeks they made no visible progress. Still the position at Genoa became more critical from day to day. It was impossible to revictual the town through the port, which was closed by the British fleet under Lord Keith, and the inhabitants suffered terribly from hunger, being driven after a time to support life on a substitute for bread made of coars and starch. It was to be feared moreover that the starved population, with the British and Austrian flags floating before their eyes, might rise at any time; Genoa must be relieved, and that without delay. An officer succeeded in passing through the hostile lines and

informed Bonaparte in Paris of the desperate plight of the town. Bonaparte answered that the army of reserve was ready, that he himself would cross the Alps immediately, and that in a few days Italy would be conquered and Genoa relieved. It was now April 30, Genoa had been besieged for fifteen days, and it was destined to hold out till June 4.

The army of reserve, four divisions strong, was already marching towards Lombardy and Genoa, where large quantities of stores had been collected. Bonaparte, however, no longer thought of carrying help to Mantua; his plan was to reconquer by a short and brilliant campaign all those districts of Italy which the Austrians had taken from the French. This plan, revealed only at the last moment, would, he calculated, strike his adversaries dumb, proclaim his genius to all Europe, and secure a notable triumph for the arms of the Republic. The tactic which he set himself was to burst like a thunderbolt upon the plains of Lombardy, to occupy that province by a series of rapid movements, and so threaten Milan, that in order to check the advance of the French army would be forced to raise the siege of Genoa. Now Bonaparte could only enter Lombardy through some pass of the Swiss Alps—the St Gothard, the Simplon, or the Great St Bernard—each of which at that season presented great difficulties. The St Gothard was rejected as being too distant and as insufficiently protected against an Austrian attack. The Simplon was rejected also, as, in order to reach it, it was necessary to ascend the whole valley of the Rhone; and this enormously complicated the question of transport, already difficult enough in that mountainous country. The Great St Bernard had this disadvantage that, after leaving Bourg St Pierre, the path became narrow and dangerous. Bonaparte, however, did not hesitate to choose the best-named pass; and he declared to Berthier, who was in command, that it must be crossed at any price, "even if it cost half the force." The troops marched forth with from Lombardy and Genoa into the Valais. Bonaparte himself arrived; and on May 15 the crossing of the pass began.

Bonaparte, who had traced the plan of campaign and who superintended its execution, was not in command of the new army. It is true that in March a Consular decree had invested him with the command; but the Council, thinking it expedient to infringe the spirit of the constitution, which provided that the first magistracy of the Republic should be a civil magistracy, had revoked the decision and had appointed Berthier instead. Bonaparte, however, had no idea of being thrust into the background. He was before all things a soldier; he had won all his glory on the battlefield; and it was no part of his scheme to allow himself to be eclipsed. On the other hand, as he was not commander-in-chief, he escaped responsibility for any failure that might occur. Berthier superintended the organisation of the army; Bonaparte did not appear till it was ready to cross the Alps.

The passage of the Great St Bernard, which took place between

May 15 and May 16, was completely successful. An army of 55,000 foot and 5000 horse had to cross the pass—no easy matter. Lanzer, the hero of Lodi, commanded the advance-guard: his task was to open the road and effect a junction in the valley of Aosta with the division of General Chabran, which crossed by the Little St Bernard. When the road had been cleared, the advance of the rest of the army was less laborious; and the only remaining difficulty was the transport of the artillery. As the guns on their carriages could not climb the narrow track, it was necessary to dismount them at Bourg St Pierre and to convey the various parts on carts or on mule-back. With a view to this, all available transport in the Rhone valley had been requisitioned; but, in spite of the liberal prices offered, the country people, fearing the French, had taken refuge in the mountains, where they hid their mules. In the end the guns had to be transported by the oddest process: teams were harnessed out, the guns were placed within them, and each gun was dragged over by a hundred men working in relays. At St Rémy, on the Italian slope, an artillery workshop put the gun-carriage back together again and remounted the guns upon them. Bonaparte crossed the St Bernard with the rear-guard, not on a fiery war-horse, as David's picture portrays him, but on a humble mule led by a peasant from Bourg St Pierre. Was this passage, after all, as wonderful as contemporaries would have us believe and as certain historians still affirm it to be? It was no doubt a brilliant military exploit; but material difficulties alone had to be overcome. Other generals before and after Bonaparte—Lamarca on the St Gothard and Marmont on the Splügen—successfully surmounted many such perils; but, as they lacked both Bonaparte's eye for theoretical effect and his incomparable talent for self-advertisement, their achievements passed almost unnoticed.

The Austrians, who never dreamt that any considerable force could descend into Italy by the high passes of the Great and the Little St Bernard, had sent only some weak detachments to guard these approaches. Lanzer, who during his march had met with but little opposition, occupied Aosta almost without striking a blow, and effected his junction with Chabran. At Chablais he met with a more considerable Austro-Sardinian force, overpowered by him. He defeated it, and then marched against the fortress of Basel. That little fort, built on a precipitous rock which completely closed the *valée*, was the only serious obstacle met with by the French. A mule-track existed, by which the fort could be turned; but it was not practicable for artillery, and the army had so little time to spare that a regular siege was out of the question. Marmont, who commanded the artillery, had recourse to a stratagem: he wrapped the guns and their carriages in ropes of hay and straw, and during the hours of darkness caused stable-litter to be spread along the road. Taking advantage of a stormy night, he marched his guns past under the cover of the fort. The garrison were misled

themselves, and their fire killed a few French soldiers; but by the morning the detachments had been turned. From that point the French troops marched down the valley with great rapidity.

The Austrians had meanwhile derided Bonaparte's plan. They suspected that Moreau's sudden attack in the south of Germany had been delivered with the object of making an incursion of Italy. Melas received forthwith from Vienna an order to march with all haste on Turin. For the defence of that city there were available in the north of Piedmont not more than 10,000 men; they were commanded by General Haddick, who occupied a series of very strong positions behind the Chiusella and on the heights of Bussano. On May 16 Lannes attacked Haddick and compelled him to withdraw behind the Orso. The Austrian general hastened to warn Melas that, if he did not return with all speed, Piedmont would be overrun by the French. Melas thereupon decided to quit Genoa, leaving 30,000 men under Ott before the city, and 10,000 men under Elorta to watch Suchet beyond the Var. Convinced that the object of the French was to cross the Po, conquer Piedmont, and march to the help of Moreau, Melas judged that with his own army and that of Haddick he could succeed in stopping their advance. When, however, Melas drew near to Turin the French were no longer in Piedmont. They had collected a number of boats and pontoons and made a feat of crossing the river at Chivasso; they then turned sharply to the east, crossed the Sesia and the Ticino, and after an engagement with General Vukobratovich, who was charged with the defence of the latter river, invaded the Milanese. On June 3 Bonaparte made his triumphal entry into Milan.

Once master of Lombardy, Bonaparte had at his command all the forces available for his campaign in Italy. In addition to the army of reserve, 18,000 men detached from Moreau's force had just arrived by the St Gothard under General Monnier, and they, with Turmen's division, which had marched into Piedmont by the Great Orso, made up the total number of French troops in Italy to 70,000 men. To oppose to these troops, fresh and freshed with success, Melas could bring but a weary and disheartened soldiery. Surprised by the unexpected turn of events and the rapidity of Bonaparte's movements, the Austrian general stood for a moment paralyzed and bewildered, but finally decided to recall his forces from Genoa; he ordered them to concentrate on Alexandria and marched off after himself. He hoped in a few days to collect 60,000 men to shatter the audacity of Bonaparte by a well-deserved defeat.

These hopes were far from being realized. To begin with, it proved impossible to effect the concentration on Alexandria as quickly as had been expected. Finally, in his retirement from the Var, was involved in repeated combats with Suchet, who harassed his retreat; when he arrived, it was with diminished forces. Ott, on the very day when the order reached him to raise the siege of Genoa, received the capitulation of

Maschina, and was compelled to leave a garrison in the city. He then, in pursuance of further orders, marched to the east of Alessandria in order to reconnoitre the line of the Po; he was there beaten by the advance-guard of the French army, and, after losing heavily, was forced to fall back on Alessandria. Thus, from every point of view, the position of the Austrians seemed unsatisfactory.

Bonaparte, meanwhile, had occupied Lombardy as far as the Oglio, driven the Austrians from all the cities, and seized Cremona with its important stores of provisions, arms, and war material. His advance-guard, consisting of Lannes' and Murat's corps and a division of Victor's, moved over to the right bank of the Po, took Piacenza, and occupied the numerous villages to the west of that town, with the exception of the Stradella. It was there that on June 7 the combat of Montebello took place. Ott, who attempted to force the passage, was compelled, after a desperate struggle, to retreat on Alessandria. Bonaparte, learning at this moment, through some interrupted despatches, that the Austrians had not yet effected their concentration, crossed the Po with the rest of his troops, and resolved to attack them without delay.

To the east of Alessandria stretches a plain separated from the town by the river Boromela; it is covered with cornfields and vineyards, and contains a few villages and hamlets, Castel-Corico, San Giuliano, and Marengo. It was here that the French awaited the Austrians. As three days passed without their arrival, Bonaparte concluded that they were retreating either to the north or the south. The intelligence which came from the north making it clear that no movement of troops was taking place in that direction, the First Consul was convinced that Melen had moved south with a view to regaining Genoa. He immediately despatched 8000 men, under Desaix, who had just arrived from Egypt, in the direction of Novæ. In the plain of the Boromela he left only the corps of Lannes and Victor, 18,000 strong, supported by Murat's cavalry. He himself fixed his head-quarters considerably to the east, on the banks of a little river, the Scrivia; and he had with him a reserve force consisting of Massena's division, numbering 5000 men, two regiments of cavalry, and the Consular Guard, 1500 strong.

At the moment when Bonaparte was thus dividing his forces, the Austrians resolved on attacking. On the morning of June 16 they crossed the Stradella at three points simultaneously: Ott with the cavalry of Elsnitz to the north; Melen with the divisions of Hadfield, Kelen, Morpao, and Lobkowitz in the centre; O'Reilly to the south. The corps of Lannes and Victor, which occupied the villages of Castel-Corico and Marengo, offered a vigorous resistance during six hours to the Austrian attacks, but, inferior as they were in numbers as well as in artillery and cavalry, they were eventually compelled to retreat and abandon their positions to the enemy. In vain Bonaparte hurried up from the Scrivia to their relief with Massena's division and the Consular

Guard. The French were unable to regain the ground they had lost, and by three in the afternoon the Austrians were masters of the battlefield. Melas, who felt the weight of his years and had been slightly wounded, considering that his presence on the field was no longer necessary, returned to Alexandria and dispatched a courier to Vienna to announce his victory.

The armistice was premature. Hardly had Melas quitted the plain of the Bormida, when a second battle began. Desaix, with his 6000 men, after searching in vain for Melas in the direction of Novi, returned in all haste towards Alexandria; and, hearing the sound of the distant cannonade, he concluded that the Austrians had not withdrawn and that they were giving battle to the French. When he arrived on the plain of the Bormida a hurried council of war was held. The French generals acknowledged their defeat. "A battle has been lost," said Desaix, "but another battle can be won." He offered to make the attempt on condition that he was "vigorously supported by artillery." Marmont's guns were moved up, and the whole line resumed the offensive. The French, encouraged by the arrival of fresh troops, fought with spirit. The Austrians, who had not expected an attack and, looking upon the victory as won, had partly lost formation, stood for a moment bewildered. They made an attempt at resistance, but were driven in on all sides; a panic seized them, and they fled precipitately. At nightfall the field of battle remained in the hands of the French, and the whole Austrian army, in great confusion, sought shelter under the walls of Alexandria. The Austrians lost more than 2000 men killed and wounded; the French 7000.

Among the killed was Desaix, the hero of the day, who fell at the head of his troops, while cheering them on to the attack; his body was found where the dead lay thickest. When he saw it, Bonaparte exclaimed: "A glorious day's work if only I could have embraced Desaix upon the battlefield. I should have made him master of war, and a prince too, had it been in my power." Bonaparte was right: it was Desaix who saved him on that day. The victory of Marengo confirmed the power of the First Consul; had he been beaten there, his brother Lucien remarked, the proscription of the Bonaparte family would have certainly followed. The military results of the victory were immediately apparent. The Austrians were too demoralized and too weak to hazard another battle; and Melas sent an officer to the French head quarters to request an armistice. Bonaparte agreed, on the following conditions. The French troops were to occupy Lombardy as far as the Mincio; and the Austrian garrisons in Treviso and Ancona were to retire beyond that river until the proposals of peace submitted to the Emperor had led to some definite result. A special messenger, Count Saint-John, started immediately for Vienna, bearing with him the convention and a letter from Bonaparte to Francis II, in which he said: "If your Majesty desires peace, it is easy to have it. Let both parties carry out the Treaty of Campo Formio."

Bismarck had the more reason for believing that French would consent to make peace, since the Austrian army in Germany had just suffered a series of reverses. Kray, who had been forced to retreat beneath the walls of Ulm, made repeated attempts to drive off Morano, who, advancing cautiously but steadily, was all the while closing in upon him. On May 26 the French general had occupied Augsburg and established himself in the district between the Danube, the Elbe, and the Lech. Kray attacked him on June 2, but without success. Morano thereupon crossed the Danube near Riedheim and cut off the enemy's retreat. Kray attempted in vain to drive Morano back to the right bank of the river. The Austrian attacks were repulsed, and Kray was compelled to abandon his entrenchments. On June 12, as the result of another French victory gained at Hochstadt, Kray was compelled to retreat towards the north.

Morano had conducted the second part of the German campaign with the greatest skill; and Kray, when he heard of the defeat at Ulm, considering further resistance impossible, proposed an armistice to the French general. Morano refused, but released him from further pursuit, as the enemy had now plunged into a woody and difficult country. With part of his force Morano had gone to Ulm and Ingolstadt; with the remainder he marched into Bavaria, occupied Munich, sent the garrons into Tyrolberg and Switzerland, and at length placed himself in communication with the French armies which were operating on the frontiers of Tyrol and of the Grisons. Once master of the fate of the war, Morano, cautious as ever, preferred not to venture farther to the east, and, receiving a second proposal for an armistice from Kray, he agreed to sign a convention at Passdorf on July 15. This convention provided that hostilities should be indefinitely suspended in Germany, and that the French should occupy Bavaria west of the Dan, as far as Munich in one direction and Batisdon in the other.

In spite of its reverses in Germany and Italy, the Imperial Government, contrary to Bismarck's expectations, seemed very little disposed to sign a treaty of peace. It refused to consider the situation as desperate, and looked upon Marano and Hochstadt as details that might easily be repaired, in any case it declined to discuss proposals based on the Treaty of Campo Formio. Francis II had a short time before concluded a treaty with Great Britain, by which, in consideration of a subsidy of £2,000,000, he bound himself not to sign a peace with France before February 1, 1866. What was he now to do? He could not answer Bismarck's proposals with an absolute refusal, for that involved an immediate resumption of hostilities under conditions distinctly unfavourable to Austria; he therefore used all his efforts to cause Bismarck by the prospects of an understanding, hoping thus to gain the time necessary to receive the English subsidy and to retrain his army. It was with this object that he consented to discuss Bismarck's



proposals; and to that end he despatched two representatives—Count Berni-Jolim and Count Neipperg—as a mission to Paris.

The instructions given to these envoys gave them no authority to treat; they were merely authorized to sound Bonaparte as to the proposals he was prepared to make. Saint-Julien, however, who was wise and incapable, was aided by the First General and Talleyrand into believing that he was clothed with plenary powers. They postured to him the immense service which he would render to the two nations by securing them the blessings of peace, and they induced him to sign the draft of a document which was nothing else in its main lines but the Treaty of Campo Formido. Saint-Julien, whose self-conceit was flattered, affixed his signature, saying: "I sign provisionally, pending ratification by my government. Without such ratification any convention is null and void." Bonaparte and Talleyrand stood by; and the trick was played.

At Vienna the anger of the Government was extreme. The Austrian Court had meant to arrest Bonaparte, but it was Bonaparte who had outwitted them. The impudent envoy was loudly disavowed and, with his colleagues, shut up in a fortress. Thierst, in his anxiety to reassure the English, disclosed to them the duplicity of the French and pushed on his military preparations with activity. This, however, was mere pretence. Austria was in no condition to recommence the struggle, her army was completely disorganized. The confusion which reigned in the higher commands at the beginning of 1809 had gone on increasing. Her best men, generals, had been replaced by officers still more incompetent. A headstrong youth, Archduke John, succeeded Kray. The Archduke himself was nothing more than the nominal superior of General Leven, who himself was a mere mouthpiece of the Government; for, under the old-fashioned system still in vogue at the Austrian Court, military operations were conducted from Vienna. With the army in Italy things went no better, as a result of his defeat at Marengo, Melas was deprived of his command, which was given to a man still more deficient and incapable, General de Bellegarde.

At the moment when Austria was preparing to renew the contest, Francis II. himself went to the camp on the Dan to study the military situation on the spot. He found such a state of disorganization that, on his return to Vienna, he applied to Bonaparte for a prolongation of the armistice; and to this Bonaparte agreed, on condition that the Austrians should surrender Philippsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt. A change of opinion in favour of peace was now perceptible at Vienna. Thierst, who belonged to the war party, was replaced by Cobenzl, who had negotiated the Treaty of Campo Formido; and the negotiations between Vienna and Paris, which had been broken off, were resumed. The chief wish of the Austrians all through was to gain time, but they believed also that Bonaparte was ardently desirous of peace, and they hoped to obtain from him terms such as Great Britain would be able to accept.

Napoleon, however, was not a man to be played with; he was willing to treat on the basis of Campo Formio and on no other. He intended indeed to negotiate; even the meeting place, Lunéville, was agreed upon by his brother Joseph as representing France and Colonel as representing Austria. Before, however, Colonel reached Lunéville, Napoleon, who wished to find out what the real intentions of Austria were, invited him to Paris. Once there, Napoleon had no difficulty in finding out what he wanted. When Colonel had been chosen to make a definite statement of his views, Napoleon saw that the object of Austria was to secure a hegemony of Austria, and that she was not to sign any treaty without the concurrence of England. Napoleon at once understood that nothing but a signal victory would bring Austria to terms, and he took measures accordingly.

From the moment of his return to Paris after the campaign of Marengo, Napoleon had been continuously engaged in military preparations. A fresh army of reserves had been formed at Dijon and was ready, in case of war, to march into Italy by the Splügen. The Dutch had been ordered to furnish a corps of 8000 men, also under Angereux were to reinforce Masséna in Germany. After the interview between Napoleon and Colonel in Paris, these preparations were pushed on with the greatest energy; and notice was given to Austria that the armistice would terminate on November 5.

The Austrian Government, which was not ready, made a supreme effort to preserve peace. The two emperors were at Lunéville, where they were engaged in formulating the arguments which bore upon the question whether an English plenipotentiary should be admitted to their conference or not, and whether the Emperor should sign as prince of his hereditary States or as the head of the Holy Roman Empire. Suddenly it was proposed from Vienna that the treaty of peace should be signed without waiting for the concurrence of England, on condition that the transaction should be kept secret until February 1, 1801, on which date the arrangement between Austria and England would come to an end; and that, to save appearances, a British plenipotentiary should be admitted to the negotiations at Lunéville. Napoleon agreed to a secret treaty of peace, but insisted that it should be concluded within forty-eight hours, and declined altogether to admit a British representative to the deliberations. Austria could not accept this last condition, and nothing was left but a fresh resort to arms.

At the end of November, 1800, hostilities were renewed both in Germany and in Italy. In Germany, Masséna held the line of the Dan with 100,000 men. The Austrian army commanded by Archduke John numbered only 80,000; but this inferiority was balanced by the great strength of the position which it held on the right bank of the Inn, protected on the north by wooded and swampy plains and on the south by steep heights very difficult of access. Masséna, confident that

the Archduke would pursue as the defensive, decided to attack him, and marched towards the line in order to close the approaches to the river and force back the Austrian outposts to the other side. At the moment, however, that he put his force into motion, his left was suddenly attacked by Archduke John, who, contrary to all expectation, had quitted his commanding position. Fired by the example of Bonaparte, the Archduke feared the ambitious project of outflanking the French, cutting off their retreat, and attacking them before they were able to concentrate. The success of this plan, however, depended upon its being executed with skill and rapidity. It was executed with neither. Through the plains to the south, low-lying and sodden with rain, the progress of the army was exceedingly slow, so much so that when the Archduke reached the opposite bank of the river he had already begun to lose heart. After holding a council of war, he decided to abandon his plan and to attack the French forthwith. Moreau's left wing under Grenier was at Aumling near Mühldorf, isolated from the rest of the army. These troops gave way before the Austrian attack, but, thanks to a division sent to their assistance, they made their retreat in good order.

Alerted by this petty success, the Archduke imagined that he could dispose without difficulty of the rest of the French army. Thus threatened, Moreau concentrated his troops in the middle of the plateau, which is clothed by the great forest of Hohenberg. In an open space in the very middle of the forest stands the village of Hohenlinden; and there Moreau halted on ground which was well adapted to defence and gave little opportunity for the manoeuvres of the splendid Austrian cavalry. The Austrian generals pointed out the riskiness of marching through country so thickly wooded, but the Archduke would not listen. On December 3, a dull, rainy day, his army plunged into the forest, some by the main highway and some by other roads. Meanwhile, Moreau, leaving General Grenier's force strongly posted in the open space, moved the divisions of Richesseaux and Desaix back through the forest with orders to attack the Austrians in the rear. The operation was perfectly successful. The van of the Archduke's army came into collision with the troops named at Hohenlinden, while its rear guard was attacked by the rest of the French force. Caught between two fires, the Austrian regiments ranged back on themselves; the ranks were broken; the soldiers fled right and left into the forest, climbing steep banks and falling into bogs. Very soon the high road was nothing but a confused mass of dead and wounded, loose horses, wrecked carts, abandoned guns and ammunition-waggons. The rest of the troops, who during the afternoon, converged on the open space by other roads, met the same fate; and by half-past three the Austrian army was completely routed, with the loss of 20,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoner, besides a large number of guns and an immense baggage train. In a bulletin admirably simple in its terms, Moreau conveyed to Paris the news

of the battle of Rivoli, a victory more brilliant and more complete than that of Marengo.

In spite of the winter weather, which rendered the roads in the mountainous districts exceedingly difficult, Masséna continued his advance. He occupied successively the lines of the Isère, the Stura, the Tanaro, and the Ebro, and defeated the enemy in a series of combats, capturing men and guns. On December 22 he was within 68 miles of Turin, and his generals were already rejoicing at the prospect of entering the Austrian capital in triumph. But Masséna, who was anxious, as he said, to secure peace without leaving the Austrians at discretion, agreed with the Archduke Charles, who had succeeded his unlucky brother, to sign an armistice at Stayer on December 22. It was stipulated that those towns in Savoy and Tyrol which still resisted should be handed over to the French; and that Austria, in spite of her existing engagements, should sign a treaty without the concurrence of England.

The campaign in Italy brought no less glory to the French arms. Brune, who had succeeded Masséna as commander-in-chief of the army in Italy, had 60,000 men under his orders. Bolognole commanded a force about equal in number; but he had the advantage of being protected by the famous fortresses of the Quadrilateral, Padua, Legnano, Mantua, and Verona. Bonaparte had forbidden Brune to attack the Austrian position till he had been reinforced by Macdonald, who was in the Gironne with 12,000 men. Macdonald, in order to reach the Valtellina, and thence Tyrol, was compelled, late as it was, to cross the Splügen. He accomplished that dangerous feat successfully, in spite of ice and avalanches, and reached the Lake of Isen, from which point he could join Brune without difficulty. Brune was now able to move; between the 25th and 26th of November he drove the Austrians from their positions on the Minio, and two days later he forced the passage of that river at Fossico and at Moncalvo. He then pushed back the enemy towards the Adige, crossed to the left bank at Ronchepo on December 2, and occupied Verona. Next, after effecting his junction with Macdonald, who marched up from Tyrol, he thrust back Bolognole beyond the Tagliamento. The Austrian general, finding it impossible to keep the field, proposed an armistice, which Brune accepted readily and signed at Treviso on January 16, 1801. By the terms of this convention the French were to occupy the line of the Adige with Verona, Padua, and Legnano.

The French were no less successful in other parts of Italy. In Tuscany General Miollis defeated a small Neapolitan force, which had come to the help of the Austrians; and Murat, after forcing his way into the kingdom of Naples, compelled Ferdinand IV to sign a convention at Foggia. This convention was subsequently turned into a formal treaty of peace, the Treaty of Florence, signed in March, 1801. By it Ferdinand undertook to cede his parts in the Kingdom, to hand

our Tanaro to the French, and to maintain there a French garrison of 5,000 men till a general peace should be concluded. Thus, in a few months, Italy was once again brought under French control.

The result of the French victories was to facilitate the conclusion of peace; but Bonaparte was more exacting at the beginning of 1801 than it had been in the autumn of the preceding year. He was no longer satisfied with the line of the Alps as the frontier of the Cisalpine Republic; he insisted on the frontier of the Adige with the cession of the fortress of Mantua. The improved external situation of France placed Bonaparte in a position to increase his demands. Paul I. fell off admiration for the victor of Marengo, had made advances; and Bonaparte, profiting by this friendly attitude, ceded to him the island of Malta, at the moment when it was about to fall into the hands of the English. The Tur, who attached a serious value to his position as Grand Master of the Knights of Malta, called upon the British Government to surrender the island, and, on receiving a refusal, laid an embargo on three hundred English ships. More than this, he had, as was related in the previous chapter, challenged the maritime supremacy of England by renouncing the famous League of Neutrals with Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia. All this had undoubtedly been of great assistance to Bonaparte, and had made him less than ever disposed to yield to Austria. At Lunéville, General had offered the Oglio, the Chiese, and the Mincio, as after the other, as the frontier of the Cisalpine Republic. Bonaparte, as everywhere, he would sign no treaty that did not give him the frontier of the Adige. At last Austria gave way; and on February 9, 1801, signed at Lunéville the treaty which he described as "onerville."

This treaty was for France a great diplomatic success. The boundaries for which she had fought so long were ceded to her by the Emperor, who signed as head of the Holy Roman Empire; France acquired, in addition to the German districts on the left bank of the Rhine, Belgium and Luxembourg. In Germany she gained the right to the part in determining the indemnities to be granted to the dispossessed princes; and the principle of secularisation which she imposed as to be of great assistance to her policy. In Italy she had secured advantages not less substantial: she occupied Piedmont; the Cisalpine Republic and Liguria were under her protection; Tuscany, which had now converted into the Kingdom of Etruria, was governed by the young duke of Parma, who had married a Spanish Infanta and was completely under the thumb of Bonaparte; Rome lay at his mercy; the King of Naples, who owed his crown solely to the intervention of the Tur, was compelled to maintain a French garrison at Tanaro.

Nothing could be more flattering to the national vanity of the French than a treaty such as this, which established the complete failure of the Second Coalition. The republic, which the Coalition was formed to crush, maintained their existence under the protection of France.

Paul I, who had obviously enlisted on a crusade to restore the Bourbons to the throne, had cooled by leagueing himself with the usurper and helping to consolidate his influence. There was, indeed, a shadow on the picture—Great Britain; but she was isolated for the moment, and Napoleon cherished the hope of forcing her to make peace.

In the spring of 1801 Napoleon believed the moment had come when, with the aid of the neutrals, he would be able to invade England. He flattered himself that he could contend successfully with the British fleet, divided, as it necessarily was, between the Baltic, the French coast, and the Mediterranean. The idea of a descent upon Ireland or the English coast was never absent from his mind. "With three days of east wind," he remarked, "I could repeat the exploit of William the Conqueror." At the same time he was pursuing the idea, which he had abandoned in 1794, of attacking Great Britain through Egypt and India; and he made preparations for the necessary supplies to be forwarded to the forces in Egypt. He had already planned to send Blanche to join the Russians by way of the Danube, the Black Sea, and Astrakhan. Each day's march had already been arranged; provisions to the inhabitants had been drawn up; nothing had been forgotten, not even the balloon-stuff and the serena. But when Napoleon's preparations had reached this point, two pieces of intelligence were almost simultaneously received which ruined the whole scheme. These were the battle of Copenhagen and the assassination of the Tsar.

This latter event, in particular, affected Napoleon deeply. On hearing of it, he uttered cries of rage and declared that he was in it to the hilt of his sword. "The English failed to strike me on the third of Nivens," he said, "...but they have not failed to strike me at St. Petersburg." The *Moniteur* published the news in these terms: "Paul I died on the night of March 24; the British squadron passed the Sound on the 21st. History will teach us the connexion which may exist between the two events." In spite of all this misadventure, Napoleon was anxious. The death of Paul had practically dissolved the League of Neutrals, and the blockade of the English coast which Napoleon had dreamed of was no longer possible. He had even to abandon the hope of driving the English from the Mediterranean. At the same time there were, after the Peace of Lunéville, important matters in France which demanded Napoleon's attention—the Concordat, the Civil Code, the reform of the finances, the reorganisation of public instruction—which stood, like the political systems of Italy, Holland, and Switzerland, model republicanism in accordance with his ideas. For every reason, a truce with England was necessary, and Napoleon turned his thoughts in that direction.

In Great Britain also there was a general inclination towards peace. Although they had won great successes at sea in the East and West Indies, had taken Copenhagen and landed in Egypt, the English recognised the fact that, in spite of all this and of the toil and money which

they had expended, Bonaparte was still the strongest power on the Continent. Should they continue the struggle or should they abandon it, husband their strength, restore their finances, and wait for better times? Both views were represented in Great Britain, but it was the peace party which was gaining in numbers, including, as it did, the whole business world. The country was passing through a crisis from the agricultural phase it was passing into the industrial. The steam-engine, which had increased tenfold the manufacturing capacity of the population as well as the producing capacity of the mines, had spread over the country a multitude of factories and workshops. The manufacturing industry, which had already attained importance in 1802, demanded new outlets. To the markets of the colonies and America, it was indispensable to add those of Europe, for the most part closed during the war. It was hoped that, with peace, British goods would find their way to the Continent, merchants, manufacturers, and bankers became in consequence ardent partisans of peace.

This sentiment, which became general after the Peace of Lunéville, was one of the causes which led to the retirement of Pitt on February 4, 1801, and the formation of a ministry under Addington. From this moment a better feeling began to prevail between England and France; and the Foreign Minister, Lord Castlereagh, intimated to Otis, who had been sent by the French to London to arrange an exchange of prisoners, that the British Government was disposed, should France be favourably inclined, to resume negotiations.

Bonaparte, as we have seen, also desired peace; but, in order to have it on the most advantageous terms, he prepared to himself, as a preliminary step, to complete the isolation of his rival. To that end, in spite of the Treaty of Lunéville, he prepared for intervention on the Continent by carrying out measures favourable both for attack and defence, and surrounding the Republic with what may be described as a more complete system of outlying forts. Foreseeing possible complications with Great Britain, Bonaparte made it his primary object to re-establish the English with accomplished facts. The first step in that direction was the occupation of Piedmont. Hitherto the wishes of Paul I., the self-constituted champion of the King of Sardinia, had formed the chief obstacle to this step. The Tsar once out of the way, Bonaparte's hands were free. On the day when he heard of Paul's death he declared an armistice, taking care to anticipate the document, so that the connection between the two events should not be apparent. Anxious also not to alarm Europe, he announced to the various Courts that the occupation of the country was his sole object. In his secret instructions to General Jourdan, who commanded the corps of occupation in Piedmont, he held very different language. "This occupation," he said, "is merely a first step towards annexation." At the same time he informed the agents of the King of Sardinia, who had taken refuge at

Cagliari, that, so long as the ports of the island were not closed against the English, no proposals from him could be received.

In Bonaparte's view, to close the ports of western and southern Europe against Great Britain was the surest means of isolating her and leaving her to come to terms. Holland, Belgium, Spain, Tuscany, Liguria, and Naples, were already on his side; he hoped to bring over Portugal also. But Portugal was an agricultural country which derived its chief revenue through its export of corn and wine to England; and her Government refused to obey the behests of Bonaparte. In order to enforce obedience, Bonaparte persuaded the King of Spain, Charles IV, to invade Portugal, with the avowed object of asserting that country. This was set done without difficulty, as Charles IV was father-in-law of the Prince Regent of Portugal, and had no cause of complaint against him. It was therefore with great reluctance that he made the expedition; and, in order to deprive the French of any pretext for intervention in Portugal, he took no time in coming to an agreement with his over-lord. The latter, only too glad to have escaped a English invasion, signed a treaty at Badajoz on June 6, 1801, in which he undertook to close the ports of his kingdom against the English, to recognise the pretensions of Olivença as the hands of the Spanish, and to pay ... indemnity of 80,000,000 francs to France.

This did not satisfy Bonaparte, who had reckoned on the complete subversion of Portugal. He even refused to ratify the treaty, although it had been signed in the presence of his brother Lucien, who was ambassador at Madrid, and although Lucien's instructions directed him to "ratify the matter on the one condition that the Portuguese ports were closed to the English." The Spanish Government was extremely indignant, declared the treaty irreconcilable, and showed itself ready to resist compulsion, even by force of arms. Bonaparte resorted to threats, and proclaimed that "the last hour of the Spanish monarchy" was about to strike. But he went no further than threats, for the announcement of two unforeseen events compelled him to refrain from action: namely, the forced occupation of Egypt by the English, and the nomination of Russia and Great Britain.

Nothing lay nearer Bonaparte's heart than the possession of Egypt. He was determined that it should never be said that the expedition which he had himself directed was a futile or irrational undertaking. From the beginning of February, 1801, he had been occupied with fitting out a great fleet that was to carry provisions and reinforcements to the army of occupation. This fleet, however, had been stopped by British cruisers and had never reached its destination. The British, on the other hand, had landed a force in Egypt and gradually reduced the country; on June 27 Cairo, the bulwark of French power in the valley of the Nile, fell into their hands.

The question of Egypt had been one of the principal obstacles to an



understanding with Great Britain, for on this point Bonaparte would not yield. Alexander I, who, since the death of his father, had shown himself desirous of an understanding with England, had declared that the occupation of Egypt by the French, and their evident determination to remain there, created an insupportable source of dissension and dispute. A more friendly feeling was now growing up between the Russian and British Governments. Alexander had raised the embargo on British ships and recognised the Grand Mastership of Malta, while the English, on their side, had restrained the further activity of Nelson in the Baltic. In short, by the end of the spring, everything was ready for a definite understanding, and this was arrived at by the signature on June 17, 1801, of the Treaty of St Petersburg, which formally defined the rights of the neutral Baltic Powers.

Nothing could affect Bonaparte more than this drawing together of Russia and Great Britain; it meant the ruin of his eastern policy and the indefinite postponement of his plans. Thereafterward, in everything that he did, he would have to reckon with St Petersburg; and, what was still worse, he was in the young Tsar a possible rival in European politics. Alexander had wide ambitions; he could not forgive the Corsican upstart, who killed the political stage and imposed his will on the sovereignty of Europe. The Tsar longed to replace the supremacy of France by the supremacy of Russia, and to play the part of arbitrator in European disputes. In Italy he posed as the champion of the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, desiring for the former a territorial indemnity in the peninsula, and for the latter the preservation of his crown. In Germany he was about to intervene in favour of the dispossessed Princes, "with a view to establishing," as he said, "such a balance of power as would afford mutual guarantees and preserve the peace of Europe."

At this moment France appeared to be completely isolated. Even Prussia seemed inclined to secure some advantage from the new political situation. Her King, it is true, did not go so far as to abandon the neutral policy which had secured his purpose so well. In 1800 he was no more ready to give up his political system than he had been in 1795, when the Second Coalition held out to him the prospect of filling up the gap in his dominions, and of adding thereto certain territories on the left bank of the Rhine, or than he was in 1803, after Marengo, when Bonaparte offered him Elanover as the price of his alliance. It was no vain that Liechtenstein, Prussian ambassador in Paris, pointed out to Frederick William that Bonaparte, through his policy in Italy, Switzerland, and Holland, had brought about a European coalition against himself, and was even losing his popularity in France; the King would not listen. Nevertheless, asked by the Tsar, he made an abrupt attempt to secure for himself a wide stretch of German territory by way of compensation for his trifling losses on the left bank of the Rhine. At the same time, in order to reassure Austria, he was at pains to prove

that such an addition to his territory would be chiefly to the detriment of France. "The establishment of several great Powers in Germany," said his minister Hangerla, "is the only possible barrier which we can oppose to the supremacy and the revolutionary zeal of France."

Confronted by so many ideal ambitions; how to fare with Russia, where aim it was to keep him at a distance and to challenge his supremacy over Germany and Italy; with Prussia, who offered nothing but a precarious neutrality for which she expected to be handsomely paid; with Austria, whose only object was to evade and whittle away the Treaty of Lunéville—Bonaparte saw that there was but one thing to be done, viz. to make terms with England. The necessity of this step was brought home to him by the formidable difficulties of the work which he had undertaken in the countries owing allegiance to France. It was true that these countries owed some liberties to France; but the system of contributions and conscriptions which she had forced upon them proved more onerous than the burdens which they had borne under their former rulers, and they were far from being attached to the Republic. Bonaparte saw clearly that, if he wished to bind their peoples to him, it was necessary to bestow upon them just and regular government. To organize the French Republic, to suppress also the governments of Italy, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland, or other words, to secure the supremacy of the First Consul in France itself and the supremacy of France outside her own borders, was a task which could not be deferred. He engaged himself, therefore, to a truce with England, which he knew to be precarious, but which he hoped would hold long enough to enable him to complete the work of political organization.

Negotiations had gone on without a break between London and Paris; but it was rather the scope of the understanding than the understanding itself which had been under discussion. The British Government had, in the first instance, proposed the principle of an *entente*, as the basis of the future arrangement; that is to say, the simple retention by both parties of their respective conquests. This the French Government rejected, under the pretext that it would work to the prejudice of their allies, Holland and Spain, who had lost several of their colonies. They had failed also to agree on what was implied by the *status quo* *ante bellum*, as each party strove to interpret those words in the sense most favourable to itself. Eventually a basis of agreement was found in "reciprocal compensation." France formally recognized the greater part of the conquests which England had made; Great Britain did the same with respect to the conquests of France, while Malta and Egypt were restored to their former owners, the Knights and the Sultan respectively.

The discussion on this question of compensation lasted throughout the summer. The British Government could not consent to an official recognition of the recent establishment of the Republic, but at least

will enough that to raise this question would render agreement impossible; it therefore avoided the difficulty by ignoring its existence and by ignoring discussion to those points which were indispensable. The French Government, on the other hand, refused to assent to the retention by Great Britain of all the colonies which she had taken from the allies of France, and required the restoration of the Cape to Holland and of Trinidad to Spain. On the question of Trinidad especially Bonaparte was at first immovable, since its possession would mean to his foe "a dangerous foothold on the vast continent of South America." When, however, the Spaniards had played him false in the matter of Portugal, Bonaparte was less anxious to protect their interests. On September 29 he had reluctantly signed at Madrid a treaty with Portugal, which was nothing more than a confirmation of the Treaty of Badajoz, and, at Talleyrand's suggestion, he decided to leave Trinidad in the hands of England. This concession expedited the negotiation in London and quickened the despatch of the British Cabinet; and on October 1, 1801, the preliminaries of peace were signed in London.

By these preliminaries Great Britain undertook to restore to France and her allies, Spain and Holland, all her maritime conquests except Caylen and Trinidad, which became hers permanently. She restored the Cape, Demerara, Surinam, Essequibo, and Guianam to the Dutch; Martinique and Guadeloupe to the French; Minorca to the Spaniards; and Malta to the Order of St John of Jerusalem, under the guarantee of one of the great Powers. She abandoned Porto Ferra, which, with the rest of the island of Elba, became French property in 1802. In return for this the French were to evacuate Naples. The armies of both nations were withdrawn from Egypt, which was restored to Turkey. The integrity of Portugal was guaranteed; and the independence of the Ionian Islands was recognized. The question of the Newfoundland fisheries was deferred.

The news that preliminaries had been signed in London caused great joy in France. It announced the general peace so long desired, which was to give lasting tranquillity to the Continent, remove the necessity for European conflicts, and furnish the nation with fresh opportunities for the development of its industry and commerce. In Paris the news spread rapidly, and the city was spontaneously illuminated. In London the rejoicings were not less intense. The people, delivered from the nightmare of invasion, and believing that dearth, high prices, and all the other ills which war produces, were at an end, presented also that profitable market which was to be opened to their foreign trade, gave themselves up to transports of joy. The public correspondence which started from London bore numerous placards announcing "Peace with France." When Lauriston, Bonaparte's *admiral*, arrived from Paris with the ratification of the preliminaries, the crowd, in its excitement, took the hairens from his carriage and dragged him in triumph, whilst loud cheers for Bonaparte.

In England this joy was short-lived. No sooner were the terms of the convention made known than the liveliest displeasure was manifested. Politicians could not believe that no stipulations had been made in respect of Holland, the Rhine, Switzerland, or Italy, and that, of all her conquests, England had retained only Ceylon and Trinidad. Business men, on their side, were deeply disappointed that the stipulations embodied no treaty of commerce, and that, instead of the wide facilities which they expected, the Continent remained closed, as in the past, with a system of prohibitive tariffs more numerous than war. The opinion of the mercantile world became before long the opinion of the whole nation. "It is nothing but a deal and deceptive truce," said Lord Fitzwilliam in a speech in Parliament. The Government inwardly shared this view, and hoped, before signing a definite peace, to obtain more favorable conditions and so render the treaty acceptable to the nation.

The town of Amiens was the place chosen for the discussion of the details of the treaty. The British envoy was Lord Cornwallis, who had commanded in America and in the East, and had governed India and Ireland. The French envoy was Joseph Bonaparte, who was shortly called "Grand Signatory of the Concordats," from having signed the treaty of Munster with America and that of Lunéville with Austria. Joseph, who liked to pass as a liberal and as an opponent, on many points, of the policy of his brother, professed great sympathy with England, and was ready to make genuine efforts to bring about a definite reconciliation between the two countries. Personally he was inclined to make concessions with a view to removing causes of disagreement in the future, but the First Consul ordered Talleyrand to draw up instructions which confined Joseph's power of negotiation within very definite limits. Joseph, accordingly, was compelled to decline all discussion which related to the King of Saxony, to Holland and the Stadtholder, or to the affairs of Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. "All these subjects," said Napoleon, "are completely outside our deliberations with England." With all vested questions thus eliminated, the treaty of peace became nothing more than a simple acceptance of the preliminaries. The British Government had to agree to these conditions; for Bonaparte declared that, rather than yield on this essential point, he would recommence hostilities. The questions of India, Malta, and Egypt were settled in accordance with the terms of the preliminaries.

There remained what the English people had most at heart, the question of commercial treaties. Bonaparte, who had inherited from the Committee of Public Safety and from the Directory their spirit of despotism, had also inherited from them their economic methods. The Decree of law of 10 Brumaire, year 7, which was the enactment of an aggravated form of the Tonnage law of 19 Vendémiaire, year III, was rigorously enforced; it placed British merchants on the same footing as French *étrangers*, declared their merchandise to be enemy's goods,

and forbade its importation or sale throughout the territory of the French Republic. In vain did the British strive to obtain more equitable conditions; Bonaparte flatly refused and declared that he preferred to remain hostilities. "Rather immediate war," said he, "than dilatory arrangements." The British Government was compelled to submit, and only obtained some unimportant concessions in matters of detail. The negotiations, however, dragged on for nearly six months. Many pretence of a dilatory nature were drawn up, there was much discussion and work going and coming between Amiens, London, and Paris. Bonaparte grew impatient, and frequently threatened to resort to war. It was his wish that the treaty should be signed on March 10, the day on which the Concordat was to be promulgated in France. It was not, however, till March 25, 1802, that the signatures were exchanged.

The Treaty of Amiens was also signed by Amans and Schimmelpenninck, the representatives of Spain and Holland, who, as a matter of fact, had merely to ratify what Bonaparte had decided. It contained the following provisions. Peace was proclaimed between the French Republic, the King of Spain, and the Batavian Republic on the one part, and the King of Great Britain and Ireland on the other. Great Britain retained Capten and Ystadia, and restored the other colonies taken from France and her allies. The integrity of Turkey was guaranteed; the Prince of Orange was to receive an indemnity; Malta was to be restored to the Order, to remain neutral and independent under the guarantee of the Great Powers, and to receive a Neapolitan garrison for a year, and if necessary for a longer period. Great Britain was to evacuate the island within three months of the ratification of the treaty, while France was to evacuate Tientsin and the States of the Church; Great Britain was to surrender the ports which she occupied on the Adriatic and the Mediterranean in the month following the ratification, and her colonial conquests within six months of that date.

This treaty was far more advantageous to France than to England, where it was regarded with very mixed feelings. It was in vain that Addison declared, "This is no ordinary peace, but a genuine reconciliation between the two first nations of the world"; the country did not believe him. The leaders of conscience, when they saw that the prohibitions imposed in the heat of a violent struggle were in no way relaxed, looked upon the arrangement as a devil's bargain. The lower orders, to whom it did not bring the cheap food on which they had counted, were still more dissatisfied. The great landowners, who had hoped for relief from fiscal burdens, and the middle class, which called for the abolition of the income-tax, openly expressed their dislike for a treaty which did not fulfil their wishes. But what perhaps more irritated the nation as a whole, was the discovery that the Government had taken no measures to check the insatiable ambition of Bonaparte. This feeling of discontent made itself heard when the treaty was discussed in Parliament.

In the House of Lords, Lord Grenville declared the peace to be both "useful and dishonourable," and asserted that the country, instead of being secure, "stood in greater danger than ever." Lord Carnarvon, stigmatising the peace as disgraceful, remarked that it "even contrived to remove all severity for those rights which still remained unsecured." In the House of Commons, where the criticisms were equally bitter, Addington expressed his regret at being made a party to the apprehension of France, but he added: "I am well persuaded that, whatever may happen, it is the wisest course for us to husband our resources at present that we may the better be prepared, if that should be our lot, to exert ourselves with energy and effect. . . . I think therefore that we should take care not to exhaust our resources when there is nothing to be gained by it." The treaty was ratified accordingly.

In France, on the contrary, the joy caused by the announcement of the Peace of Amiens was without alloy. Moreover as she was of Holland, Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine, Switzerland, and Italy, never at any period of her history had France appeared to be more powerful. Moreover, the fact that the peace affected almost the whole Continent was a reason for believing that it would prove durable; for, simultaneously with the signature of the preliminaries of London, treaties had been agreed with other countries, France, Bavaria, Turkey, and Russia.

On May 22, 1802, France concluded a treaty with Prussia, by which the latter secured the possession of the bishoprics of Paderborn and Münster, part of Münster, Bielefeld, Bielefeld, Bielefeld, and several abbays, in compensation for the territories surrendered to France on the left bank of the Rhine. In return, Prussia formally recognised the changes effected by France in Italy. The Stadtholder received from France a share of German territory consisting of the bishopric of Fulda and certain abbays; and he on his side recognised the existence of the Batavian Republic. By a treaty dated May 22, France obtained from Bavaria the surrender of all territory possessed by the latter on the left bank of the Rhine; in consideration of this, she undertook to use her influence in the negotiations which were shortly to take place with reference to the affairs of Germany, to obtain for Bavaria adequate and conveniently situated compensation. The treaty of October 6 with Turkey provided for the restitution of Egypt to the Porte, for the recognition of former relations with France, and for the strict enforcement of all previous treaties of commerce and navigation.

The treaty of October 12 with Russia was still more important. France undertook to settle in conjunction with Russia the question of indemnifying the German princes, and also the Italian question, so far as the latter had not been disposed of by the treaties concluded with the Pope, Austria, and Naples. The most thorny question was that of Poland. During the negotiations in London, Bonaparte, reinforced by the advice of the British Government, had completed the details.

interpretation of that country, which he had previously delayed. He now made up his mind not to surrender it to the King of Sardinia. The Duke, in spite of his championship of that sovereign, was compelled to rest satisfied with a clause by which France and Russia mutually promised "to concert themselves in friendly concert with the interests of His Majesty the King of Sardinia, and to treat them with all the consideration compatible with the actual state of things."

It needed no presence to foresee, even so early as 1802, that the universal peace, which was the admission of contemporaries, could not, from its very nature, be anything more than a truce. Austria had suffered the Treaty of Lunéville to be wrong from her, and it was clear that she would seize the first opportunity to tear it up. In the instructions which Colliard had set down for his own guidance at the moment of starting for Lunéville, he wrote, "In case it should be impossible to obtain better conditions from France, we must consider, in conjunction with the English Government, which course would best further the common cause—whether to expose Austria to the dangers of continuing the war, or to accede to her by a separate peace the steps necessary to enable her to recover her strength and so remain a reasonable ally of England." Austria had not lost the hope, or at any rate the desire, to deprive France of her supremacy in Europe, and to force her back within her ancient limits or even beyond them. Acknowledging that for the moment she was beaten, she compromised but did not capitulate.

Great Britain, for analogous reasons, could only look upon the Peace of Amiens as a truce. Bonaparte showed plainly that his intention was to rob her of her ascendancy in the Mediterranean and to displace her supremacy at sea. England would have ceased to be England had she agreed to such conditions. A nation believing ever with strength and vitality, with her traditions, her passions, and her pride, with her banks, her mines, her manufactures, her superfluous population, her fleets, her trade, her vast capital and her insatiable credit, would have desired her own destruction had she given up the contest. It asked her to discontinue it for a time, to secure her acquisitions and gather fresh strength; but she knew that a resumption of the conflict was inevitable.

But what, above everything else, rankled the peace-breakers and startled was the personal ambition of Bonaparte. Reflecting his part life at St. Helena, Napoleon said: "I was formerly persuaded that both the future of France and my own was settled at Amiens.....It was my intention to devote myself entirely to the administration of France; and I believe that I should have worked wonders. I should have made the moral conquest of Europe, as I conquered it, or very nearly conquered it, by force of arms." Bonaparte's language in 1802 was very different. "France," he said, "must be first among States, or she must disappear: I will keep the peace as long as my neighbors keep it; but the advantage will be mine if they force me to take up arms again before they grow

erty. Between old monarchies and a young republic the spirit of hostility must always exist. In the existing situation every treaty of peace means to me no more than a brief armistice; and I believe that, while I fill my present office, my destiny is to be fighting almost continually."

No sooner was the Treaty of Amiens signed than Bonaparte began to make ready for the struggle which he foresaw and foretold. In domestic affairs he displayed an all-consuming activity: roads, canals, improvements in the ports, were all undertaken at once. He paid a visit to Normandy, admired its cloth-factories, its looms, its workshops, and resolved to extend throughout France the industries to which that province owes its wealth. He fitted out extensive colonial expeditions for the Antilles, Louisiana, Mauritius, Madagascar, and India. All the dockyards were filled with scaffolding, in the midst of which rose the hulls of vessels. Bonaparte's great ambition was to have a fleet equal to that of England. "It will take us at least ten years," he said to Admiral Duroc, "after that time, with the help of Spain and Holland, we may perhaps hope to challenge the power of Great Britain with some chance of success." To this end, and in order to profit by a period of aggressive peace which was to secure the hegemony of France on the Continent, he began by pressing into his service those maritime Powers which were already dependent on the Republic. Already controlling Holland and Italy, he was determined to be master of Spain and Portugal; and, pending the annexation of those countries, he sent his own generals in the guise of ambassadors, who were to dragoon the governments, keep watch on their doings, frustrate intrigues, and take care that the ports were rigidly closed to the English. Foreseeing, moreover, that in the event of a maritime war the struggle would extend to the Continent, he took measures to strengthen his position on the French frontier; and thus entered into alliances with the princes of Italy, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland.



## CHAPTER IV.

## FRANCE AND HER TRIBUTARIES (1804-5).

In 1798 it had been the aim of the Coalition to destroy these revolutionary creations of the Directory—the Ligurian, Cisalpine, Batavian, and Helvetic Republics. The result of the campaign of 1800 was to affirm their existence and their independence. More than this, under the terms of the Treaty of Lunéville, Bonaparte intervened in Germany on the question of the indemnities to be paid to the dispossessed Princes of the left bank of the Rhine; and he proposed, by enforcing his own doctrine of "secularisation," to bring about the aggrandisement of certain lay Princes and so create allies in the heart of Germany. It was only under the rule of Bonaparte that the political effects of the Revolution acquired any degree of durability in the tributary States. He had himself lost no time, after the events of Brumaire, in making important modifications in the constitution of the Cisalpine Republic, Holland, and Switzerland. After the Peace of Amiens he was able to undertake the reorganisation of these countries.

At the outbreak of the revolutionary wars, the educated classes in Italy had welcomed the French as deliverers, in the hope of obtaining from them what as yet the Italians lacked—liberty and a fatherland. The French Revolution, while it interfered in the civil reforms which had been so ardently longed for by the majority of the people, had laid down, as a first principle, the independence of nations, and had aimed at giving them their freedom and at uniting them in appropriate groups by the ties of patriotism. It was this feature of the great movement of political emancipation in France which struck enlightened Italians, and caused all inhabitants of the peninsula to hail that movement with enthusiasm. This enthusiasm did not, however, survive the fall of the Republic. The Italians believed that it was the main object of the French to free them and to secure their liberty. The French, indeed, were willing to free the Italians and to share with them the gains of the Revolution; but the protection thus given was primarily intended to attach them to the Republic. The war, too, was costly, and by whom should the cost be defrayed if not by those who benefited by it? Before long, however, the necessities of the campaign brought with them the

deeds of gain; and, by looting, the wars of liberation were turned into wars of conquest. The Convention had treated the nations which submitted to it with a certain degree of generosity; the Directory, in its dealings with them, displayed only greed and avarice. Generals and administrators rivaled each other in the art of making war at a profit. Bonaparte, during his first Italian campaign, showed a special aptitude in this direction. Not only did he levy enormous contributions upon the towns, sequester the estates and goods of the clergy, and quarter his soldiers upon the inhabitants, but he sent to Paris "everything which could be carried off and which might be useful." Moreover his officers, agents, and commissioners, not content with enforcing requisitions on behalf of the army or the Directory, pillaged so shamelessly on their own account that Bonaparte was continually compelled to intervene.

During the second Italian campaign the people were subjected to the same exactions; and riots took place everywhere after the arrival of the French. Bonaparte, however, flattered himself that he would be able to win over the Italians by fair speeches and promises of good government. One of the chief mistakes of the Directory had been the persecution of religion. The First Consul, on the other hand, as soon as he entered Italy, declared himself its defender. In all his proclamations this advice was repeated: "Let your priests say mass; power lies with the people; if they wish for religion, respect their wishes." This respect for religion went a long way towards smoothing down Italian opposition. An entirely new section of adherents was gained over—the middle classes and the people. To reconcile the Liberals with the new régime, Bonaparte boasted the benefits of the Revolution, civil equality and the suppression of abuses and privileges. He led the patriots to believe that, by means of the institutions which were to be given to Italy, he was preparing the way for national unity, which had already been brought about in France by the creation of a unity of principles and of legislation, of thought and sentiment—that he which were fable to bind together all human communities. He thus led all parties to cherish the illusion that the new polity, half national republic, half protectorate, would eventually lead them to the full possession of their independence.

It was certainly no part of Bonaparte's scheme to sequester Italian unity. At Campo Formio, in spite of the wishes of the Directory, who had planned the creation of a strong republic in North Italy, he himself had been the foremost to stipulate that great scheme by the surrender of Venice, and, later, by the annexation of Piedmont. To enable him to become master of Italy, it was necessary that the country should be split up. In his private conversations with Fouché he declared that the Italian people, overcast by centuries of bondage, was unfitted for liberty and independence. To Italians he held out the splendid prospect of a united Italy; but he was well aware that the bulk of the

gation, deeply interested in local and municipal matters and at heart indifferent to forms of government, would sooner or later be gained to France by the dispensing of equal justice and by a wise and careful administration. It was with these views that he organized Piedmont, Liguria, and the Genoese Republic.

The future of Piedmont had been provisionally settled by a decree of April 21, 1801, which made of it a French military province. By a decree of September 21, 1802, the administration was made civil instead of military; and the country was divided into six departments. The incorporation with France had been long foreseen; and the people accepted it willingly. Forced, after the Austro-Russian invasion, to submit to the yoke of a reaction which had not even restored their original liberty; invaded once more by the French, whom they had hailed as liberators, and governed subsequently by commissioners who were hampered by incessant financial difficulties, the Piedmontese desired nothing so much as peace, even at the expense of their nominal independence. During a year and a half they had become accustomed to the French administration, and had found it to be just and careful of the general good; the change made by Bonaparte did not affect them; it was merely a substitution of the permanent for the provisional. For the rest, they were by no means badly off under French rule. Agriculture, which had suffered much from the war, was generally resumed; manufactures and commerce prospered; the people, who could now procure their rillings as peace, became reconciled to a régime which, if it did not give them liberty, at any rate ensured them security and a certain degree of comfort.

While Bonaparte was incorporating Piedmont with the French Republic, the government of the *Ligurian Republic* underwent important changes at his hands. The existing constitution of the latter country was a copy of the French constitution of the year III; it provided for government by a Directory with two elective Chambers. This constitution Bonaparte abolished, and, in concert with Saliceti, the French representative at Genoa, he created a new form of government, composed of a Senate and a Doge, who was to be its nominee. The change was made without opposition; and the new authorities took office on June 22, 1802. From that time forward, the Republic of Genoa was a docile instrument in Bonaparte's hands, and continued to lend him useful support in his struggle with Great Britain until its incorporation with the French Empire in 1805.

In the *Chablais*, Bonaparte had no difficulty in reestablishing his authority; for Austrian ill-will had caused the French to be so unpopular with regret. Not less intent than the French had been on absorbing the riches of the country, the Austrians had made themselves especially odious by the mean vengeance which they wreaked on those who had borne office under the Republic. Far-seeing men had

not been wanting in Austria to warn the Government against these excesses, but their warnings were in vain. Patriots had been publicly flogged, and many had been thrown into prison. All the High functionaries of the Cisalpine Republic had been compelled to explore their estates by forced labour on the government works at Cuthers. The goals of the Revolution had been nullified by a stroke of the pen, and the former regime, aggravated by the abuses peculiar to Austrian rule, had been reestablished.

In its beginnings, however, French rule proved hard enough. Before it obtained a regular polity, the Cisalpine had to submit to a Provisional Government which literally asked the country dry. Bonaparte had indeed promised to reorganize the Republic in accordance with the principles which had triumphed in France in December—"order, equality, and good order." A year, however, was to pass before the promise was fulfilled; and during that time the Cisalpine was governed, first by a French agent, General Petet, a former war minister of the Directory; then by a commission of nine, which was reduced subsequently to a triumvirate composed of three Milanese advocates, Bonaschina, Visconti, and Buge. In addition to this executive, there was a Legislative Assembly or *Consiglio*, the members of which, limited in number, had been selected by Bonaparte. This Assembly was powerless; and the country lay at the mercy of the Triumvirate, two of whom, Bonaschina and Buge, governed with the sole object of enriching themselves at the expense of the State. The condition of the Cisalpine was for some time pitiable: compelled, according to the principle laid down by Bonaparte, to support the army of occupation, the Republic had under this head to make a monthly payment of 100,000 francs into the French Treasury. To this heavy charge were added innumerable and never-ending requisitions in kind. The country districts had been ravaged, and a succession of bad harvests added to the general misery.

It was high time for Bonaparte to intervene, if he were not to lose the fruits of his conquest. After the signature of the Treaty of Lunéville, he returned to the inhabitants of the Cisalpine that he was about to organize their Republic on a permanent basis. Bonaparte had no intention of leaving to the Lombards the task of framing their own constitution. It was at Paris that the Constitution of the Cisalpine was drawn up, on the model of the French-Consular Constitution. In September, 1801, when the draft was ready, Bonaparte summoned four of the most considerable citizens of the Republic, Marmocchi, Meli, Aldini, and Serbelloni, submitted the result of his labours to them, and asked for their criticisms. But, subject to some slight modifications made at their suggestion, the Constitution remained essentially such as he himself had evolved it. The complete instrument was referred in secret to the *Consiglio* at Milan, which adopted it without amendment.

As the foundation of the whole system, Bonaparte created a body of electors, divided into three colleges, the propertians (groundrent), the learned classes (barrs), the trading classes (commercial). These electors, 300 in number, appointed various bodies: a Commission of Censorship (Censure) of 25 members, whose duty it was to safeguard the constitution, and which resembled the French Senate; a Council of 8 members, whose business it was to draw up new laws, and who corresponded to the French Council of State; a Legislative Council of 18 members, whose task, like that of the French Tribunats, was to discuss proposed legislation; and lastly a Legislative Body of 75 members, organized, like the French prototype, to silence, whose only function was to consider and vote laws as were passed. But the power of these various bodies was still further curtailed to the advantage of the executive. The executive authority was concentrated entirely in the hands of a President and a Vice-President, the powers of the latter being even more shadowy than were those of a Second Council. These two magistrates were appointed for ten years.

In organizing the *Gauche* Republic after this fashion, Bonaparte set before himself a double object. His aims, on the one hand, to set up a stable government which might remove threatened interests and satisfy to a certain extent the national aspirations; on the other hand, to establish French rule in the north of Italy on a durable footing. Bonaparte attained the first end by the grant of a Constitution, and the second by reserving to himself the nomination of all the functionaries of the Republic. As usual, he was astute enough to make it appear that, in so doing, he was only carrying out the wishes of the people. Prompted by his agents, certain of the citizens came to Paris to beg him to choose their officials and so render a service to their country. Bonaparte replied that it was not possible for him to perform the task assigned; and he proposed to do so in concert with the most influential members of the Republic. It was arranged that this new Committee, the members of which had been chosen by Bonaparte, should meet at Lyons, in order, as he said, that its deliberations might be free from local influences. Four hundred and fifty-five deputies, all favourable to France, went to Lyons at the beginning of 1801, and in concert with Bonaparte characterized the offices of the Republic. When they came to the choice of the chief magistrate—the President—a committee appointed for the purpose nominated Count Mabi, the most prominent person in Lombardy and a man who appeared to stand high in Bonaparte's favour. Bonaparte, however, strongly disapproved of their choice. What was his reason for doing so the Lombards failed to understand, until Talleyrand enlightened them by enquiring why they did not nominate Bonaparte himself. The Italians took the hint at once, and lost no time in offering to Bonaparte the first place in their Republic. Bonaparte realized the proposal as a matter of course. He told the Lombards that he accepted,

"because he had found no one amongst them who had sufficient claims on popular esteem, and who had rendered services to his country sufficiently important to make him worthy of the chief magistracy."

Not to have a President of their own nationality was a rude disappointment to the Lombards; but Bonaparte, by way of consolation, announced at the last sitting of the Commission, January 22, 1802, that from that time forward the name "*Italian*" should be substituted for that of "*Cisalpine*." These words were received with unanimous applause. Did they not proclaim to the whole of Italy that the Republic might be reckoned as the first step towards national unity, towards that *Italia unita, indipendente ed una*, which their poet Alfieri had foretold? Meli was at the same time appointed Vice-President, with the task of governing in Bonaparte's absence.

This first experiment of an Italian Republic was, at least at the outset, fairly successful. Meli, a man of a gentle and conciliatory disposition, who belonged to an old Lombard family, and carried great weight in the country, succeeded by his personal influence in smoothing down to a great extent the opposition of the privileged classes—the nobility and the clergy. The clergy in particular, already reassured by Bonaparte, were completely won over. The well-to-do classes, who had hitherto suffered severely from the depredations of French agents and the incessant requisitions imposed by the army, were harassed no longer. The support of the corps of occupation was arranged for on a definite basis, so that the burden could not be increased by arbitrary demands.

Even the political point of view also, the situation seemed at first to promise fairly. Meli, it is true, did not share Bonaparte's ideas; he was a Liberal, and would have preferred a Constitution on the English model; but he administered with strict impartiality the Constitution which had been given to his country. He received valuable assistance in his task from the officials whom Bonaparte had chosen, particularly from Fiumi, the famous minister, a very able man. In less than a year all the chief departments of state were organised; and the machine of government was put into working condition. Order was reestablished in the finances; a national army was created; and military schools for the instruction of officers were opened at Pavia and Modena. Public instruction, which under the Austrians had fallen into neglect, made a fresh start; and the universities of Bologna and Pavia were reopened.

But these auspicious beginnings had no further. Meli did not receive that support from the people which might have given durability to his work. The nation, whose moral and national unity he strove to bring about, was strongly particularist at heart. The local spirit of the towns rebelled against the dominions of the central authority. The States to the south of the Po were impatient of the supremacy of Milan, and, in the words of the Vice-President, were "constantly hankering after independence." Of devotion to the common cause there was none; each

man thought only of himself. At the same time there was perpetual friction with the French. No one spoke well of the administration. "Why," it was asked, "do we need an army of occupation?" Are we not ourselves capable of keeping order in our own country?" Strange to say, no better order was established, discontent increased. "The feeling of animosity against the French," wrote Melzi, "is unshared."

To make head against so many difficulties a man of energy was needed, a man capable of uniting all parties by the force of his own will. Melzi was not of this stamp; he lacked the higher qualities of a statesman. As a great noble, moreover, Melzi could not but feel an instinctive aversion to the Jacobin leaders, men who sprang from the middle or lower classes, and many of whom still sat on the various councils. Now these Jacobins were the representatives of French ideas; and, if they were no favorites of Bonaparte, he knew how to make use of them. On all occasions they found a ready listener in Murat, who commanded the army of occupation; and he wanted no opportunity of keeping the First Consul informed of what was happening in Lombardy. Naturally the tendency of these reports was to give the impression at Paris that Melzi was an enemy of France.

An event happened which for the moment almost lost credibility to these accusations. A captain in the Italian army, Geronzi, published under a pseudonym a collection of sonnets in which he sang the former glories of Italy, and contrasted them with her present humiliation, bewailing "the fatherland prostrate beneath the heel of the stranger." In Bonaparte's eyes such a book was treasonable; and he expressed surprise that Melzi should have allowed it to be published. So harsh, indeed, was his reprimand, that the Vice-President of the Italian Republic, disheartened already by the ill success of his policy, went on his resignation. Bonaparte declined to accept it. He was already, in his own mind, treating the future of Lombardy. On the point of being proclaimed Emperor of the French, he dreamt of serving in his own favour the kingdom of Italy; until that dream could be realised, it was necessary that Melzi should retain his office. The latter was compelled to sacrifice his own wishes and remain as Vice-President till Bonaparte came to Milan to assume the new crown of Lombardy (May, 1800).

Compared with the north, which prospered in spite of French domination, the condition of the rest of Italy was deplorable in the extreme. The remaining States, unlike the Cisalpine and Piedmont, had not only lost their political independence, but were ill-governed and ill-administered into the bargain. In spite of the wealth of the soil, agriculture was at its lowest ebb. Industry and commerce were stifled under an antiquated system of laws. The commercial decline of Venice, which had begun in the middle of the eighteenth century, was hastened under the Austrian rule. Turin, which had been forced into the kingdom of Sardinia, for the benefit of the Duke of Parma, the viceroy of the King of Spain,

was in a pitiable state; the King, feeble in mind and body, and affected by epilepsy, was entirely dominated by his wife, the bigoted Maria-Louise, who in her turn was dominated by the priesthood; the last vestiges of liberty had been abolished, and the privileges of the clergy augmented to a corresponding extent. At Rome the situation was no better. Pius VII, a man adorned with great virtues in private life, possessed no aptitude for government; and his States, administered as they had been in the Middle Ages, were reputed the most wretched in Italy. At Naples, Ferdinand IV was equally careless in promoting the prosperity of his kingdom; the policy on which he was wholly bent was one of forging illud submissum to Bonaparte, while he secretly intrigued against him with the Governments of Vienna, London, and St. Petersburg.

Compared with these peoples, so severely governed, northern Italy seemed fortunate. Her citizens, if they did not enjoy liberty, possessed at all events equality and equitable laws. If Bonaparte did not give the country its independence, he developed its wealth by undertaking great works of public utility. He made roads, cut canals, improved the ports, and transformed the cities. Consequently, among the Venetians, the Romans, and the Neapolitans there were many who would have welcomed French rule or submission to the Italian Republic. Bonaparte, too, did not fail to encourage the belief that what he had effected in Piedmont and Lombardy had been effected in the interest of the Italians. In his official speeches he declared that the state of semi-subjection in which he held their country was only a stage on the road to absolute freedom, and that the day would come when he would restore to Italy the control of her own destinies. This illusion of the Italians was not to last long. In 1804 the Empire was established in France; and this involved for Italy the complete subjection of the country.

If the Dutch did not show the enthusiasm of the Belgians for the doctrines of the French Revolution, those doctrines had, nevertheless, made their way into Holland even before the arrival of the armies of the Republic. The fragments of the old republican party, whose chief men had taken refuge in France after the revolution effected by the Stadtholder William V in 1797, still existed in the country. In imitation of what had been done in Paris, these republicans founded clubs in most of the towns; after the French conquest, many of them became leaders in the new polity and the first office-bearers in the Batavian Republic. The first republican government was remarkable for its wisdom and moderation, but it was incapable of grappling with its political and financial difficulties. The secret particularist tendencies of the Dutch showed themselves in each province and even in each town; and the military exigencies, which were often pressing, caused general discontent. An attempt at centralisation made in 1798, in the shape of a National Convention, whose members chose the executive, succeeded in



battery and after two years the plan was abandoned. For some time (1797-8) all political life in Holland was paralysed by a series of coups d'état. Government by a Directory, modelled on that of France, at last secured to the country three years of comparative repose.

The Dutch Directory consisted of an executive body of five members. The legislative authority was shared between two Chambers: a Grand Council, which was representative in character, and a Council of Ancients. This system worked fairly well, and at any other time would probably have secured the well being of the country. At the head of the Republic were active men of moderate views, capable of outwitting the Holland bar financial property, which had been compromised by a series of revolutions. Progress, however, in that direction was once more blocked by the war of 1799, and on the morrow of Bonaparte's victory the Republic sank under the weight of its debt. Napoleon, who commanded the army of occupation, drained the provinces dry by his incessant requisitions; and, as a last resource, the legislature was compelled to vote for the year 1800 a forced loan of 3 per cent on capital values. Under these conditions the Government was quickly discredited.

This state of things afforded Bonaparte abundant cause for interference in Holland. Ever since the revolution of Brumaire, his wish had been to change the system of government; and Stoufferle, the representative of France at the Hague, had written, "Batavia will accept whatever Constitution you give her." In 1800 Bonaparte concluded that the moment for intervention had come, and he drew up a Constitution which strengthened the executive, while it diminished the authority of the legislature to a corresponding extent. He created a Council of twelve members (*Staatsraad*), with a Secretary-General and four Secretaries of State. The legislative power rested with a single Chamber of 55 members, chosen, in the first instance, by the Government, and afterwards to be renewed, one-third at a time, by the electors. The Chamber could only vote by a simple "aye" or "no" on the bills placed before them.

Bonaparte resolved to submit this Constitution to the two Chambers for ratification, convinced that they would accept it eagerly. He was mistaken: the Chambers declined to give it their sanction, and they were supported in their refusal by two of the Directors. Bonaparte did not hesitate. On Sept. 26, 1800, Napoleon proclaimed the dissolution of the two Chambers; and, as the people made no sign, the *Moniteur* was able to say that "the operation had been accomplished without the smallest disturbance." Bonaparte declared that he would appeal to the nation; and he did so in fact, a few days later, submit his Constitution to the suffrages of the Dutch. Of 444,619 electors, 22,218 voted against the Constitution, and 14,771 for it; the rest abstained. This election was treated by Bonaparte as acquiescence; and on October 6, 1801, he declared that the Constitution had been accepted. In order to reconcile

the Netherlands to the new arrangement, he agreed to reduce, from 25,000 to 10,000 men, the number of soldiers which Holland was to support till the conclusion of peace with England. But, as a set-off to this reduction, he exacted a contribution of 65,000,000 florins.

This intervention of France in Holland took place only a few days before the signature of the Preliminaries of London, and could not fail to be displeasing to the British Government. Was it a poach on the sovereignty of the country, in spite of the engagements which Bonaparte had entered into at Lunenburg? To an enquiry made on this subject by the British Cabinet the First Consul replied "that every State had a right to organize itself as it thought fit, that Holland was free, and that, like the other Powers, she had her representation at Paris." This reply could not deceive the British Government. They did not, however, press the point, probably hoping that Bonaparte, tied down as he was by the Treaty of Lunenburg, and by Article 2 of the Convention of the Hague, which bound him, on the conclusion of peace with England, to evacuate Holland, would refrain from further intervention.

In Holland the *camp d'Yver* of September 18, 1801, was received, not with the enthusiasm described by Bonaparte in his despatches to Paris, but with resigned indifference. The most that could be said was, that those of the nation who longed for repose saw in it some hope of a period of tranquillity. This hope became almost a certainty after the signature of the Treaty of Amiens. Freedom of navigation encouraged the Dutch to look forward to a renewal of their trade and to the end of the evils which had accumulated during nine years of war. At the same time, the struggle which had hitherto raged between the Orangists and the Patriots was terminated by the action of the Prince of Orange, who, on behalf of himself and his heirs, renounced all claims to the Stadtholdership, and accepted in exchange the grant of the unincorporated German bishopric of Fulda, and the abbacy of Convey and Woupersee. All this seemed to promise a brighter future.

These hopes, however, were doomed to disappointment. The Government, composed of men of undoubted honesty but lacking in ability and courage, was incapable of securing the repose and prosperity of the country. The gravest question which it had to deal with was the question of finance. There was a deficit of 50,000,000 florins, and the Council adopted most unpopular measures to make it good. They imposed, for example, a tax of 4 per cent. on property and of 10 per cent. on income for eight years. They showed, moreover, intolerance towards Jews and Catholics, who, as under the former regime, were excluded from political life; and this policy irritated the Liberals. Other measures alienated the sympathies of the army; and a conspiracy, stirred up by Generals Daulnois and Dumasseau, very nearly succeeded. It was only due to the interference of Bonaparte, who managed to reduce the military to order, that a fresh *camp d'Yver* did not take place.

The rupture of the Treaty of Amiens finally ruined the hopes of the Dutch. On June 15, 1803, Bonaparte imposed on them, in addition to the maintenance of the French army of occupation, the duty of providing 15,000 men, of fitting out five men-of-war and five frigates, and of building transports and boats sufficient for the accommodation of more than 50,000 men. This was too much for a country whose finances were exhausted. The Government, driven into a corner, attempted to evade its engagements, and to delay the outbreak of hostilities with Great Britain. Bonaparte, who got wind of these measures, proposed in 1803 to bind Holland more closely to France by placing, as he said, "a man of character" at the head of affairs—he had already Scheremetjevskitch in his eye—but the mass of business on his hands forced him to defer the execution of this plan.

In Germany the effects of the French Revolution were not less important than in Italy. The people had become familiar with the ideas of liberty, fraternity, and equality through the teaching of their philosophers and poets, who at the end of the eighteenth century were essentially humanitarians and cosmopolites. But these ideas would have had little chance of taking practical effect, had not the blow dealt by the revolutionary armies, and still more by those of Napoleon, shattered the political fabric which had so long kept Germany divided and strangled all efforts at reform. Even after the reorganization of 1803 had reset the map of Old Germany and given the States their more modern shape, the process of reform would never have been completed had not the Holy Roman Empire been dissolved, and had not, above all, the Napoleonic wars, by exciting the patriotism of the Germans, aroused in them an ardent spirit of nationality. Indirectly, then, the French Revolution and the events that followed produced great results in Germany. But its immediate efforts hardly made themselves felt in that country except on the left bank of the Rhine. There the conditions of life bore a strong resemblance to those existing in France. Landed estates had been broken up; and the peasant proprietors enjoyed sufficient civil liberty to give them a taste for more. The feudal system had been so much relaxed as to suggest the idea of casting it off altogether. If we add to this the absence of historical traditions, we can understand the ease with which French ideas were assimilated in the newly-conquered districts.

The inhabitants of the Rhinische provinces welcomed the French, who freed them from ecclesiastical and feudal burdens and gave them civil equality. The people were by no means strongly imbued with the sentiment of German patriotism. The young patriot, Ulric, a native of Coblenz, accepted association with the words, "The Rhine was created by nature to serve as the boundary of France." It is true that, at the outset of the French conquest, the people had much to put

up with, and that the regulations imposed upon them caused great discontent, but from 1797 onward they had a regular and definite government. The German districts on the left bank, divided into four departments under a French Commissioner who resided at Mainz, were attached to the great Republic and enjoyed the advantages of the constitution. Bonaparte merely confirmed this arrangement, which lasted till 1814. During the whole of this period the left bank of the Rhine, defended by the line of fortresses which Napoleon had carefully constructed along the course of the river, enjoyed absolute peace. The district was indeed traversed by the Imperial armies, but remained untouched by war. The development of agriculture followed rapidly on civil freedom. The sale of the national domains at low prices created a multitude of peasant proprietors, and the various industries, freed from oppressive restrictions, grew rapidly and found important outlets in France. Napoleon encouraged the growth of the towns by the promotion of public works. In the rural districts roads were constructed; fruit trees were planted, and new breeds of horses, horned cattle, and merino sheep introduced. Liberty, it is true, costed no more on the banks of the Rhine than it did in France, and the press and all books sent from Germany were subject to a strict censorship; but, as the administration was fair and honest, the people were not dissatisfied with their lot. Till 1814 they remained attached to France.

The occupation of the left bank of the Rhine by the French brought about an important revolution in Germany. The Treaty of Lunéville provided that the depopulated princes should be indemnified, and that the policy of "secularization" should be put into force. When the Emperor Francis II announced this arrangement to the Diet at Ratisbon, that body was aroused from its torpor and began to display an unwonted activity. On March 6, 1803, the three Colleges met to consider the Imperial communication. The King-Elector of Brandenburg proposed the ratification of the treaty, subject to certain reservations for the future, and to the condition that the Estates of the Empire should take part in the rearrangement of territory which must follow as a necessary consequence. This proposal was adopted by a majority.

Though not too well pleased to see the number of benefices increased by the addition of the Stadtholder and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the temporal Princes were, on the whole, exasperated with the prospect of secularization. They called to mind the vast confiscations of church property which had followed on the Reformation, and which the Treaties of Augsburg and Westphalia had confirmed. The fortresses of Prussia, Saxony, and Electoral Hesse dated from that time, and the rulers of Baden, Wurtemberg, and Bavaria looked forward to obtaining, by the aid of Bonaparte, similar aggrandizement. On the other hand, the Princes of the Church would not listen to the proposals for secularization, and protested loudly against them, avowing that, if their

claim was disregarded, the Empire and the Catholic religion would alike perish.

Between two extremes—the party which adopted the policy of wholesale secularisation and that which repudiated it altogether—a third party sprang up, the party of limited secularisation, headed by Austria and Prussia. These three views were debated at great length, and, as no one was prepared to make concessions, discussion only served to intensify the divergence. Not only had the principle of religionism to be decided, but also the question of the amount of the indemnities themselves. The rivalry was bitter; Austria and Prussia were particularly jealous of each other. At one time it seemed that these two Powers had come to an understanding with the object of settling all matters between themselves in a friendly way. They fell out, however, over the demands of Cologne and the bishops of Münster, and the discussion in the Diet grew more and more violent. Eventually, Bonaparte, in concert with the Tsar Alexander, resolved to intervene.

Bonaparte had long been waiting for this opportunity to meddle in the affairs of Germany. Master of the left bank of the Rhine, he called to mind the advice of Turenne, "If you would defend the left bank of the Rhine, soon to the right." Accordingly, while deferring the project of availing, after Metternich's idea, a League of the Rhine, he aimed at establishing on the right bank friendly Powers who would mount guard for him. The Tsar, on his side, invoking the Treaty of Tilsit (1795), declared that no rearrangement of German territory could take place without his participation. Bonaparte, who was not sorry to associate a great Power with the transformation which he contemplated in Germany, gave a cordial welcome to the Russian overtures. Their acceptance left him still master of the situation; and it was he, in the last resort, who determined the apportionment of property in Germany.

The German Powers knew well enough that the success of the war depended finally upon Bonaparte, and they forthwith hastened to Paris. In 1802 the capital of France presented a curious spectacle. An auction might have been going on for the sale of German lands, with Bonaparte as auctioneer. He bound all the Princes who received benefits by special and separate treaties, which placed them at his discretion. The Tsar, whose vanity he had flattered by giving him the credit of a successful mediation, and by satisfying him on all points in which the interests of France and Russia were identical, gave his approbation to the scheme, which was laid before the Diet on February 22, 1803. The question before the deputies involved readjustments of territory as important as to recast the whole map of Germany from one end to the other; the majority however approved the scheme; and the Emperor, Francis II, having no alternative, ratified their decision. The only objections which he put forward were in relation to the balance of votes in the Diet. The Protocols in that body, held under a majority of 45 to 57, because, by

action of the new arrangement, a majority of 67 to 53. This change entailed the defeat of the Austrian and the triumph of the Prussian party. In spite of this opposition, the new Imperial Constitution came into force in 1803, and it was destined to last, in essentials, until the complete destruction of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.

By this decision of the Diet (*Reichsdeputationshauptschluss*) the sixth part of Germany, with a population of four millions, was redistributed amongst certain secular States, which gained more strength by consolidation than the Empire had lost by dismemberment. Austria, which ruled the Bishops and Counts in the Duke of Modena, received the bishoprics of Brixen and Trent. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, an ally of Austria, obtained the archbishopric of Salzburg, with the surrounding territory. Bavaria was very favourably treated. She received an area of 17,800 square kilometres with 800,000 inhabitants in exchange for the 18,000 square kilometres with 700,000 inhabitants which she surrendered on the left bank of the Rhine, and was rendered far more compact by the addition of these new territories. Württemberg got nine free cities and a number of abbeys. Baden, which had lost nothing but a few petty lordships, received the bishopric of Constance, the towns of Heidelberg and Mannheim, ten abbeys, seven free cities, and gained 337,000 additional inhabitants. The new Elector of Hesse-Cassel was liberally indemnified at the expense of the territory of Mainz. Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, and other of the minor lay Princes each received a substantial increase of territory. But, of all the States, it was again Prussia that came off best. In the place of the 2700 square kilometres and the 123,000 subjects which she lost, she acquired 18,000 square kilometres and 500,000 inhabitants in Westphalia, the very heart of Germany; she was thus placed in a position to renew her designs on the hegemony of the north.

The effect of all these changes was to add materially to the concentration of Germany. The petty Princes, especially the Princes of the Church, were nearly all dispossessed. Of these latter, numerous as they had formerly been, only three remained, viz. Salzburg, Elector of Mainz, who through Bonaparte's influence was translated to the see of Bamberg, now raised to an archbishopric, the holder of the see being made an official President of the Diet; the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order; and the Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of St John. The number of the electors was raised from 7 to 10, and that increase was favourable to the Protestants, 6 being Protestant and 4 Catholic. The free cities were reduced in number from 50 to 8, namely Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Frankfurt, Augsburg, and Nürnberg. The effect of it all was that the Germany of the Middle Ages, with its colonised States, its orders of knighthood, and the preponderance of the Habsburgs, vanished, never to return. The independent nobility (*Reichsfürsten*) disappeared, to the advantage of the Princes; and the

most powerful among the latter were the chief gainers. Another step on the road towards a united Germany was accomplished, and, for that reason, the Imperial Recess of 1803 was in its way a revolution as radical as was the French Revolution of 1789.

In Switzerland, the effects of the French Revolution resembled those in Germany: the ancient federation of 13 cantons with its subject and allied provinces, together with the extraordinary inequalities which existed between the country districts and the towns, disappeared once for all. In its place was created the *Helvetic Republic*, one and indivisible, which, by abolishing ecclesiastical and feudal burdens and the monopolies that clogged manufactures and commerce, and by establishing civil equality and liberty of conscience, laid the foundation of the democratic Switzerland of the nineteenth century. This work, it must be admitted, was accomplished less by the will of the citizens than by the conquering armies of the Revolution. The ideas of 1789 had indeed penetrated into Switzerland, where they found a ready response. The peasants, who were in subjection to the oligarchy of the towns, and the populations of the subject provinces—Vaud, Argovie, Thurgau, St. Gallen, TESSIN—who bore with impatience the yoke of their rulers, sympathized with the French revolutionaries. At Paris a Helvetic Club was founded in 1790, with the object of propagating revolutionary ideas in Switzerland: it flooded the towns and country districts with tracts and pamphlets preaching war against the oligarchy. Some meetings took place in certain parts of Switzerland, at Schaffhausen and in TESSIN, where, at the instigation of Frédéric-César de La Harpe and a knot of patriots, trees of liberty were planted and tricolour flags displayed, to the strains of "Ça ira." But these movements were promptly put down. The existing Governments in Switzerland were strongly reactionary, and even in the small democratic cantons of Old Switzerland, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, which had furnished many officers to France, Jacobinism was held in abhorrence. Consequently, as no part of Europe was French in spirit more numerous, relatively speaking, than in Switzerland, and they were generally welcomed.

This hospitality accorded to the refugees prejudiced the French revolutionary Government against Switzerland, and supplied it with an excuse for intervention. The strategical importance of the country had not escaped the Directory, which, after the coup d'état of Fructidor, 1797, had prepared a scheme of invasion. Returning from his first Italian campaign Bonaparte passed through Switzerland on his way to the Congress of Rastatt, and induced himself that France, if she intervened in that country, would receive the support of certain sections of the population. The resolution of the Directory was taken forthwith: French agents, under the guise of travellers, crossed the country, inciting the inhabitants to rebellion and promising the aid of France. Not long

afterwards, French troops arrived at the Rhodan Jura (then the bishopric of Basel) and in Yverdon; and a few months later (March, 1795) the whole of Switzerland was under the rule of French generals, who announced themselves as liberators and promised to respect persons and property.

This pretended respect for persons and property was a cruel irony. Of the countries invaded by the revolutionary armies, none was worse treated than Switzerland. "The Directory," said Carnot, "has looked for the country where it could find the greatest number of free men to sacrifice, and has thrown itself upon Switzerland." Merciless contributions were levied on all the cantons and towns. The rich treasures lying at Bern forced its way to Paris. Armies were pillaged, old harvests carried off. The Confederation was impotent and could not interfere. As yet the cantons had not learned to make common cause. Each was fought for itself; and Bern opposed a heroic resistance to the foreign invaders. In the end, however, the country was subdued.

General Bernz drew up a Constitution, under which the country was divided into three republics—the *Helvétique* or Latin Switzerland, the *Tellurique* or Old Switzerland, and the *Helvétique* or German Switzerland. This scheme, the work of a man who knew nothing of Swiss affairs, turned out impracticable, and at the end of seven days it was abandoned.

A new Constitution drawn up by Peter Ochs of Basel, one of the chiefs of the Swiss revolutionary party, was next established. It was copied from the French Constitution of the year III, and divided Switzerland into 15 cantons administered by prefects. The central legislative authority was divided between two bodies, the Senate and the Grand Council. The executive authority was in the hands of a Directory of five members chosen by the legislative bodies. A supreme tribunal was also created. This Constitution, however, was never accepted by the Swiss people as a whole. The mountain cantons, in particular, opposed it so strenuously that it was necessary, in order to enforce submission, to call in the French troops; and these unhappy districts were also deluged with blood.

The new Government, supported as it was by French arms, might have been accepted by the country had it not proved altogether inefficient. Its aims were ambitious; it aimed at establishing a system of civil law, at organising public instruction, which was very backward in most of the cantons, at developing agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and art; but, having no funds at its disposal, it could effect nothing. The country, beneath the exactions of the French troops, had been taxed to the uttermost; and yet it was called upon every year to submit to fresh ravages of men and money. Aristocrats and democrats, who had been encouraged by the French bayonets, began to grow restless when the Coalition defeated the French in Germany and Italy in 1796. But after Mouton's victories at Zurich, which confirmed once more the French pretensions in Switzerland, that country gave up the struggle.



For some years the revolutionary Government of the Helvetic Republic had much difficulty in maintaining its authority; and, attacked as it was by the aristocrats of the towns and the democrats of the old cantons, its members perceived that a *coup d'état* was the only means of establishing their power. They proposed to accomplish at Bern in the beginning of 1800 what Bonaparte had recently accomplished at Paris in November. The Federalists, on the other hand, believing that they could count upon Bonaparte (who had married to one of them, the Baroness de Murat, his sympathies with the federal form of government), began an active agitation in certain of the cantons.

Bonaparte was not indifferent to what was passing in Switzerland; and, as in the case of Holland, he was on the watch for an opportunity to intervene. He gave the preference to neither of the two extreme parties which divided the country, but inclined rather to an intermediate group which recognized at once the advantages of the new régime and of certain institutions belonging to the past which it considered indispensable. This party, known in Switzerland as the *Republicans*, stood midway between the patriots or Jacobins on the one side and the reactionaries or Federalists on the other. It was moderate in its claims and unimpeachable in its objects. But the party was weak in numbers; its members were men of distinction who had been trained in the school of the Republic, and they formed, so to speak, a staff of officers without an army. Bonaparte nevertheless approached them; and on January 8, 1800, a *coup d'état* was effected at Bern which placed these men in power.

This *coup d'état* was chiefly aimed at the Jacobin members of the Directory, La Harpe, Suterlin, and Oberlin, who since the beginning of December, 1799, had been secretly preparing a *coup d'état* of their own. The two Directors who belonged to the Moderate party, Dolder and Savary, proposed to the Directory that it should dissolve itself. On the refusal of the majority to do this, the Moderates placed the matter before the two Councils, which were hostile to the Jacobin Directors. The two Councils dissolved the Directory, and entrusted the executive power to Dolder and Savary. Soon afterwards, instead of nominating fresh Directors, the Councils appointed an Executive Committee of seven members, moderate and experienced men, who were to act as a Provisional Government till another Constitution could be proclaimed.

This *coup d'état* was speedily followed by another. Bonaparte could not tolerate the existence in Switzerland of two Assemblies, each with a Jacobin majority. He therefore encouraged the Executive Committee to substitute for the two Councils a Legislative Body composed of 45 members, of whom 34 were to be chosen from the Councils by the Executive Committee, while the remaining 11 were to be co-opted by the 34. The Legislative Body thus constituted was in its turn to appoint the executive in the shape of a Council of seven members. The Grand Council, on this proposal being submitted to it, dissented in its heart.

of Bonaparte and voted it unanimously. The Senate, after a show of resistance, also acquiesced (August 8, 1803).

The Republican party formed the majority in the new Government, both in the executive and in the legislative departments, and they thought themselves strong enough to establish a Constitution framed in accordance with their own ideas, that is to say, at once unitary and liberal. It was, however, no part of Bonaparte's plan to favour the creation of a centralised Switzerland which would be less under his control than a federation. The new Government submitted a scheme based on the French Consular Constitution. To this Bonaparte replied by a counter-project, the Constitution of Malineison, and this he imposed upon the country in defiance of the Treaty of Lunéville, which had recognised Switzerland as an independent State.

The Constitution of Malineison (May, 1803) divided Switzerland into 17 cantons, to each of which was given autonomy in various matters, particularly in those relating to finance and public instruction. Each canton was placed under the authority of a *prolète*; and the administration was in each case adapted to local needs. The central authority consisted of a Diet of 77 members and a Senate of 32 members; and from the latter was chosen the First Magistrate of the country, who bore the title of *Chief Landammann* of Switzerland. The *Landammann* presided over a Council of Four, who formed the executive authority.

The Constitution, in spite of its imperfections, was the best that the country could hope for at the time. Taking into account recent events, it met the requirements of nature and history better than the unitarian Constitution which had preceded it; it may even be said that in certain respects it was superior to the Act of Mediation which followed it (1803). Had it been loyally applied, it would have restored peace to Switzerland and spared her many misfortunes; but, as things turned out, it found favour nowhere. The Republicans complained that it did not centralise sufficiently; the urban aristocrats could not forget the fact that it transformed the provinces which had formerly been held in subjection into autonomous cantons. The democrats of the smaller cantons declared roundly that they would never accept a Constitution imposed by a stranger. All parties therefore agreed in demanding its modification; and the Republicans, who formed the majority in the Diet, appointed a committee to reconstruct Bonaparte's work. Nothing was better calculated to irritate the First Council than this piece of audacity, and his annoyance was aggravated when the Diet declared that "the absolute integrity of Helvetic territory was a fundamental article of the Constitution." This declaration was an answer to the proposal attributed to Bonaparte, of detaching Valais from the rest of Switzerland, so as to ensure the control of the passes into Italy.

The reply of the new First Council was not long delayed. On October 28, 1803, a third coup d'État at Bern swept away the Govern-

ment of the Moderates. The stroke was recently planned at Bern by Bonaparte's agent Vorriani, in collusion with the Bernese aristocrats. These latter, finding that Bonaparte was annoyed with the Republicans, made common cause with the Federalists of the small cantons in order to upset the Government. They succeeded, thanks to the support of French troops under General Montebello. The Diet was declared to be dissolved; the Constitution of Malmsburg was reestablished; and for the office of *Landammann* of Switzerland the choice fell on Alois Rodig, an ardent Federalist of Schvys, who had organized the resistance of the smaller cantons to France in 1798. Meanwhile, Valais was occupied by the troops of General Thioren.

When he heard what had happened at Bern, Bonaparte signed the briefest indignation. Montebello was dismissed and recalled, but Yermoo, who had pulled the strings, retained his post. In point of fact, the First Council was very well satisfied with the fresh revolution, which removed the confusion in Switzerland. He received the new *Landammann* at Paris, and, according to his own expression, talked to him "as the First Magistrate of the Gauls might have done at the time when Helvetia formed part of Gaul." The Federals demanded three things—the withdrawal of the French troops, the restitution to the cantons of their subject lands, and the retention of Valais as part of Switzerland. Bonaparte was unable to give a satisfactory reply on any of these points, but he left Rodig in the belief that he was favourably disposed towards the Federal party. Rodig returned to Switzerland full of hope, but subsequently, when he found that Bonaparte had put him off with idle words, he turned to the other European Powers and sent agents on secret missions to Berlin, London, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, to beg those Governments to maintain the independence and the neutrality of Switzerland.

Bonaparte, on hearing of this proceeding, was deeply incensed, withdrew his support from the Federals, and, shifting his position in the manner familiar to him, made a show of sympathy with the Republicans. The latter, believing that the moment had come for a fresh coup d'état, took advantage of the absence of many of the Federals from Bern during the Easter recess, declared the Senate indefinitely adjourned (April 12, 1802) and summoned an assembly of notables from all the cantons to agree on the changes to be made in the Constitution of Malmsburg. Bonaparte allowed them to proceed, knowing that their action would but add to the existing confusion, and as furnish him in the eyes of Europe with the necessary pretext for forcible intervention. The conference was therefore drawn up: it was a compromise between the Malmsburg scheme and the Constitution designed by Otho. On being submitted to the nation for approval, it was rejected by 26,000 votes against 75,000, but the Republicans, following the example of Bonaparte, decided that the 163,000 abstentions should count in its favour.

This new Constitution, imposed by force, gave rise to incessant troubles. In Vaud the peasants, irritated by the revival of taxes and tithes, rose in revolt, plundered the archives of castles and towns, and burnt their contents. To quell the rising, the aid of French troops was required. This was the very moment chosen by Bonaparte, with Machiavellian astuteness, to withdraw his soldiers from Swiss territory. Bonaparte had not miscalculated; hardly had the last French soldier quitted Solothurn and then things took place in all directions. Instigated by Alays Rapp, the smaller cantons, with some of the others—Zürich being one—formed themselves into a federal State. Before long, the federation, which included the partisans of the old régime, grew so strong that the Helvetic Government was powerless to compel its dissolution by force of arms. General Andermatt, who commanded the government troops, after an unsuccessful attack on Zürich, was compelled to retire. The Federalists, under experienced leaders, made themselves masters of Bern, and expelled the Government. They then defeated their rivals at Morat, October 4, 1802, and marched on Lausanne in order to overthrow the Government, which had taken refuge there. At this point Bonaparte intervened. General Rapp, one of his aides-de-camp, brought the following message to the Swiss: "As you cannot agree amongst yourselves I have decided to step in as mediator."

While he appeared merely to offer mediation, Bonaparte in reality imposed it by force. At the very moment when Rapp presented himself before the Helvetic Government, General Ney was ordered to march into Switzerland with 30,000 men and "crush all opposition." He issued proclamations in which he stated that it was "at the request of the nation, and particularly on the demand of the Senate and the smaller cantons, that the First Consul intervened as mediator." It was true; but, at the moment when the French invaded the territory of Switzerland, the Federalist Government despatched a protest to London, Vienna, and Berlin. The Emperor Francis II. vouchsafed no reply, though the action of Bonaparte was in direct violation of the Treaty of Lunéville. The King of Prussia, Frederick William III., also kept silent. The British Government alone protested against the aggression, although indirectly less interested in Swiss affairs than were the continental Powers. On October 10, 1802, Lord Hawkesbury despatched a note to the French Government, reminding them that the principle of the neutrality of Switzerland was closely bound up with the questions of peace and the balance of power in Europe; that the Treaty of Lunéville, signed only a year before, had solemnly recognised and guaranteed that principle; and that, in spite of all that was happening in Switzerland, he was unwilling to believe that it could be intended to reduce a free people to slavery.

In answer to this note, moderate as here but firm in tone, the First Consul, on October 25, caused Talleyrand to forward a declaration to

Otté, French minister in London, which stated that, "if the British ministry made any public statement from which it might be inferred that the First Consul had refrained from doing any particular thing because he had been prevented, he would do it forthwith." When Talleyrand despatched this note, the relations between England and France were already much strained. In Great Britain, public opinion was growing exasperated because the Government had failed to obtain a treaty of commerce from France. Bonaparte evaded their demands, and put off the proposal for a definite agreement by vague promises. As nothing came of this, the English began to lose patience. Bonaparte had his own grievances against the British Government. He resented the hospitality offered to refugees who were his enemies, and to the French Princes who conspired against him. He complained also of the attacks directed against him in the English press.

But, worse than anything else, it was Bonaparte's policy in Europe which embittered the relations of the two peoples. He was well aware of this; and his vigorous abuse of the English newspapers was due to the fact that they persisted in exposing and condemning his unworthy treatment of the weaker States, the hypocrisy of his high-handed proceedings glossed over by the falsehoods of the *Motivier*, and the acts of violence of which he had been guilty towards Portugal, Spain, Holland, and Switzerland. Bonaparte sought to justify his long protracted aggressions on the Continent by the refusal of the British Government to satisfy his demands, which he sought to represent as measures of precaution taken in view of a possible attack on the part of Great Britain. Thus, in August, 1803, after Lord Hawkesbury had formally refused to reply to Bonaparte's menacing communications on the subject of the *Belgicis*, the exiled French Princes, and the measures to be taken against the English press, the First Consul had retaliated by the definite annexation of Piedmont and the Isle of Elba, by a refusal to evacuate Flushing and Utrecht, and, a little later, by sending his forces under General Ney to occupy Switzerland.

All these acts, following on Bonaparte's usurpations in Italy, and on the steps which he had taken to secure for himself the Presidency of the Cisalpine Republic, amply justified the apprehensions of British statesmen, who saw no limits to his aggressive career. They, too, sought protection against Bonaparte's growing ambition; and it was with this object that they persistently demanded a return to the conditions which existed at the time of the Peace of Amiens. To this Bonaparte retorted: "At the time of the Peace of Amiens we had 51,000 men in Piedmont and 40,000 in the Cisalpine Republic; it follows that, if the English desire the state of things which existed at that date, they cannot complain of the state of things which exists to-day. . . . As for Switzerland, we cannot do without her." Switzerland was clearly the weak point in Bonaparte's argument, the silence of the Treaty of Amiens on this

subject could not be urged in his favour, for his intervention as mediator was subsequent to the declaration of peace.

Bonaparte was well aware that the British Government was deeply interested in the questions of Switzerland and Holland, and that these questions would in the end form the pivot of the discussion. At the time of his intervention in Switzerland, Otto wrote to Talleyrand: "The general opinion is that the evacuation of Malta will depend on the result of the negotiations relating to Switzerland." Bonaparte declined in any circumstances to allow England to connect the two questions. "As to Switzerland," he wrote to Talleyrand, "we cannot permit England to meddle there, for, if she did so, it would be only to spread disorder; she would make it a second Jersey from which to encourage agitation against France"; and he added, "I require, first and foremost, a frontier to secure French Condit. I require (in Switzerland) a firm government, friendly to France, this is my first aim, and, if I cannot secure it, I shall know what to do in the interests of France."

Berlin was the position in October, 1802, when Bonaparte intervened in Switzerland. With so much suspicion on the one side and so much respect on the other, a rupture between the two Powers seemed only a question of days. Nevertheless both nations were so deeply interested in the preservation of peace, and each was so fully convinced that the other desired peace and was prepared to make concessions to secure it, that a few weeks later regular diplomatic relations were restored, Count Androsky being sent as ambassador to London, and Lord Whitworth to Paris.

In order to arrive at a mutual understanding, it was arranged to avoid all burning questions; but this was a difficult matter. At the opening of Parliament at the end of November, 1802, King George, while expressing his desire for the preservation of peace and the maintenance of good relations with all the Powers, added that England could not cease to emphasise the interest which she took "in certain States." The States referred to were evidently Switzerland and Holland. Sheridan, speaking in Parliament, exposed in plain language Bonaparte's policy of conquest. "Look at the map of Europe," he said, "and you will see nothing but France." Great Britain was consequently compelled to take certain measures of precaution; and, in spite of the pacific intentions of the King, the ministry asked for and obtained, with a view to the protection of Ireland, an addition of 60,000 men to the army and of 20,000 men to the navy.

Bonaparte had no belief in the warlike intentions of England; and, as the reports which he received from London spoke of the people as heartily desirous of peace, he imagined that the British Cabinet would yield to threats. Not a day passed but he abused the British Government. When in January, 1803, he received the Swiss delegate at Paris, he declared to them that, if the Cabinet of St. James made representations

on the subject of Switzerland, he would annex their country outright. A few days later, in a sitting of the Legislative Body, he announced that he was about to equip an army of 500,000 men against England, which he spoke of as "isolated and powerless." Finally, on January 24, there appeared in the *Moniteur*, with his approbation, the report of Colonel Sebastiani, who had been sent on a special mission to Egypt. This report described the army of occupation as an ill-armed and undisciplined rabble, worn out by debauchery, and went on to say that 6000 French soldiers would suffice for the reconquest of Egypt. It was by attention of this sort that Bonaparte believed that he could force England to yield to his demands. The very opposite took place. Sebastiani's report, added to the provocations already received, decided the British Government to declare that their troops would not be withdrawn from Malta until the conditions of March 1806 had been reestablished.

Bonaparte's anger knew no bounds. On February 13, 1806, in the course of a violent scene with Lord Whitworth, he declaimed against British perfidy. When the British ambassador referred to the aggressive nature of Bonaparte's policy in Europe, the First Consul answered, "Padua, Switzerland, Holland, are mine trifles"; and he went on to use language so coarse that Lord Whitworth wrote to his Government, that "he talked more like a captain of dragoons than the head of one of the greatest States in Europe." On March 5 the King replied to this fresh provocation by asking Parliament for supplies. On the 15th the militia was embodied, and an addition of 15,000 men to the army was voted. This gave Bonaparte the opportunity of making another scene with Lord Whitworth—the historic scene of March 15, when, in the presence of all the other ambassadors assembled at the Tuileries, Bonaparte addressed him with threatening words. "It is you who are determined to make war against us; you want to drive me to it. You will be the first to draw the sword. I shall be the last to sheathe it. Was to those who show no respect for treaties!"

In spite of all the volubility, Bonaparte in his heart wished to maintain peace. He was informed by Duroc from Berlin and by Collet from St. Petersburg that neither the King of Prussia nor the Tsar approved his policy. The situation, however, had become so strained by reason of this very conduct that peace was no longer possible; or rather we could only have been avoided by his agreeing to the fresh conditions laid down by Great Britain. These were—(1) that she should retain Malta for ten years; (2) that Lampedusa should be ceded to her in perpetuity; (3) that the French troops should evacuate Holland and Switzerland. These terms Bonaparte could not bring himself to accept. Negotiations between London and Paris did indeed continue for a few weeks longer. Among the men who surrounded Bonaparte there was a peace party, whose leaders were Talleyrand, Cambacérès, and Joseph Bonaparte; and they made every effort to avert a rupture. The British Government,

on its side, made what concessions it could, even undertaking by a secret article to evacuate Malta when the French should have withdrawn from Holland. But Bonaparte would not come to terms; and on May 12, 1802, Lord Whitworth left Paris.

Bonaparte had foreseen that the war could not be confined to France and England, but would involve the rest of the Continent. This, indeed, was his reason for occupying Piedmont, for reconquering Lombardy and Holland, and for recasting the map of Germany. His latest intervention in Switzerland gave him the control of the most important strategic position in central Europe.

Among Bonaparte's works of constructive policy none has been more generally admired than the Act of Mediation. It has been termed a masterpiece, and such it may have been; but it was a masterpiece of *Nichievellian* policy. Bonaparte did not consult the Swiss when he gave them a Constitution. In conformity with the promise which he had made them in October, 1802, he summoned to Paris in the beginning of 1803, as a consultative assembly, the members of the Senate and all the citizens who had during the last three years filled the higher posts in the central administration. Some sixty deputies obeyed the summons, the greater part of whom belonged to the party of progress and unity. Bonaparte, however, was no more disposed in 1803 than he had been in 1800 to show special favour to any one party. Accordingly, at the first sitting, he asked for the appointment of a commission of ten members, five Federalists and five Unionsists, who, together with four French delegates, should study the question of the Constitution.

The scheme of the First Council was a skilful compromise between new ideas and the traditions of Old Switzerland. The Unionsists did not obtain the centralised authority which they demanded, while the aristocrats of the towns were compelled to renounce their privileges, and to include the former subject districts in the new Federal Constitution as an equal footing with the other cantons. The commissioners, in conjunction with the French delegates, were required to draw up memoranda containing their observations on the scheme. A preliminary draft was thus prepared, which was read and discussed on January 13, 1803, at a meeting of the commission, presided over by Bonaparte. He listened to all the objections which were urged, and consented to modify certain points of detail; but in its essence the scheme was left precisely as he had conceived it. On February 18, 1803, the ten commissioners added their signatures in the name of the Swiss nation, which had not been consulted and upon which this constitution had been thrust.

The Act of Mediation replaced the Helvetic Republic, one and indivisible, by a Swiss Confederation of thirteen cantons, each enjoying sovereign powers and equal rights. The Confederation was identical with the Swiss Federation of to-day, except that it did not include Valais, Geneva, Neuchâtel, or the former bishopric of Basel, i.e. the Bernese



Just. Politically, the cantons were divided into three groups, the rural cantons, the urban cantons, and the former subject districts. The rural cantons comprised the rural and mountain districts of central Switzerland as well as the Githons; they received their ancient democratic organization with their *Landsgemeinden*, or popular assemblies, which voted on the bills prepared by their Great Council; the executive authority was placed in the hands of a small Council, presided over by a supreme magistrate, or *Landammann*. The urban cantons received a political organization aristocratic in character, the supreme magistrate (*syndic* or *burgomaster*) governed with the aid of a Senate, a Council, and a Representative Body, elected on a limited suffrage, which contained deputies from the country districts. As for the districts formerly subject, now recognized as independent cantons, they also had Petit and Great Councils; but, as in their case the electoral qualification was lower, their Governments were more democratic in character.

All the cantons were bound to conform to the terms of the federal compact, and were forbidden to conclude alliances either amongst themselves, or with a foreign Power. The local militia could, in case of necessity, be formed into a Federal contingent of 15,000 men, and it was decided that every canton should contribute to the common expense, which were estimated at 800,000 francs per annum. Six of the cantons, viz. Bern, Fribourg, Lucerne, Zurich, Solothurn, and Basel, became in successive years the seat of the central authority. The "foremost" canton was known as the *Forest*; and its first magistrate became *Landammann* of Switzerland. The powers of the *Landammann* were restricted; he had the general management of foreign affairs, opened and presided over the Diet, and was responsible for the maintenance of internal order. He was authorized to repress the cantonal authority in the event of disorders taking place, or of urgent operations being necessary in connection with roads or rivers. He received a salary paid by his canton, which fixed its amount and also paid the salaries of his *side-chambers*, of the Chancellor of the Confederation, and of a clerk, the only three functionaries who held permanent office in the Government.

In addition to the *Landammann*, the central power consisted of the Federal Diet, which met every year during a month in the name of the *Forest*. Each canton sent a single deputy to the Diet, making 19 in all; but there were 25 votes, as every canton containing more than 100,000 inhabitants possessed two votes. The Diet dealt with taxation, raised the troops necessary to provide the Federal contingent, appointed the commander-in-chief, and settled disputes between the cantons when arbitrators had failed. It had no other powers. The State possessed no standing army, hardly any revenue, and no diplomatic agents, and, in obedience to the will of Europe, was compelled to accept the position of absolute neutrality.

It cannot be denied that Bonaparte showed marvellous penetration in dealing with the conditions existing in Switzerland. The Swiss were so sharply divided in political matters that a general agreement was impossible, and neither of the two great parties was willing to make concessions. By the compromise involved in the Act of Mediation, which aimed at holding the balance equal between the two nations, Bonaparte restored peace to the country. Between the primitive aspirations of the Republicans and the purely federal tendencies of those who wished to return to Switzerland, conscripted as she had been by the Revolution, the checks forms of the old régime, Bonaparte chose the form of Constitution best fitted to the circumstances. But it is open to question whether, when engaged in his task of reconstruction, Bonaparte took the interests of the Swiss sufficiently into account. Their true interest would have demanded a better grouping of the various districts, greater centralisation, an army capable of enforcing respect for their neutrality, and a common treasury which would have enabled them to carry out urgent public works. A strong and compact Switzerland, however, was not what Bonaparte wanted; it was to be interest that she should be helpless without the aid of France, and strictly under her guardianship. By the Act of Mediation he obtained what he wanted: from 1803 to 1814 Switzerland ceased to have a distinct political existence; she became a mere satellite of France.

From the domestic point of view, the Act of Mediation was beneficial. After many years of barren strife Switzerland had at last time to breathe and work. The Act did not please everyone, for the country was neither free nor independent; but the bulk of the nation, united with civil equality, and with the final suppression of the abuses of the old régime and of the gross injustice of the old relations between the cantons and subject districts, welcomed with joy the work of Bonaparte. Above all, the inhabitants of the smaller cantons were overjoyed to return to their ancient form of government; and they drank to the health of the great mediator "who had released them from the hideous yoke of Unions." They sent addresses of congratulation to Bonaparte, to which he graciously replied with the words, "The title of restorer of the liberty which you recovered from Yill is more dear to me than the most brilliant of my victories." In later days the nation was to change its tone; but in 1803 it was in full enjoyment of its newly recovered tranquillity and peace.

## CHAPTER V.

## FRANCE UNDER THE EMPIRE.

THE organic Senate Constitution of 28 Floreal, year XII (May 18, 1804), generally known as the Constitution of the year XII, ordained that "the Imperial Succession should thenceforth be vested in the direct issue of Napoleon Bonaparte, natural and legitimate, descending always in the male line, by order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females and heirs claiming through female descent." In default of male heirs, Napoleon was empowered to adopt his brother's children or grandchildren, in default of either legitimate or adoptive male heirs, the succession was to pass, first, to his eldest brother, Joseph, and his descendants; then to his younger brother, Louis, and his descendants. The Emperor had two other brothers, Lucien and Jerome. But, in spite of Napoleon's opposition, Lucien had recently married beneath him; and the breach between the two brothers lasted until the end of the Empire. Jerome went into the navy, and, on his return home from the Antilles by way of the United States, had married Miss Eliza Patterson (1805) without his brother's consent. To obtain his restoration to power (March 2, 1802) and recover his rights to the Imperial succession (September 24, 1805), he was forced to abandon his wife and the son she had borne him; and, for the time being, he was shut out from the Imperial family.

On March 7, 1798, just before his departure for Italy, Napoleon had entered into a civil marriage with Josephine Tascher de la Pagerie. Born at Martinique on June 23, 1763, she was, at the time of her marriage to Napoleon, the widow of General de Tascherwan. In her first marriage she had two children, Eugene and Hortense, the latter of whom married Louis Bonaparte in 1802; her second marriage was without issue. When Pope Pius VII came to France in 1804 for the consecration of the nation he refused his blessing to a couple who had only been through a civil marriage. Consequently, on the night of Dec. 1, in the utmost secrecy, the religious marriage was performed by Cardinal Fesch, in the presence of only two witnesses, Talleyrand and Berthier. On the following day (Dec. 2) the consecration of the nation was celebrated at Notre Dame with great pomp. The ceremony was reasonable rather for splendour

thus for popular enthusiasm. The Emperor crowned himself, after having placed the crown on the Empress's head.

The distance travelled since 18 Brumaire was great indeed! But, as a matter of fact, the Constitution of the year XII added nothing to Napoleon's power; the Consulate for Life had already given him everything. Even the Republic was not nominally suppressed. "The government of the Republic," so runs the first clause, "is vested in an Emperor, who will assume the title of Emperor of the French." This was of course a contradiction in terms. Napoleon met the difficulty by gradually and patiently suppressing the word "Republic" wherever it cropped up. "The first representative of the nation," he wrote in the *Moniteur* of December 15, 1805, "is the Emperor; for all authority is derived from God and the nation. If there existed in our Constitution a body representative of the nation, that body would be supreme, no other institution could compare with it; its will would be all-potent. But to put the nation itself before the Emperor would be at once chimerical and criminal." All authority, therefore, was vested in the Emperor, since, by the will of God, he was the sole representative of the Sovereign People.

"In the order determined by our Constitution," continued Napoleon, "the Senate comes next to the Emperor in representative authority." The Constitution of the year XII reinforced the Senate still more subservient than it had been in 1802. Senators were nominated by the Emperor, and were no longer limited in number. The French Princes and the Grand Electors were members of the Senate *ex officio*. The president was appointed by the Emperor and drawn from the senatorial ranks. The Senate was thus, more than ever before, dependent upon Napoleon. On the other hand, from this time forward, it appointed two permanent bodies, known as "Senatorial Commissions," charged respectively with the maintenance of "individual liberty" and the "liberty of the press." Bills passed by the Legislative Body were sent before the Senate, which, "by expressing the opinion that it saw no occasion for promulgating the measure in question," could exercise a certain right of veto. Such were the new rights conferred upon the Senate; and, as senators were appointed for life, they seemed to be favourably situated for the full exercise of their powers.

The Constitution for the protection of individual liberty displayed, it is true, certain shortcomings other activity. But it could do nothing of any real importance in the face of arbitrary arrests and imprisonments for reasons of State; and, in his decree of March 3, 1804, regarding state prisons, the Emperor did not shrink from reviving and regilding, in some degree, the old system of *bastille* and *l'abbaye de nuit*. The Commission charged with protecting the liberty of the press was not intended to concern itself with newspapers or periodicals; and the powers conferred by the decree of February 3, 1810, upon the "General Board for the control of Printing and Publishing" deprived the Commission of

almost all power of intervention. The right of veto could be exercised only with the Emperor's consent. In a word, the rights conferred upon the Senate remained a dead letter. So it came about that the senators gradually ceased to discuss anything, even the drafting of Senate Consults; and, when the Government sent them a bill to pass, the terms of which were already decided, it became their practice in the most important cases to express their protestade for the communication which had been made to them; and that in terms of grovelling servility.

By the Constitution of the year XII the Tribunate was divided into three sections, dealing respectively with legislation, house affairs, and finance. These sections deliberated separately, either by themselves or with the corresponding sections of the Council of State. The Tribunate thus became nothing but a useless duplication of the Council of State. The Legislative Body was recruited more and more from among officials and ex-officials, and, in accordance with the Constitution of the year VIII, its vote was never heard. By the Senate-Consult of August 18, 1807, these committees, of seven members each, were established within the Legislative Body itself, whose business was to discuss legislative proposals, and to defend or oppose them before the whole body in full session. These committees were intended to take the place of the sections of the Tribunate. The Tribunate, as their power successively expired, went, some of them, previously regarded as belonging to the Legislative Body: the rest reserved for the most part public appointments, chiefly at the *Com des Comptes*, established on September 18, 1807. So vanished the Tribunate. Only two Chambers remained; the Senate and the Legislative Body. But even the imaginary power enjoyed by them bowed too long to the despotic eye of the Emperor; and he almost entirely abandoned the practice of making "laws." He governed by means of Senate Consults, which he sent straight to the Senate for ratification, or by decrees drawn up for him by the Council of State.

By the Constitution of the year XII the French Princes and Grand Dignitaries received seats in the Council of State. Their sittings were presided over either by the Emperor in person, or by a Grand Dignitary, usually either the Arch-Chancellor or the Arch-Treasurer, who acted as his deputy. The importance of the Council of State was no less under the Empire than under the Consulate. The number of questions discussed in full session rose from 8,756 in 1805 to 8,868 in 1811. The honorary title of "Councillor of State" was conferred in certain cases.

The second generation of Napoleon's officials (i.e. from about 1807 onwards, and especially from 1814-15) was by no means equal to the first. The new officials were sometimes very young men, endowed with a certain pride and self-confidence which gave them the air of experience. They were drawn more and more from old aristocratic families or the upper bourgeoisie, who had suffered under the Revolution and hated it accordingly. Though selected with less care than before,

owing to the severity of men and the ever-increasing extent of territory to be administered by a master who mistook obedience for devotion, and fondly imagined that in bestowing his favour he could also create merit, these men undoubtedly showed themselves capable of much hard work, but they fell far short of the distinguished body which, under the Consulate, had reflected so much credit on Napoleon.

The great work of administrative creation was now complete. Thanks, as a reward for his services in establishing the Empire, again received the Ministry of Police (July 18, 1804). Two new ministries were created: that of Public Worship (July 18, 1804), and that of Trade and Manufactures (June 22, 1804). The honorary title of Minister of State was sometimes granted to high officials, ministers, diplomats, and presidents of sections in the Council of State.

While the legislative machine was being simplified out of existence and the administrative system suffered no marked change, a new and complicated hierarchy, with numerous grades, was being elaborated. It was the only constitutional innovation which owed its origin to the Empire, and it did not survive its author.

The reader will have noticed the appearance, in the ranks of the bureaucracy, of certain honorary titles, such as Counsellor of State and Minister of State. The Legion of Honour had also created certain honorary distinctions. The decree of 14 Messidor, year XII (July 18, 1804), which, for want of something better, is still occasionally invoked in France, laid down an order of precedence for dignitaries and officials, administrative, legal, ecclesiastical, and military, in the conduct of public ceremonies. There was a hierarchy even for localities; and the mayors of 56 towns mentioned in the decree of June 22, 1804, were singled out for the enjoyment of certain special privileges. The list of towns later was subsequently enlarged, as fresh territories were added to the Empire.

Besides all this, the Constitution of the year XII created two new honorary hierarchies. After the French Emperor, that is, "the members of the Imperial Family in the order of heredity," it instituted, by a quiet combination of the great offices of the Holy Roman Empire with those of the old French monarchy, six Grand Imperial Dignities, viz. the Grand Elector (Joseph Bonaparte), the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire (Cambacérès), the Arch-Chancellor of State (Eugène de Beauharnais), the Arch-Treasurer (Lafayette), the Constable (Louis Bonaparte), and the Grand Admiral (Mouton). Subsequently, by the decree of August 8, 1807, Talleyrand was appointed Vice-Grand Elector, and Barthélemy Vice-Constable; and the Senate Constitution of February 8, 1808, raised to the rank of a Grand Dignity the Governor-Generalship of the Departments beyond the Alps, a post held by Berghes, husband of Pauline Bonaparte.

After the Grand Dignitaries came the military Grand Officers of the Empire. By the terms of the Constitution of the year XII, these

rank to consist, first, of Marshals of the Empire, chosen from amongst the most distinguished generals. They were not to exceed sixteen in number, exclusive of the generals having seats in the Senate, upon whom also the title of Marshal of the Empire might be bestowed. Napoleon shortly afterwards selected four military marshals, and fourteen other generals for this honor. Eight others were subsequently added. After the Marshals came the Inspectors and the Colonel-Generals, who originally numbered eight. Lastly, the great civil functionaries of the Empire, viz. the Grand Almoner (Fesch), the Grand Marshal of the Palace (Duroc), the Grand Chamberlain (Dallégrault), the Grand Master of the Horse (Caulincourt), the Grand Huntsman (Berthier), and the Grand Master of the Ceremonies (Mège), performed the various court duties associated with the Imperial household, followed by a long train of subordinates—officers of the palace, chamberlains, equerries, aides-de-camp, pages, and others.

Now was the all. By a series of decrees, dated March 23, 1804, which the Senate was obliged to register on the following day, Napoleon created yet another hierarchy. Joseph Bonaparte was proclaimed King of Naples and Sicily; the principality of Genoa was given to Pauline Bonaparte in full sovereignty and sovereignty; the duchies of Cleves and Berg were bestowed upon Murat, the principality of Neuchâtel upon Berthier. Besides these, the Emperor reserved to himself as Italy, on his ducal "grand-fish"—title-bearing domains and territorial revenues—the hereditary ownership of which he bestowed upon and where he thought fit. These were the three duchies, of Parma (granted to Cambronne), Piacenza (to Lebrun), and Massa (to Regnier), and, among the erstwhile Venetian States, now incorporated in the kingdom of Italy, the twelve duchies—of Dalmatia, granted to Sciofi; Istria, to Berthier; Friuli, to Duroc, Oudova, to Champagny; Belluno, to Victor; Cossignano, to Marmy; Treviso, to Mortier; Feltria, to Clarke; Bassano, to Murat; Vicenza, to Caulincourt; Padua, to Angeli; and Bergamo, to Sereny. In the kingdom of Naples, the principality of Benevento (with the title of Prince and Duke) and of Porto-Corvo were granted to Talleyrand and Bernadotte respectively; while the duchy of Ragusa was given to Caulincourt, that of Trivento to MacDonald, of Gotha to Gaudin, and of Ottavio to Fouché. Suchet was made Duke of Albufera, in Spain.

A new nobility was in the making, but it was at first located outside France. Napoleon had his own plan, which he patiently pursued. A Senate Council, dated August 14, 1806, authorized Fesch to cede Genoa to the kingdom of Italy, and to buy, with the proceeds of this transaction, estates within the territory of the French Empire. The other ducal grand-fish might eventually be exchanged in the same way. The privileges attaching to noble houses were to be transferred to the estates thus acquired by exchange; and this right was to go with "the grant of any further duchies or other titles which the Emperor

might create in future." A further step was taken when, during the Polish campaign of 1807, Napoleon ordered Lefebvre to lay siege to Danzig. It was with set purpose that he selected the Marshal-Senator for this command. Lefebvre was an old campaigner, quite incapable of conducting a difficult operation, but he was a veteran of the Republican armies, very brave, very popular, and above all very phlegmatic. When the place capitulated, Lefebvre was made Duke of Dange: the grant accompanying the new title was to be composed of lands situated within the territories of the Empire.

A precedent had thus been created, to which the decree of March 1, 1808, gave the fullest application. The Grand Electors were to bear the title of Prince, and their eldest sons that of Duke; Ministers, senators, life-members of the Council of State, presidents of the Legislative Body, and archbishops, that of Count; presidents of the electoral colleges, the first presidents and procurators-general of the courts of justice, bishops, and mayors of *lignage* cities, that of Baron; members of the Legion of Honour, that of Knight (*Chevalier*). These titles were to be hereditary, provided they were endowed with property bringing in an annual income of not less than 500,000 fr. in the case of Princes, 30,000 fr. in that of Counts, 15,000 fr. in that of Barons, and 5,000 fr. in that of Knights. The Emperor reserved to himself the right to bestow, on the same terms, suitable titles upon generals, prefects, and such other of his subjects as should attain distinction through services rendered to the State. The old French nobility, however, was not restored. Cambacérès read to the Senate the decree which so profoundly modified the social order created by the Revolution; the Senate, in an address carried at the sitting of March 18, "offered to His Imperial and Royal Majesty its humble and respectful thanks for his kindness in communicating to them through the medium of His Serene Highness the Prince Arch-Chancellor of the Empire the regulations dealing with the creation of the Imperial titles."

The hierarchical system was now complete. Napoleon created three princely titles after the campaign of 1809. That of Wagram was conferred on Berthier, Prince of Neuchâtel; of Eckmühl on Masséna, already Duc de Rivoli, and of Eckmühl on Davout, already Duc d'Angoulême. After the Russian campaign, a fourth, viz. that of Moscow, was bestowed upon Ney, already Duc d'Elchingen. Besides these, Napoleon created 51 Dukes, 368 Counts, 1499 Barons, and about 1800 Knights. There were only two Marshals of the Empire, namely, Bonaparte and Jourdan, who was not enabled. Napoleon showed himself extremely generous in the matter of grants designed to help in the formation of the necessary endowments and to maintain the splendour of the new titles. Berthier, for instance, had over 1,500,000 fr. a year in grants; Davout over 700,000 fr.; Masséna over 600,000. To these figures must be added the large salaries attached to the offices held by



the greatness, also the amount of the private fortunes they had succeeded in amassing, by illicit means, in the discharge of their official duties.

Napoleon took care not to see what went on. He held that a monarchy required the support of a noble class, and believed that by making the fortunes of those who served him he would bind them to himself. "We have been guided," he declared to the Senate, in commencing to it the session of March 30, 1806, "by the great desire to consolidate the social order and our own throne, on which that order is based." He imagined that, by multiplying the number of social gradings between him and his subjects, he was enhancing the nobleness of his Imperial majesty and arousing a spirit of emulation in those who were reared on numerous steps beneath him. "For," said he, "in emulation it is to be found the chief motor-force of humanity, and a man puts forth his best powers in proportion to his hopes of advancement."

The formation of a new society, depending entirely on himself, was, in the field of Imperial politics, Napoleon's great idea. It was also his great failure. The old-time nobility liked the post about the new Court. Napoleon had the proud satisfaction of numbering among those attached to his own Court, or in the service of members of his family, the greatest names of pre-revolutionary France.

The Emperor's household was conducted with the most perfect method, under the personal eye of the master; it was a model of order, luxury, and economy combined. On the other hand, Josephine's expenditure was prodigal. According to Masson, she spent, between 1804 and 1809, 4,647,580 francs on dress alone; and several times Napoleon was forced to pay her debts. The dress worn by the courtiers was sumptuous, men and women alike appeared covered with gold and jewels. The concerts, the dinners, and the receptions were magnificent.

Following their pride, the old-time nobility accepted the titles Napoleon gave them, but they haughtily remembered their older titles; they had no longer the right to bear. Nothing could obliterate from their minds the feeling that they were in the employ of a parvenu; and they felt nothing but contempt for the new nobility. As for the latter, their devotion to the Emperor diminished in proportion to the honors they received; for, the more he loaded them with honors and wealth, the less they had to expect. Thus the society which the Emperor had created round him was largely composed of menst royalists or of secret republicans. It was Imperialist only in name. Moreover—and this was a point of even graver importance—Napoleon was isolated from the nation by his Court, whose etiquette, growing stricter every year, gradually excluded all who were not in regular attendance. The Constitution had been narrowed to one man; and that man had ceased to be national. The popularity of Napoleon Bonaparte, which had waxed steadily under the Consulate, slowly waned under the Empire.

"I can use up 50,000 men a month," said Napoleon one day. It was from the notion that there were none. If our calculations are accurate, in order to maintain the army at its full effective strength, the nation was called upon to provide 50,000 men in 1803, 60,000 in 1804, 60,000 in 1805, and 60,000 in 1806, or 210,000 in all under the Consulate. It provided 60,000 men in 1804, 60,000 in 1805, 80,000 in 1806, 80,000 in 1807, 60,000 in 1808, 75,000 in 1809, 160,000 in 1810, 180,000 in 1811, 200,000 in 1812, and 1,140,000 in 1813, or 2,005,000 in all under the Empire. The total amounts to 2,215,000 men during the reign of Napoleon. If the figures of his armies are to be complete, we must add to them the soldiers raised by the *levée en masse* of 1814, volunteers and train-exposed men who had rejoined the colours at high pay; young men who received commissions on leaving the military schools; foreign regiments in the service of France, composed of Swiss, Irish, and volunteers of various nationalities; deserters, prisoners of war enrolled either with or against their will, and lastly, the contingents contributed by subject or allied foreign Powers. But we are here concerned only with the share taken by the French departments in the recruiting of Napoleon's armies.

There were three regular methods of procedure: (1) the first levy (*appel*) of the "*classes de la conscription*," numbering 1,847,000 men; (2) the supplementary levy (*appel*) of the same classes, for each man as had not yet served, amounting to 746,000 men; (3) the levy of the National Guard, 974,000 men. To these should be added the "*exceptional levies*," amounting to 50,000 men, which included the young men on the naval lists (*conscriptionnaires maritimes*), and the "*guards of honour*" equipped and mounted at their own expense, of whom each department had to provide a certain number, and who gained their commissions after a year's service. These totals amount to 2,613,000 men (as above).

The Conscription was regulated by the law of 1793, which underwent no serious modification. The system of drawing by lot was used to weed out those conscripts of any particular class who would not be called upon to serve. Substitution was legalised. The payment for a substitute varied from 1800 to 6000 francs, according to the district and the year. Thus the escape from military service was open only to those possessed of some means. On an average we may reckon one substitute in every ten conscripts called. Exempted persons had to pay a military tax. Young men married immediately before the summons were exempt. It naturally followed that the number of marriages increased in proportion to the greater frequency of the calls to arms. In 1811 there were 223,000 marriages in France; in 1812, 223,000; in 1813, 267,000, and in 1814, 129,000. Similarly, the number of re-enlistments, bond-swornings, and desertions rose in proportion to the number of the *levées*. At certain moments the number of conscripts in hiding was considerable, especially in the west, north, and centre, and in the newly annexed provinces.

Some had recourse to self-substitution, others bribed the authorities to include them in the lists of exemption or to falsify their civil status. It often happened that the conscripts who joined were delicate or sickly youths, unfit for service, whom the officers were obliged to reject, while the actual conscripts stayed at home or being. The police hunted them down, or quartered watchers on the relations of the refractory; while flying columns scourged the country in search of the recalcitrants. Almost always the people were in league with the recalcitrants. In spite of the atrocities detailed in 1803, 1804, and 1805, the darkness and the recalcitrance went on increasing in number. Thus the number of the layers estimated on paper must be taken rather as representing the effort made of the country than the actual result obtained. Between the two there was always a large discrepancy.

By a natural consequence, in proportion as the actual return from conscription fell off, Napoleon was forced to raise the nominal number required. In 1800 he only estimated 80,000 conscripts to the colours, but the number rose to 80,000 per annum during the years 1801-3, 80,000 during 1804-6, 110,000 for 1810, 120,000 for 1811 and 1812, 157,000 for 1813, 180,000 for 1814, and 164,000 for 1815—a total of 1,447,000 (see above). Moreover, it frequently happened that the Emperor kept the conscripts recalled beyond the statutory five years, or he summoned the yearly classes before their turn. For example, the 1800 class was summoned on September 21, 1805, the 1808 class on April 7, 1807, that of 1809 on January 21, 1808, that of 1810 on September 10, 1808, that of 1812 on September 1, 1813, that of 1814 on January 11, 1815, and that of 1815 on October 2, 1815.

When the conscription, even with its heightened demands, failed to provide enough men, Napoleon recalled the earlier classes to the colours, and then those who by good luck in the drawings had not been included in the lists, those who had found substitutes, and even those who were exempt—had all alike to go or find substitutes. It was in accordance with this plan, that, in 1805, he summoned afresh the classes from 1804 back to 1800, in 1809 those from 1809 to 1806, in 1808, those from 1810 to 1806, in 1815 first those from 1812 to 1809, then those from 1814 to 1810, and finally all the classes from 1814 to 1809. In this way all the classes were actually called upon to serve several times over.

Moreover, the use Napoleon made of the National Guard was in reality only a veil to disguise. By the Act of 1798 the National Guard had not been suppressed, but Napoleon viewed it with distrust. He remembered the important part it had played in the revolutionary movements; and indeed there was no room in a despotic system for a active militia. In Paris the Government organised a Municipal Guard (October 4, 1802), composed of picked veterans, and maintained at the cost of the city. In reality it was a reserve force in the service of the State; and the cost of its maintenance was extracted in spite of

protests on the part of both the Municipal Council and the Prefect of the Seine, who was acting as Mayor of Paris. As for the National Guard, it existed on paper; and the Government could at any time place it on an active footing in case of need. Fouché, in fact, did so in 1802. Subsequently Napoleon recognized it by the Senate Councilman of March 16, 1802. It was to consist of all male citizens of sound health, divided into three *levies* (*troupes*). To the first levy belonged all those men, aged from 20 to 25, who did not belong to the regular army; to the second those between 25 and 40, and to the third all those between 40 and 60. The National Guard was liable to serve only in the home defence of the Empire, in the maintenance of public security, and on the frontier and the coast. In the event of the country being invaded (an eventuality which was not long in presenting itself) its "cohorts" and its "legions" would have been an invaluable resource, and as it were a last refuge for French patriots. But, in 1813, Napoleon destroyed the original character of the National Guard by enrolling all its best men as regular troops in the first levy for service in Germany. Henceforth the National Guard was as harmful in the eyes of the people as conscription itself; and when, at the end of 1813 and in 1814, the Emperor, as a last resource, called up all the *chasseurs* and ordered a *levée en masse*, the country did not respond.

But it was not enough to recruit soldiers, it was necessary to provide for the cost of their maintenance. The history of France under the First Empire would seem, viewed superficially, to show a more satisfactory record than that of army recruiting. And yet, when Napoleon fell, but one cry went up from the whole of France: "Down with conscription and the draft system!"

The extent of the crisis was distinguished by what was, relatively, a serious financial crisis. In 1804 there was formed under the name of "The Company of United Merchants" (*Magnanville & Co.*), an association of *fournisseurs de service*, purveyors and speculators, the leading spirit among whom was a man named Ouvart. The Company engaged in various speculations in connection with the Spanish colonies, the success of which depended on being able to avoid the British cruisers. It also undertook to advance money to the French Treasury, and to supply the army with provisions. Now, in France, ready money was very scarce; and the Government failed to pay for the supplies furnished to the army. The Company thus found itself exposed to a heavy risk. In the emergency, with the consent of Berthier-Marbais, the embarrassed Company appealed to the Bank of France, which agreed to make advances by means of an issue of bank-notes. The notes decreased in value by 10 per cent. and more; and the situation became extremely grave. By a natural consequence the business in commercial bill-discounting was paralysed, and the issue extended itself to trade. There were several startling failures. The interests of the Treasury, of the

Bank, and of the Company—that is to say public, semi-public, and private interests—were disastrously entangled and jointly endangered. The news of the victory of Waterloo (December 6, 1800) did something to restore confidence. On Napoleon's return to Paris, Bertheliot was dismissed and replaced by Mollien, who drew up an account of the loans made to the United Merchants. The total amounted to 141,000,000 francs. The Company was forced to hand over all it possessed, and, thanks to the cash brought in from Austria, the Bank was put in a position to resume payment. But the Emperor was determined to prevent the recurrence of such crises in future.

"*The Bank, he declared, 'belongs not only to the shareholders but also to the State, since it was to the State that it owed its privilege of issuing notes.'* And he added, "It is my desire to see the Bank under the control of the State, but not too much so." The law of April 22, 1806, consequently decreed that the Bank should be under the direction of a Governor (Chief, Councillor of State) and two Vice-Governors, appointed by the State, and adopted other provisions to secure state control. In these affairs the Emperor himself did not scruple to interfere. For instance he fixed the rate of discount at 5 per cent in 1806, and at 4 per cent in 1807. In return for this, the Bank's privilege was extended for twenty-five years beyond the fifteen originally awarded, i.e. to 1822; its capital was raised from 40,000 to 50,000 shares of 1000 francs each; and the decree of May 18, 1806, empowered it to open branches in the provinces, under the name of *Comptoirs d'Escompte de la Banque de France*. Three branches were opened under the Empire, at Lyons, Rouen, and Lille. Then, after 1806, in the words of Courtois the younger, the Bank became "a state institution in the form of a limited liability company."

The close control of the Treasury was ensured by the establishment of the *Cour des Comptes*, created by the law of September 10, 1807, to take the place of a commission with similar duties (the *Commissaires nationaux de comptabilité*), which under the Constitution of the year VIII was composed of seven titular members only. The new Court was far larger. It had a President-in-Chief (Bertheliot), three Presidents, eighteen councillors (sixteen *des comptes*, duty or treasury advisers (*réfrendaires*), and an Imperial Attorney-General. The *Cour des Comptes* took rank immediately after the Court of Cassation, and was charged with the "auditing" (judgment) of all the national accounts. It was the last financial creation that owed its origin to Napoleon.

Direct taxation underwent no essential modification. On the other hand, indirect taxes were considerably increased. The duties on liquors were remodelled and enhanced by a series of measures dealing with their manufacture, circulation, and consumption; salt was taxed (1800-5) in spite of the unpopularity of the gabelle; tobacco was made a government monopoly (1809). The administration of the

domestic receipts was steady and vigorous, and became helpful in the eyes of the people. In 1812 Napoleon took upon himself to increase both direct and indirect taxes by means of a simple decree.

But what constituted the essential characteristics of Imperial finance was the abnormal growth in the receipts from abroad. Of these, to be sure, must be clearly distinguished (1) the immediate contributions of war (such as war-indemnities paid by the vanquished at the conclusion of the war, ransoms, loot, captures, and seizures made in the course of the war) (2) such property, real or other, as the Emperor reserved to himself by right of conquest as conquest rather conquered or otherwise acquired. The exact amount of the actual war contributions is impossible to estimate. All the accumulated wealth was formed into a special fund valuably named *trésor de guerre, trésor de fortune, caissier des armées* (loan, and finally domestic extraordinary). The fund was actually established after the Austrian campaign in 1805; but it was not till much later that it received an official organisation by the Senate Constituent of January 20, 1812. On disposition was in the hands of the Emperor alone; he gave his orders to Deloche as intendant général of the domestic extraordinary, just as, through the intendant Desm, he disposed of his Civil List of 25,000,000 francs and of the property which formed the *dotation de la couronne*. The formation of a War Reserve-Fund, the maintenance of the army in the field (the expense of its preparation came out of the ordinary Budget), armaments, gifts and honours, equipments and pensions paid to the soldiery, the new nobility and the official class; a portion of the expenses incurred in connection with the Public Works; all the expenses incidental to the repairs, upkeep, and decoration of the Imperial palace; an occasional contribution to the normal receipts in order to balance the Budget; subsidies and loans to declining industries—such were the principal uses to which the extraordinary receipts derived from abroad were put during the Empire. There was, then, a secret Budget, drawn up independently of that which was published, but indispensable to it.

It follows that the Budget figures, as passed by the Legislative Body, were in reality fictitious, and the requisite equilibrium was no longer obtained, as in the days of the Constituents, by an approximate balance between income and expenditures. In 1812 the Budget showed an income amounting to 1,005,671,848 francs, and an expenditure of 1,500,000,000 francs; there was therefore a small surplus. According to the figures furnished by Nicolle, we may apportion the receipts for 1812 as follows: 50 per cent. from direct taxation; 6 per cent. from forests and lands; 40 per cent. from indirect taxation; and 20 per cent. from direct income and the "extraordinary receipts." The expenditures may be thus apportioned: 40 per cent. for the finances and interest on the public funds; 51 per cent. for the army; and 9 per cent. for the expenses of administration. Deficits only made their appearance along with

disaster in the field. In 1815 there was a deficit of 50,000,000 francs; in 1816 one of 175,000,000 francs.

But, if the interest on the National Debt rose in 1816 to 65,000,000 francs per annum, in the shape of Perpetual Annuities, it was principally in order to complete the liquidation of the annuities which had accrued prior to the Consulate. Never under the Empire or under the Consulate was interest paid in less properly so-called. "That method," declared Napoleon in the interesting passage to the effect of December 28, 1810, establishing the tobacco monopoly, "is both measured and disastrous. It necessarily undermines the edifice of state, and exposes one generation to the curses of the next."

In other respects the Empire carried on those traditions of order and method which it had inherited from the Consulate. The price of stock had risen from 60 to 75 francs by the year 1806, and afterwards remained stationary at about 80. The maximum price of 29-40 was reached on August 27, 1807, and the minimum of 45 on March 28, 1804. Even this low figure compares favourably with those which prevailed shortly before and after 18 Brumaire. Thus, if facts were neglected which did not appear on the surface, the financial position appeared highly satisfactory. Not only were the means to carry on the ordinary affairs of government always forthcoming, but supplies were found, in spite of almost endless war, to provide for the expenditure and the public works initiated under the Consulate, though these appeared, by their very nature, suited rather to a time of peace.

Under the Empire, public works were vigorously pushed on. Between 1804 and 1815 more than a milliard was spent; and the programme of works under construction in 1815 involved a further expenditure of 550 millions, without meeting the expenses incurred under the Consulate. The repair of the roads had become a matter of urgency. A distinction was drawn between local and departmental roads (kept up at the expense of the local authorities) and imperial high-roads (kept up by the State). The admirable system of high-roads, dating from early monarchial times, underwent a complete renovation and was carried beyond the boundaries of Old France. The Decree of November 16, 1811, constructed 226 imperial high-roads, the most important of which, 50 in number, radiated from Paris as their centre to the most distant extremities of the Empire and indeed of Europe. The Marseilles road, completed in 1803, brought Paris into touch with Turin; that of the Rhinland, completed in 1807, connected Paris with Mainz, Bonn, and Naples. Numerous bridges were also built. The network of canals and waterways rendered available for navigation was hardly even organized in pre-revolutionary France. The works undertaken during the Consulate and partially completed at the close of the Empire were planned on a scale so vast and, at the same time, with few exceptions, on such practical lines, that they constitute to-day by far the most important

portion of the internal navigation of France. The Spanish provinces of war, organized in "working companies," provided manual labour at cost to an expense. Frey, the Director of the School of Bridges and Highways, who, either on the spot or from a distance, was the guiding spirit in all these undertakings, was an engineer of the first rank. Harbours were drained, dykes strengthened, sand-dunes hindered from spreading along the coast. The principal se-ports, both naval and commercial, and particularly the ports of Cherbourg and Antwerp, were enlarged and fortified. On the other hand, only a few inland places were fortified, and these only beyond the boundaries of Old France—as unlikely did a foreign invasion seem to be.

The Imperial palaces in the environs of Paris (Saint-Cloud, Fontainebleau, Compiègne, Versailles, Trianon, and Rambouillet) and those situated in the more remote departments, were restored and enlarged. In Paris the completion of the Louvre and the clearing of the Tuilleries formed part of a general scheme which aimed at making the French capital the metropolis of Europe. The most famous works of art, the fruits of victory, poured in to enrich the *Musée Napoléon* at the Louvre. The Vatican archives, those of Florence, and those of the Holy Roman Empire, came from Rome, Spain, and Vienna to be added with the Imperial archives, as though the present aimed to enslave the past. The capital grew rapidly. Numbering 600,000 inhabitants towards the close of the eighteenth century, it only registered 547,786 at the census of 1801; but by the end of the Empire its population had reached 760,000. Napoleon had expended more than 180,000,000 francs upon Paris, and 150,000,000 francs upon the chief towns of the departments. In the west, two towns, viz. Napoléon-Vendée (La Roche-sur-Yon), and Napoléonville (Trenton) were, so to speak, created by him, in order to keep a close watch upon that royalist district.

The Emperor threw himself into public works with the greater keenness in that he had a genuine desire to rove off his military glory with the arts of peace, and because he considered it his duty as head of the State to contribute actively towards the material well-being of the country. When he rose to power, he knew little or nothing of economics. But by dint of discussion in the Council of State, of talk with Mollien, and of observation, he taught himself a great deal. In 1801 he had taken up a definite attitude. "That great and ordered system," he exclaimed to Mollien, "which governs the whole world, must also govern each part of it. Government plays the part of the sun in the social system, whose various bodies should revolve round this central luminary, each keeping strictly to its own orbit. Government should therefore so rule the destinies of each society that all should vie with one another in seeking to preserve the harmony of the whole."

These ideas gave birth to legislation of a new type. Under both the Consulate and the Empire, the State often intervened in the sphere of



creations, and restored to their primitive vigour institutions which the Revolution had suppressed. A marked return towards the guild-system of the old régime was visible in the creation of commercial exchanges with brokers and jobbers appointed by the Government (1801), in the reconstitution of the Chambers of Commerce (1802), in the formation of Advisory Boards in connexion with manufactures, factories, arts and crafts (1803), in the useful institution of *conseils de prud'hommes* (1805), and in the regulation of certain liberal professions.

Even while proclaiming the principle of the liberty of labour, the Revolution had made certain reservations in connexion with the food-supply. To Napoleon this question was one of primary importance. "He feared," he said, "popular insurrections due to economic causes, though he was not afraid of political risings." Thinking to provide a remedy for economic crises in the exercise of state control, he kept a watchful eye on all that concerned the food-supply, especially in Paris. A copious mass of laws, Consular decrees, Imperial orders, and regulations issued by the Prefect of Police, served in some measure the narrow supervision exercised by the police in former times over the markets, the police granaries, and all the trades connected with the supply of food and drink; so much so that in Paris, at the close of the Empire, almost all these trades had again become veritable corporations. The same process was beginning in the larger provincial towns.

On the other hand, Napoleon was opposed to the restoration of the guild-system in other professions. While upholding in principle the liberty of labour, he instituted a system of strict supervision which placed the workman under the control of the police and in a position of inferiority towards his employer. It was with this end in view that the law of April 19, 1808, obliged the workman to provide himself with a form supplied by the local police, on which were inscribed his successive engagements. Without this form or without a passport, a workman was treated as a vagabond; and no employer might engage him. In Paris the Prefect of Police, and in certain provincial towns the local police, were to be found descending to the most trifling details in the regulation of labour. The law of April 12, 1806, also recognised a systematised copyright in trademarks or designs.

"While preserving," said Napoleon, "these useful innovations which it was the object of the Revolution to introduce, I intend to restore any institutions of value which it mistakenly destroyed"—a general principle which was applied in a new fashion to weights and measures and the coinage. The Bill of December 10, 1793, upheld the decimal-metric system; but its general adoption was long delayed by the Order of November 4, 1800, and the Decree of February 12, 1802, which authorised the simultaneous use of both the old and the new measures. Similarly, with regard to the currency, the law of March 25, 1803, ordered as the unit a weight of five grammes of silver, 90 per cent.

being of pure metal, under the name of "franc." Gold was reckoned 154 times the value of silver. These regulations sufficed to ensure the France of that day a sound and stable monetary régime, and if Revolutionary reforms were maintained and developed. But On Senate Consultation of 22 Fructidor, year XI (September 8, 1803) introduced the Gregorian Calendar, which was to come into operation from 11 Nivôse year XIV (January 1, 1806).

It was, however, Napoleon's general policy which, more than his legislation, affected the material development of the country. The view which regarded state intervention as all-powerful in economic matters, the protectionist language of the French producers, on whose side Napoleon ranged himself, above all, the incidents of the struggle with Great Britain, brought about a commercial situation almost unprecedented in history, the consequences of which not only reacted upon French agriculture and French trade, but on the trade of Europe as the general commerce of the world. It does not fall within the scope of this chapter to enter into a full explanation of Napoleon's commercial system. We must content ourselves with outlining that portion of it which concerns the internal conditions of bygone France.

In the course of every year from 1802 to 1807, a law relating to the Customs was passed by command of Napoleon. Of these laws, the two most important were those of 1803 and 1806, which contained Customs Tariffs. The protectionist character of the Tariff for 1803 was one of the causes which led to the rupture of the Peace of Amiens. The Tariff of 1806 was drawn up in the same spirit, but it was fuller, so much so that it served as a basis for all the Customs Tariffs in France during the greater part of the nineteenth century. France thus became fastidiously protectionist.

The various Decrees which established what is generally known as the Continental System, together with the Orders in Council by which the British Government retaliated on Napoleon, will be described at length in a later chapter, and therefore need not be discussed here. For some account of the economic effects of this system is requisite is a description of France under the Empire. During the middle period of the Empire, the Continental System occupied a position of paramount importance; and it is not without reason that some have seen in it the pivot of Napoleon's policy; for, if it were to be made effective, it was essential that, as he no longer had a navy, he should have the whole of Europe either under his sway or in his alliance. But owing to the force of circumstances, Great Britain was economically indispensable to Europe. Thanks to the lust which she had gained in western industrialism, she alone was in a position to provide certain manufactured goods, and more especially cotton fabrics. Owing to her maritime supremacy, she alone could import colonial products into Europe. British goods and colonial produce became therefore the

centre of an active system of smuggling, has widespread in France, it is true, less in the countries newly incorporated with the Empire, such as Germany, Italy, and Spain. The smuggler brought in the prohibited merchandise at a premium representing approximately half its real value. Napoleon compromised. He granted temporary licences, giving certain French shippers the right to bring in prohibited goods or articles of British origin on payment of a duty of 60 per cent. The law of January 15, 1806, regularized the licence system; but cloths, machines, cotton materials, and luxury remained absolutely prohibited. Napoleon hoped by this means to direct the illicit trade to his own advantage, and to become, so to speak, his own smuggler.

With regard to food-stuffs and cotton, he had vainly tried to import them overland from the Levant, by a system of transport across the Balkan Peninsula. But he was not living in the Middle Ages; and it was not in his power, omnipotent as he was, to revive the overland trade-routes which the progress of maritime navigation had superseded. Napoleon, therefore, compromised once more. The Tariff Decree enhanced the existing duties on colonial produce. Here again the customs took the place of the smuggler.

Having thus regulated to his own advantage the importation of merchandise and food-stuffs which found their way into the Empire in spite of him, Napoleon, by a Decree issued October 16, 1810, established certain *Tribunaux ordinaires de douane* (Customs Tribunals) to try cases of first instance; above which the *Cours particuliers de douane*, presided over by Grand Jurors, pronounced final judgments in cases of appeal. All the smuggling cases were referred to these special tribunals. The penalties for fraudulent declaration and smuggling were very severe. Such smuggled goods as came within the category of prohibited merchandise were to be confiscated and burnt, or included in the list of detestable articles to be sold for the benefit of the State. Seizings were particularly frequent outside the old boundaries of France, where smuggling most abounded. In France itself the Decree of October 16, 1810, was received with enthusiasm because it maintained protection for French industries against British competition, and opened up to French trade those countries which had hitherto provided for their needs by means of smuggled British goods.

There was, therefore, lay siege to the Continental System. In 1806 the exclusion of British trade was absolute, but tempered in practice by smuggling; in 1810 the prohibition was to a certain extent tempered by the Government, which, per contra, attempted to put down smuggling altogether. In both cases the Europeans, and especially the French, markets were so far as possible sealed to the products of British manufactures and to colonial produce. That the injury to trade and the sufferings of the consumer were acute, especially beyond the old boundaries of France, it is scarcely necessary to say. In 1800 the

foreign trade of France reached an approximate total of 385,000,000 francs (imports 205,000,000, exports 177,000,000). In 1802, thanks to the peace, it touched 700,000,000 (imports 425,000,000, and exports 275,000,000); and it reached its maximum height in 1806 with 920,000,000 (imports 571,000,000, exports 349,000,000); but thenceforward it steadily diminished, falling in 1814 to 265,000,000 (imports 258,000,000, exports 346,000,000). Obviously these figures are only of secondary significance, owing to the extent of the illicit trade. The fact also ought to be taken into account, that neither the imports nor exports of gold and silver are included in the above figures. Between 1789 and 1814 France imported cash to the value of 655,000,000 francs, and only exported 21,000,000. Generally speaking, however, the evolution of the "curve" remained fairly characteristic. Finally, it is to be observed that the balance of trade showed an excess of imports in 1800 and an excess of exports in 1814. The two lines intersected one another immediately after the establishment of the Continental System.

Favourable circumstances, wholly unconnected with the Continental System, contributed powerfully to advance French industry. At the time of the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens, the "industrial revolution," which had so radically transformed the conditions of production in England, was beginning to be felt in France. The application of machinery to manufactures, which had begun before the establishment of the Continental System, continued to develop under the new régime, simultaneously hastened and fostered by it—hastened because all relations with the original home of mechanical invention had been broken off, fostered because France had now to produce herself the goods she could no longer buy from Great Britain. On the other hand, there now came into being for the first time a happy and fruitful alliance between the manufacturers and the men of science. "The Society for the Encouragement of National Industry" grouped together, under the presidency of Chaptal, all those who were interested in mechanics, chemistry, and economics, in agriculture and commerce; and by its propaganda, its experiments, its loans, and its grants contributed largely to the scientific progress of industry. In fact, it created in France the "applied sciences." Napoleon himself was active in the same direction. Technical schools, prizes, loans and subsidies, industrial exhibitions, government institutions designed to help an industrial development—all played their part in helping about the progress achieved.

Agriculture profited by the introduction of improved systems of crop rotation, both Flemish and English. The spread of these was, to be sure, slow enough; but still a beginning had been made. The Continental System, by prohibiting the importation of foreign dyes, gave a great impetus to the culture of dye-producing plants, such as madder, wood, and saffron. Chicory was grown as a substitute for coffee. To take the place of sugar, various preparations were tried

The consumer was just getting used to a kind of trade extracted from the grape, when, after many experiments, French manufacturers, relying on a process discovered in Prussia in the preceding century, succeeded in manufacturing sugar out of beetroots (1800-10). The Government fostered the new industry, which in 1812 was in full course of development; but the abandonment of the Continental System two years later dealt it a blow from which it took long to recover.

Flax and hemp were cultivated, and worked up by home industry. Napoleon offered in 1810 a prize of a million francs to the inventor of the best spinning-machine. A good machine was made by Philippe de Girard; but the prize was not awarded to him. His invention was taken up in Great Britain, whence it afterwards returned to France. The manufacture of woollen goods was greatly improved. The old and famous silk industry of Lyons had suffered greatly through the Revolution. Napoleon did all in his power to revive the fashion for Lyons silks. Jacquard invented the loom bearing his name, which consisted by purely mechanical means even the most intricate designs in the richest materials. The progress of the cotton industry in France under Napoleon is astonishing, when one thinks of the difficulty of obtaining the raw material from America, of bringing the Levantine cotton overland, of the inadequacy of the supply from Naples and Sicily, and of the failure of the attempt to cultivate it in Corsica or the valley of the Rhone. Marc-Antoine Oberkampf and Richard, with his partner Lenoir, succeeded in establishing important cotton-spinning factories with the machinery of the English spinning-jenny.

The important law of April 21, 1816, laid down rules for all the principles which were to govern mining operations in France. As a matter of fact, neither mining operations nor metallurgical industries made much progress. On the other hand, industrial chemistry made great advances. The Decree issued on October 15, 1816, on "Factories and workshops which emit unhealthy or offensive smells," laid the foundation of the system of state regulation still in force in France. Already it could enumerate—as subject to authorisation or to inspection—nearly seventy different chemical industries. Philippe Lebon invented the system of gas-lighting. Nicholas Leblanc, having invented a process for manufacturing soda, published his method from patriotic motives, and committed suicide; a reward was. Lebon's invention remained practically unknown; that of Leblanc, while it relieved France from the necessity of importing foreign natural sodas, gave it in exchange a superior product at a tenth of the price.

It is difficult to form a general opinion on the development of wealth in France under the Consulate and the Empire. We shall see later that Napoleon's downfall was preceded by an economic crisis of peculiar gravity, the causes of which, it is true, were partly of political origin. But it seems clear that, while luxury prevailed at the Court and among

the new well-being, as also material well-being and comfort were spreading among the general population and the peasantry. In the case of the latter the evidence is almost unanimous: but the improvement in their condition was less the work of Napoleon than of the Revolution itself. With regard to artisans, the frequent calls to arms made several labour wars and therefore distress. Nevertheless, certain local disturbances varied for a time some of the difficulties which industry on the grand scale and the growth of machinery was bound to entail.

Never perhaps was France more vitally and earnestly armed against poverty. The old charitable institutions of the Church had disappeared during the Revolution; and the reorganisation of asylums, hospitals, refuges, outdoor relief centres, travelling hospitals, *maisons de pitié*, etc., devolved upon the municipalities. In Paris, Fourier, who as Prefect of the Seine performed the duties of mayor (the political reasons, the capital had, as regards municipal government, been placed in a category of its own), took an active part in the business of charity, as did the prefects and mayors in the departments. The communal and municipal revenues (including Paris) amounted in 1802 to 133,000,000 francs, more than half of which (51 per cent.) was contributed by the octroi-duties, which were specially assigned to meet the requirements of charitable institutions. The income derived from municipal property (i.e. 18 per cent.) was partly devoted to the same purpose. The Government strove to suppress vagrancy. In the list of public works executed by order of the State in the departments the construction of vagrant wards and prisons figured at the head.

Public instruction. The public charity, was in the hands of the Church under the old régime, but now the State claimed to be the Church's heir. The law of 11 Floréal, year X (May 1, 1802), divided both instruction and schools into four classes as follows—(1) Primary Schools, supported by the local authorities, communal and municipal, acting under the control of the prefects and sub-prefects; (2) Secondary Schools, providing instruction in French, Latin, and elementary sciences, and supported by the communes or by private enterprise, but subject to government authorisation and governmental inspection; (3) *Lycées*, providing a thorough education in literature and sciences, of which there was to be at least one in each Appeal Court district. The lycées were state institutions: inspectors, governors, and teachers were appointed and paid by the State. (4) *Écoles spéciales*, constituting, according to the law, "the final stage in public instruction." They were divided into (a) *écoles politiques expérimentales*, devoted to "the full and thorough study, as well as to the advancement of the useful arts and sciences"; and (b) *écoles d'application des sciences pures*, designed to provide the State with enlightened public servants. The Act contemplated a general re-modelling of the Higher Schools. As a matter of fact, the Government

contented itself with completing and organizing, in Paris and the departments, the schools of law, medicine, and design, with maintaining the institutions which the Revolution had protected, avoided, or restored in Paris; and, lastly, with the establishment of a few new schools, such as a special military school for officers at Saint-Cyr, schools of pharmacy, and technical schools. In fact the law was responsible for only one wholly new creation, viz. the *lycée*. In 1800 it undertook to found 5400 exhibitions (*bourses*), 2400 of which were to be reserved for the sons of military men and government officials, and 3000 for the best pupils in the secondary schools. Nevertheless, in 1806, there were only 39 *lycées* in existence, as compared with 579 secondary schools kept up at the expense of the communes, and 577 founded by private persons.

With these results Napoleon was by no means satisfied. "The essential thing," he wrote on February 10, 1805, "is a teaching body" organized on hierarchical lines, "like that of the Jesuits of old." This body should have a definite aim, for there can be no stability in political conditions without a teaching body actuated by fixed principles. "Ungodly men are taught from childhood, as they should be, to be republicans or monarchists, Catholics or Protestants, and so forth, the State will never make a nation: it will rest upon shifting and insecure foundations, and will be for ever exposed to disturbances and change." An enquiry was ordered. Fournoy, Councillor of State and Director-General of Public Instruction at the Ministry of the Interior, drew up a scheme which he was obliged to remodel more than twenty times; the Emperor was never satisfied with it. On May 16, 1806, the Legislative Body approved practically the principle of the desired reform. "There shall be established, under the name of the Imperial University, a body exclusively charged with the work of teaching and public instruction throughout the Empire." In bringing in the Bill, Fournoy explained that it aimed, in a word, at a reconstruction, only on a vaster scale and embracing the whole Empire, of the ancient University of Paris.

Eventually the Decree of March 17, 1808, gave a working constitution to the Imperial University. Henceforth no one might open a school nor teach in public without being a member of the Imperial University, and a graduate of one of its Faculties. These Faculties were five in number, viz. Theology, law, medicine, sciences, literature. After the Faculties came the *lycées*; then the colleges or secondary schools maintained by the municipalities, next those kept by private persons, then the private boarding-schools; and, lastly, the primary schools. The degrees attached to the Faculties were those of Bachelor, Licentiate, and Doctor. No one could be promoted to a higher post unless he had previously held those below it. All the schools of the Imperial University were to take as the basis of their teaching the principles of the Catholic religion, loyalty to the Emperor, and obedience to the statutes of the teaching body. These statutes laid down a special

system of discipline, and a series of regulations which, in the case of outside posts, went so far as to impose the common life and celibacy. The recruiting-ground for the teaching-staff was provided in the Normal School, organised in Paris in 1808, by the restoration of the Normal School founded by the Convention in 1793.

The University was divided into as many Academies as there were Appeal Court areas. At the head of each Academy was a Rector, assisted by a council *académique* and by academic inspectors. A Grand Master, in Paris, appointed and dismissed by the Emperor, governed the Imperial University. He appointed and promoted its officers, maintained discipline, superintended the curriculum, and presided over the University Council. The University had its own budget. An abundant crop of regulations subsequently grew up. In this connection the Decree of November 15, 1811, is highly characteristic: it shows clearly that Napoleon was anxious to reduce more and more the competition of those private schools with the government institutions, if not, indeed, to suppress them altogether. And yet, at the final collapse of the Empire, there existed within the old boundaries of France only 56 lycées with 6000 pupils, and 368 colleges with 15,000 pupils, as against 1835 voluntary institutes and boarding-schools with nearly 40,000 pupils.

The Imperial University had, therefore, as desirable less than half the pupils actually acquiring a secondary education. Moreover, it will be observed that it was incomplete both at the top and at the bottom. The Faculties of Law and Medicine had, it is true, 6000 students in 1815, but all the *Écoles Spéciales* included in the design of the Act of 1808 were to be found outside the University organisation. Primary education was left to private initiative, to the communes, or to the *Prêtres des Écoles Chrétiennes*, who were authorised and encouraged by the Grand Master, according to the decree of 1808.

These shortcomings did not prevent the University from being the sole Imperial creation which has survived to our own day, though it has become almost unrecognisable both in its organisation and in its guiding spirit. In Napoleon's conception, it was to be a self-governing corporation, but a state institution. The pupils and the masters were subjected to a discipline derived partly from a monastic, partly from a military, model. As in the hierarchical society created in all its details by the Emperor, academic energies were to be stimulated by the spirit of emulation and the desire of promotion. Confined practically as it was to the sphere of secondary and higher education, the Imperial University appealed only to the sons of the upper and middle classes. It was in no sense democratic. Lastly, it aimed at the preservation of the social and monarchical system; and, so long as the Church could not produce schools of its own to compete with it, it frankly claimed, although restricted from lay sources, to take the Church's place. Its first Grand Master, Fontanes, was one of the leaders of what we may call the clerical party



under the Empire; and its first Chancellor, appointed by the Decree of March 17, 1804, was "le Sieur Vilbois, Bishop of Comac."<sup>2</sup>

Above the *École Supérieure* and the *Facultés* came the Institute, established in 1795. By its publications, its reports, its correspondence with learned and foreign societies, the higher standard it set for study and research, and above all to the authority it derived from the inclusion of the most illustrious names in branches of learning, the Institute was intended to be the permanent, living, and active representation of literature, science, and art. It comprised three "classes," physical sciences and mathematics, moral and political sciences, literature and the fine arts. The second class was disliked by Bonaparte, for it contained all the most notorious idlers. By the senatorial order of January 23, 1804, it was suppressed; and its members were distributed among the other branches, which were henceforward to be four in number, resembling in their attributes the Academies of former times. The class of physical and mathematical sciences carried on the old Academy of Sciences; that of French language and literature, the French Academy; that of ancient history and literature, the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres; that of Fine Arts, the old Academies of painting, sculpture, and architecture.

It would seem to have been Napoleon's wish that the Institute should take an active part in the work of government. "The Institute cannot refuse what is asked of it," he wrote in a famous note, dated April 18, 1807; "it is bound by the terms of its constitution to respond to any demands made upon it by the Ministry of the Interior." Nevertheless, the active participation of the Institute was actually confined to the editing of general reports on the progress of literature, science, and art, and to the distribution of prizes.

Thus, then, the labours of the intellect, the work of education and culture, and the formal recognition of these results, were entrusted to organized bodies acting by order of the Government. It followed inevitably that all expression of opinion outside these organized bodies was subject to rigorous scrutiny. The two Censorships established on April 5, 1804, at the Ministry of the Interior for theatres, and at the Ministry of Police for the press, discharged their duties uninterceptedly; and police supervision was naturally extended to all printed publications. This however was not enough, and to Napoleon's eyes a fresh series of regulations appeared necessary. He began with the theatres. The imperial note of February 23, 1806, and the Decrees of June 5, 1806, April 24, July 23, and November 1, 1807, established a truly extraordinary system. In Paris there were to be only eight theatres, viz. four "Grand Théâtres" (the Opéra, the Théâtre Français, the Opéra Comique, and the Odéon), and four "Secondary Theatres." Every theatre was to have a special character of its own, defined by the Minister of the Interior. All plays had to be supervised by the police before production.

In the departments, five towns were to be entitled to two permanent theatrical companies each, fourteen other towns to one company each. The Empire was divided into twenty-five theatrical zones, twelve of which were to be allowed two strolling companies each, and thirteen one company each. The companies and their repertoires were placed under the supervision of the police and the Ministry of the Interior, the prefects, sub-prefects, and mayors.

But the Decree of February 5, 1800, which organised the general censorship of printing and publishing, was stricter still. The number of printers was limited: in Paris it was not to exceed sixty. Printers had to take out licenses and to swear an oath; and candidates for licenses might not take the oath "until they had given proof of their capacity, moral character, and attachment to their country and their sovereigns." Booksellers also were to be licensed and sworn, but their number was not restricted. Before being printed, every work had to be submitted to the General Censorship, and, in case of appeal, to the Minister of the Interior; but, even after permission given, the general police and the prefects could suspend publication. The severity shown by the General Censorship and the police in dealing with intellectual activity was almost incredible.

Down to 1810, newspapers had remained subject to the régime established under the Consulate, but the supervision of the police tended always towards greater rigour. Censors and official editors were forced upon the principal journals. After 1808 the control of the press became still more severe. Outside Paris the number of newspapers was reduced to one for each department, and this was placed under the control of the prefect by the Decree of August 3, 1810. After October, 1811, there were only four newspapers left in Paris—the *Moniteur*, the official organ; the *Journal des Débats*, now called *Journal de l'Empire*; the *Journal de Paris*, which dealt chiefly in gossip; and the old *Gazette de France*, which gave special prominence to religious news. Going one step further still, the Decree of February 18, 1811, appropriated the *Journal de l'Empire*, without giving any compensation to the brothers Bertin, its proprietors. Finally, the Decree of September 27, 1811, confiscated all the other Paris newspapers. From that moment the Press may be said to have ceased to exist. Political news was only published at rare intervals and only with the Government's consent; and such news was often false.

Is it astonishing if a régime such as that we have just described hampered the free expression of ideas? It was no mere coincidence that Chateaubriand and Madame de Staël, the two most distinguished writers of the Napoleonic era, belonged to the Opposition.

In 1801 Chateaubriand, a former soldier, had published *Atala*, an episode detached from *Le Génie du Christianisme*, which first saw the light in 1800, about the time of the promulgation of the Concordat; his demonstration of the poetic beauty and working power of the

Catholic religion therefore appeared at the right psychological moment. Chateaubriand then entered the diplomatic service, but resigned after the murder of the Duc d'Angoulême. He now published first, another fragment of *Le Génie*; and, having formed the project of writing *Les Martyrs*, a kind of romantic prose epic depicting the antagonism between the Christian and pagan worlds, he set out for the Holy Land. This was in 1805. Returning to Paris in 1807, he published, in 1809, *Les Martyrs*, and in 1811 his travelling impressions under the title of *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*. His duties for Napoleon had become impossible, but, though he took little pains to disguise it, he was not subjected to any persecutions, for, being as so often a man of action, he was politically harmless. Moreover, his gods kept him clear from affairs. But, just because all he wrote reflected his own personal views, and because he had a marvellous gift for reproducing, with the precision of a painter and the sensibility of an artist, his impressions of nature and of history, he succeeded, at least to a large extent, in stamping his mode of thought and feeling upon his contemporaries. The effect of his work did not reach its height until the next generation, but during the Napoleonic era he stood for reaction against what he called the narrow scepticism of the eighteenth century. He rediscovered, so to speak—possibly, indeed, in a manner exceeding more of literature than of genuine religious belief—the Triad God of the Christian, and substituted Him for the Supreme Being of the philosophers and for the absolute mythologies of the men of letters. He about himself free from the outward forms of the dogmatis. History was to him only the past restored to life; and this past he made others see as he himself saw landscape, colour, sunlight. Lastly, whatever he did was stamped in his personality, his slowness, his dis-illusionment. French Romanticism springs from Chateaubriand.

Madame de Staël was also a romanticist. Banished from Paris under the Consulate, she made her home at Coppet, whence she travelled in Germany, Italy, even in France. She had published her treatise, *De la Littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les Constitutions Sociales* in 1800, and two novels, *Germany* in 1808, and *Germany* in 1817. In 1810, having finished her book on Germany, she ventured to return to France, and settled near Elan, where immediately her French friends found her, as of old at Coppet. Solitude was distasteful to her; she needed conversation and the stir of life. It was for this reason that Napoleon dealt more severely with her than with Chateaubriand. The General Censorship was on the point of authorizing the publication of *De l'Allemagne*, when the police, at the Emperor's instigation, interrupted its sale (1810). Madame de Staël was forced to return to Coppet, where she was kept under strict surveillance; and Madame Récamier was banished from Paris (1811) for having gone to see her friend. In 1812 Madame de Staël escaped, travelling through various countries to England, where she published *De l'Allemagne* in 1813.

What a strange spectacle was the struggle between the all-powerful Emperor and this woman! To the whole of Europe Madame de Staël personified opposition to the despot. In France, since all political activity had become impossible, she played another part. Supremely intelligent drawing her intellectual nourishment from the talk of the most distinguished men of her day, a Parisian by choice, a traveller by necessity, Madame de Staël developed into a French-speaking cosmopolitan. Too daring that the classical rules which tradition had forced upon literary expression in France were not absolute, and that each people, and generation, has its own individuality, she distinguished between the moral attitude of the Latin and that of the Teuton, she revised Germany to France, and made the Romanticism of the North (she was the first to use the word in its modern sense) acceptable to the classical taste of the Latin race. Like the philosophers of the eighteenth century, she believed in the boundless progress of humanity, and in her the march of European literature was an harmonious concert, to which each people contributed its peculiar note. She broke down barriers, she opened out horizons. She owed the seeds of new ideas, and she believed in their force. She could not concern herself with politics from month to month, or of words differed from religion. She was at once a friend and a believer. In the noblest sense of the word she was an idealogue.

But, for the present, literature still dragged on in the rut of those honoured formulas. Its revolution only came after the fall of Napoleon. Most of the poets of the time are forgotten to-day. Some signs there were, perhaps, which spoke of a revival of lyric poetry, in the work of Chénier, Méléville, and even Fontanes; but Jacquin, who (after Voltaire) made Shakespeare known in France, and *the allusion* Lebrun "the French Pindar," had almost ceased to write. *the country* was unpoetic. The birth of the King of Rome inspired *Spinoza de J. writer* for the moment, which brought in 66,480 francs in 1806, or *author* 1807.

Professional literary criticism, whether it *being the first* drew the Voltairean tradition, was absent in the century. *of the part* Giuseppe devoted himself to the study of Italian literature, *Samuel* a friend of Madame de Staël, to the history of the Italian Republics. But, though literature scouted the genius of Chateaubriand and *de* Voltaire, of Henri Quatre and other monarchs of the past, there does not exist a single national historical work of that time worthy of mention.

As for philosophy, the sensualistic school of the eighteenth century which claimed to explain everything by sensation, was represented by idealogue like Volney, Gass, Saint-Lambert, Laromiguière, Paul de Gondeau, by Cabanis and Destutt de Tracy, whose *idéologie*, or Science of Ideas, appeared in 1801. The idealogues were functionaries in religion and liberals in politics. "A land of ambrosia," Napoleon called them, "who up from the bottom of their souls for liberty of the press and of speech, and believe in the omnipotence of public opinion."



was not converted to the "school." The Government also possessed immense influence in this respect. Napoleon was indifferent to art in all its forms, but he thought it advisable to encourage it, in order to add splendour to his reign. The official art professors of Decorative Design, General of Galleries and Museums, concurred with those of the Fine Arts class of the Institute and of the *École des Beaux-Arts*.

Thus it came about that out of the conflict of doctrines, the tastes of the public, and the influence of the Government, there was born an artistic style sufficiently original and definite to give to the reign of Napoleon that distinction which it lacked in literature. Like the Imperial régime itself, it was stiff and formal, solemn and sumptuous, declamatory, pompous and—fasting! It only required a little romantic imagination or a little realistic truth to sweep it into oblivion. Nevertheless it had a beauty of its own, and it left its stamp on everything—as an official discourse by Fontaine as well as on the shape of a notable, on an overture by Méhul as well as on a picture by David. Theoretically it belonged to the "school," modified in practice by the "liberal" doctrine. In so far as it followed antique models, it may be said to be "ideal"; in so far as circumstances forced it to adapt those models to modern needs, it was "liberal"; and it displayed original beauty in proportion as that adaptation was complete.

For this reason the architecture of the period does not count. Houdou (born in 1761) and Roland (born in 1766) belong to another generation. The architecture of the time exaggerated more and more the tendency of the preceding period to reproduce the monuments of antiquity; its last work was in the restoration and completion of existing monuments. It was in no sense original. It built a Greek temple and called it the Exchange, it copied Trajan's column to glorify the Grand Army, nothing could have been more. Nevertheless there was a keen sense of decorative effect and a grandiose, harmonious *ensemble*, especially in the work of Napoleon's favourite architects, Percier and Fontaine. It was the same thing with the decorative arts. Furniture was stiff, uncomfortable, and pompous to the point of absurdity. But it is not in its place in the mean houses of the middle class. To judge it aright, we must picture it as its proper sphere, in the Imperial palaces, surrounded by all the accessories which Fontaine and his fellow-workers were able to group in such imposing fashion. We must examine up before the eye of imagination the Court, *les salons* and the stately ceremonial. We must observe the uniform and official costumes of the men, and the dress of the women, so original in its combination of modern elegance with classic design. In all this there is an artistic note, the note of the "Empire style," which belongs to the Empire alone, and is marvelously attuned to the Roman features of Napoleon.

In painting, Louis David (1748-1828) stood high above his contemporaries by right of genius, knowledge, and personal influence. His

was one of the protagonists of the academic school, but, whether he called it or not, in his hands the orthodox doctrine underwent from his attitude of uncompromising rigidity. The aged Vien, born in 1718, to whom belonged the glory of having been David's master, Vincent, worthy but forgetful, Bagnard, through whose currently damned work there still shined occasionally something of eighteenth century charm; and Lethière—all these were impetuous academists. Gros and Fragonard, who lived till 1806 and 1808 respectively, were only the survivors of a bygone age: the day of that charming, brilliant, dainty, but superficial eighteenth century art was over.

The generation of painters which followed belonged entirely to the classical school. The work of Ingres (born 1780) was attractive and brilliant. Groslet was a classicist and at the same time a man of genuine imagination—two elements which he never fully succeeded in reconciling. Gérard specialised in portraiture, as did Madame Vigée-Lebrun and Robert Lefèvre. Gérard, Bagnard's pupil, Groslet's master, and a confirmed "Davidian" to boot, was perhaps the most typical painter of the classical school. Guise (born in 1771) was the Emperor's favourite artist. He was a colourist, a realist, full of sentiment and a sense of the dramatic; full too of a sense of life and relief, even if occasionally somewhat theatrically expressed. Among the younger men, Ingres (born in 1780) and Horace Vernet (born in 1789) were already at the height of their powers, if not of their reputation. Lastly, in the decade of 1818 and 1819, a quite young painter, Gérard by name (born in 1799), exhibited epoch-making pictures: all romantic art in them—thrilling, passionate, already triumphant. Thus in painting, as in literature, the First Empire saw the dawn of Romanticism, but with this difference, that in literature the classical school was definitely overthrown and overleapt even before the Revolution, while in art its most glorious period is that of Napoleon.

It is interesting to find music developing vigorously side by side with painting. Napoleon's tastes lay rather in the direction of Italian music. He favoured men like Spontini, Cherubini, Salieri, Paisiello, and Zella-Maria. But the French school was brilliant; and the works of Cécile, Berlioz, Lemoine, and particularly of Méhul, with the minor operas of Delagrè, Gaveau, Nicolo (whose real name was Boissel), and Brédas, illustrated the best qualities of French music.

To complete the picture of France under the First Empire nothing now remains but to group together in their chronological order the principal events in her internal history. In this respect the only noteworthy incident of the first years of Napoleon's reign was the financial and economic crisis, to which, as we have seen, Napoleon speedily put an end on his return to France after the victory of Austerlitz. From January to September, 1806, the Emperor resided either in Paris or at one of the suburban palaces; and it was during this time that he

planned the two most important institutions of the new régime—the new nobility and the University. Then he set off to conduct the campaign in Prussia and Poland. He was absent from September, 1805, until July, 1807. He continued to govern the country from afar, and, in his correspondence, letters dealing with home affairs alternate with military orders and matters relating to the conduct and organization of the campaign. The Berlin Decree put the finishing touch to the new régime so far as internal affairs was concerned. The nobility, the University, the Continental System, and the Church transformed into the handmaid of the State—these were the four basic columns on which the fabric of the Empire rested.

In spite of the master's absence, France was tranquil. We have only to note a few royalist movements of no real importance. At Bordeaux and in the west a royalist band was formed, with the aid of subsidies from Great Britain. La Rochepoisselin was its principal leader. But the police made short work of this disturbance. One obscure assassin was shot (September 15, 1806); and La Rochepoisselin, in order to save his property from confiscation, went over to the Empire. In Brittany, Guillemin de Clouan, a former companion of Georges Cadoudal, was taken prisoner and shot (January 8, 1807); La Haye Saint-Edme suffered the same fate on October 7, 1806. In Normandy d'Aché and Le Chevalier schemed to effect a rising, and the poor old Marquise de Castigny even went so far as to prepare a bedroom for His Majesty in her château at Tournebise. But the conspiracy ended in an act of highway-robbery; the law had no difficulty in dealing with royalists reduced to robbing a stage-coach.

The material condition of the country was one of prosperity. On Napoleon's return, after Jena, Eylau, and Tilsit, he was welcomed with genuine enthusiasm. Everybody, perhaps even Napoleon himself, believed that the war which was just over was to be the last. The national fête on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday (August 15) was celebrated in 1807 with unexampled splendour. Speaking in the name of the Legislative Body, Fontanes, in the address which he presented to Napoleon, exclaimed "he has the conqueror than the peace-maker of Europe." Praised as ever, the Emperor took advantage of his renewed popularity to suppress the Tribunate. He made, besides, several changes in the personnel of his government. Talleyrand was appointed Vice-Grand Elector, Berthier Vice-Constable, Champagny became Foreign Minister, and Clarke Minister for War. Götter replaced Champagny at the Ministry of the Interior, and Hugot de Fréminet succeeded the deceased Portails as Minister of Public Worship. These selections were not all the happiest imaginable; Clarke could not compare with Berthier; Talleyrand was not exactly dispassionate, but his elevation to the title of a Grand Diplomat, specially created for him, removed him to a certain extent from close contact with affairs, and his inextinguishable sobriety no



longer tempered his master's rough diplomacy. The promotions of 1807 usher in a second generation of Napoleon's servants.

Soon after his return from a short journey in Italy (December, 1807), the Emperor put the finishing touches to the two institutions which were to consolidate his work—the nobility and the University (March, 1808). Then he set out for Barcelona and Bayona. We know the business he had in view: we know too the disastrous consequences which his intervention in Spain held in store for him. He was away from April to August, 1808. His absence was marked in Paris by a characteristic episode. An old Jacobin, Evr Demollet, had gathered round him a band of republicans, including General Claude-François de Malet, an officer who had been cashiered for his republican opinions. The conspirators, flattering themselves that they had the support of the *illustre* group in the Senate, drew up a Senate Circular proclaiming the dethronement of Napoleon, reestablishing the Republic, and calling the people together in their destined college. A provisional government, in which La Fayette, Marceau, Malet, and other republicans were to take part, was to preserve order, make peace with foreign Powers, and emancipate the conquered countries. A proclamation to the army was drafted. What was the precise extent of the plot it is impossible to say. Malet seems to have belonged to a secret society known as *les philodèles*, who carried on republican traditions. Fouché was a free-mason. Did the conspirators really think they could count on his support? One thing is certain: it was Dabois, not Fouché, who discovered the plot (June 8, 1808). Dabois arrested the conspirators and informed the Emperor of the affair; this time he had real hopes of curbing his rival at the Ministry of Police. But Fouché, more fortunate than in 1804, succeeded in persuading Napoleon that the plot was of no importance; the prisoners were not tried, and the affair was hushed up.

The Emperor returned to Paris through the departments of the west, but started again immediately, only allowing himself time to celebrate the 18th of August, and to raise a fresh levy of troops, now for the first time calling up two classes in advance. Already the consequences of the Spanish policy were plainly visible. In close connexion the tidings of the expedition of Baylen and the convention of Castro, based on the French people. Could it be possible that victory no longer attended the eagles of France? "Public opinion," wrote Fouché, one of Napoleon's secret agents, "is sick with anxiety"; and he added three significant words: "If one were asked to describe the moral condition of France, one would have to say that the only days left are those who still bear their calculations on popular credulity." Shortly afterwards Napoleon hurried to the Congress of Erfurt (September 28) where he seemed to be in very truth the master of Europe. On his return to Paris he opened the session of the Legislative Body (October 22). One phrase in the address presented by Fontanes in answer to the speech from

the French deserves to be remembered. "Already you are on the point of leaving France once more—France which during so many years has seen you for so few days. You are sitting out, a vague dream, born of love and treasured by hope, troubling all our hearts." Beneath the courteous circumlocution of the President of the Legislative Body the general meaning was plainly visible. On October 16th Napoleon left Paris for Spain. Never had his life been marked by such Spanish activity. The year 1808 was to be the turning point of the Empire.

To all those, not blinded by servile devotion, who had the true interests of France at heart and some power of discerning the future, two facts made themselves more and more apparent: Napoleon's policy was becoming extremely dangerous; and no provision had been made for the contingency that the one man on whom everything depended might disappear from the scene. Talleyrand and Fouché had the courage to look the matter in the face. Their motives could hardly be disinterested. In their thought of the nation their first instinct was doubtless to retain the high positions to which Napoleon had raised them; but, if they kept their private fortunes in view in case anything should happen to Napoleon, they thought of the same fate of the fortunes of France. There was no love lost between the two men; but they met and talked things over. They agreed to ignore Joseph, Louis, and Jerome, who were neither capable nor popular, and came to an understanding, it seems, to prefer Marie to Bernadotte. The Emperor got wind of these confabulations, and his anger knew no bounds. He returned at full speed, his campaign scarcely over. On January 23 he attacked Talleyrand in public with unparliamentary violence. Though removed from the position of Grand Chamberlain, Talleyrand continued to go to Court; but he never forgave, and, if a error, he was henceforth an implacable enemy. As for Fouché, whether out of prudence or contempt, Napoleon spared him yet more more.

Before four months were over, the Emperor set off again for the front, no one in France knew why. By an administrative order, drawn up at the moment of his departure (April 15, 1809), Napoleon had, as usual, appointed Cambacérès as his deputy. Ministers were to correspond with the Emperor direct, but to meet once a week under the presidency of the Arch-Chancellor. It so happened that Crétet, Minister of the Interior, did it from oversight, Napoleon put Fouché in his place (*June 28*). Thus it came about that the two most important ministerial offices were united under the same chief; and for the first time in the history of the empire there was a chief, if not a Prime Minister.

The royalists had not yet lost all hope. Louis XVIII, at this time a refugee in England, never ceased to look for the active support of the British Government. But royalist optimism in France continued to be cooled and shot, the Jersey agency, which had been at work since 1792, disappeared. Fouché's energy and skill had enabled him to suppress,

ance for all the royalist harbours, and this was the chief reason why Napoleon had continued to treat her. Fouché made the most of the situation. The long expected English landing actually took place, but at Walcheren (July 23, 1805), not in Brittany. Thinking was created (August 6), Antwerp threatened. While the other nations hesitated, Fouché ordered a levy of the National Guard in the north-eastern departments and in Paris, and afterwards in the south, on the pretext that another English landing was possible at Marseilles; he also issued orders for the reinforcement of the National Guard in Paris.

These measures were obviously out of all proportion to defensive needs. Let but an accident happen to Napoleon, and Fouché was master of France. As a matter of fact, on October 14, the youth Flaps attempted to assassinate Napoleon at Schönbrunn. When the alarm was over, Napoleon, who at the outset had supported Fouché (he had made him Duke of Ottento on August 13), intervened in his turn. He disbanded the National Guards, and sent Montlivet to the Interior (October 1), but he did not disgrace Fouché. He preferred to hide his face.

On October 24, 1805, Napoleon returned to Fontainebleau. When, some hours later, the Empress Josephine rejoined her husband, she found the door of communication between her room and that of the Emperor walled up. Napoleon had decided upon a divorce. For a long time he had been possessed by the idea, but upon him, too, lay like a dead weight the terrible question of the future. What did it profit to have founded an hereditary Empire if he could not secure the succession? If we are to trust Massin, Napoleon had for a long time believed himself incapable of having issue. At first he seems to have intended to settle the question of the succession by means of adoption. It was with this idea that on January 26, 1806, he adopted Prince Eugene, who henceforth called himself Eugene-Napoleon, as his successor on the throne of Italy. At that time, the heir-presumptive to the throne of France was, to all appearance, Napoleon-Charles, the son of Louis Bonaparte and Hortense. But Napoleon-Charles died on June 8, 1807, when scarcely five years old. Now, on December 13, 1806, one of Napoleon's mistresses gave birth to a son, Louis, whose imperial status it was impossible to doubt. Napoleon therefore gave up the idea of adoption in favour of the natural succession from father to son. But from that moment divorce became a necessity. Fouché, who guessed what was in his master's mind, had been spreading abroad the rumour of an approaching divorce since July, 1805, and even had the assurance to speak of it to Josephine herself. Napoleon allowed this, but the idea had been launched; and now the hour had struck for its execution.

The days that followed were a veritable torture for the unhappy Josephine. Up to the very end she had to play the part of Empress, and just at that precise moment there were great festivities about in

honour of the Peace of Vienna. Napoleon suffered also. He was full of tenderness and pity for Josephine, he was moved by the memories of long years spent in common. A heartrending scene took place between husband and wife on November 30, 1809, but Napoleon did not resign his decision. He dispensed with the formalities laid down by the Civil Code and went to work in a different fashion. On December 16, 1809, after a family council held the evening before, the Senate passed a Senate Consultation annulling the civil divorce and the religious separation was pronounced shortly afterwards by authority of the Metropolitan (January 18, 1800). Josephine retired to Malmaison. Her beauty, her winning charm, her wit, her goodness, her tact and goodness of heart, had long ago disintegrated the memory of her old infirmity of character and conduct. She had not proved herself unworthy of her amazing destiny. She was moreover generally popular, and Napoleon's popularity, already somewhat diminished, suffered through this event.

The marriage with Marie-Louise, which had been mooted in January, 1810, and settled in February, took place at Vienna, by proxy, on March 11. The civil ceremony was repeated at Saint-Cloud on April 1; the religious, on the 19th, in the chapel of the Tuilleries. Napoleon was happy and hopeful, and passed his time in a whirl of festivities. He never doubted that he would have a son. So early as February 17, 1810, a Senate Consultation proclaimed the incorporation of the Roman States with the French Empire and announced that "the Prince Imperial was to bear the title and honours of the King of Rome."

On June 3, 1810, Napoleon proceeded to perform an act of amnesia. "I know," he wrote to Fouché, "all the many services you have rendered me . . . nevertheless it is impossible for me, without loss of self-respect, to leave you in possession of your portfolio." By means of his agent, Fagan, formerly an English prisoner of war, and of Garraud, the speculator, Fouché had kept up surreptitiously the intercourse with the British Cabinet which had possibly already begun at the time of the Tilsit affair. Napoleon did not know all this, and therefore still preserved a certain regard for Fouché's capabilities. He was to be punished for his overbearing attitude in 1809. The letter of June 3 was couched in moderate language, and Fouché obtained by way of compensation the Governorship of Rome and the title of Minister of State (June 9). But, when a subsequent enquiry revealed the Minister's performances in detail, the Emperor flew into a violent rage. Fouché fled, taking refuge first in Italy, and even contemplating a further flight to America; later, on his return to France, he received orders to retire to Aix in his own ancestral district (August 27), where he sought and found obscurity. His diagnosis was absolute. After Talleyrand, Josephine, after Josephine, Fouché. Of these three captives the last was undoubtedly the most serious. Madaün, Fouché's latest biographer, has constituted himself his apologist; and the view he holds is by no means wholly

suggested. Fouché was, in regard to internal politics, by far the most important personage in the reign of Napoleon; and, if his fidelity, in spite of all his services, never wavered for a moment, the reason may have been that he was never really subservient. It must be admitted that no one could have combined with more unflinching devotion to those in an air of moderation over the work of his formidable office. He never abused his discretionary powers, and he placed under obligations men of all groups. It is not the least of the paradoxes of that time, so rich in contrasts, that the downfall of the former instrument and efficient caused greater respect even in the reactionary and clerical circles of the *Empire* *Semi-German*.

Fouché's successor was General Savary, that man of pure eloquence of whom report has it that Napoleon said, "I like him; he would kill his very father if I took him." The story is not authentic, but its circulation throws a terrible light on Savary's character. Nevertheless, clearly, Napoleon intended everyone to bow to his will in all things. Dufour, who had so long hoped for Fouché's place, met, soon after, with the same fate as his rival. Napoleon replaced him (October 14) by Pasquier, formerly Councillor in the Parliament of Paris, afterwards a member of the Council of State—an appointment no less characteristic than that of Savary. Pasquier came of an old royalist family. The young officials who were now entering the public service often came of the same stock. Full of pride at being the husband of an aristocrat, Napoleon was glad to recruit his staff from the old nobility, and he never troubled himself as to whether these aristocratic royalists were sincere converts or not. The tone of the whole became reactionary, anti-revolutionary, clerical. When, finally, the aged General Fournier had succeeded the younger Portalis in the General Councilship (January 21, 1811), when, in a last administrative death, Napoleon had sent the Duke Malet to the Foreign Office, while Dava took his place as Secretary of State, and Champagny fell from the exalted post of Foreign Minister into that vacated by Dava, the evolution was complete. It may be summed up in two phrases, obedience even more absolute than in the past to the Imperial authority, reaction, both aristocratic and monarchical.

This transformation was the more noteworthy in that it coincided with a vigorous renewal of the Emperor's organizing and administrative activity. It was high time: the Empire had become enormous in extent. In 1805 the extension of Genoa had enlarged it from 685,000 square kilometres and 108 departments, to 640,000 square kilometres, and 110 departments; that of Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany (1806) to 608,000 square kilometres and 118 departments; that of Holland, north-western Germany, the Papal States, and Valais (1810) to 700,000 square kilometres and 120 departments. The population was estimated by Moutonnet at 40,700,000 in 1811, of which total 22,700,000 were ascribed to old France.

It will be noted that not a single Imperial institution dates from the year 1809. This is not owing to chance. There were two periods in

Napoleon's internal policy, separated from one another by a veritable gulf. From 1804 to 1808 he devoted himself to welding together and strengthening the Imperial system; after 1808 he reorganised the method of government, but he added nothing to the existing Constitution. If we consider the establishment of the *lycées* system (January 18, 1807), of the *domestic extraordinary* (January 28), of the *hacienda* system (February 3), of state prisons (March 3), and all the later measures, we see put into them all up in the one word Absolutism.<sup>1</sup> The State was omnipotent: its interests overrode all private interests, all civil rights, just as long ago it had suppressed all political rights. For the first time since the establishment of the Empire, Napoleon had some leisure. From 1808 to 1811 he resided in Paris, or in one or other of his suburban palaces, Saint-Cloud, Fontainebleau, Compiègne, or Trianon. But he was no longer so active as he had been. He began to put on flesh, and to develop a liking for good food; he dined constantly. His pride became overbearing; and, absorbed in himself, he no longer saw men or things as they were. Yet he allowed no one to do anything but himself.

The birth of the King of Rome, on March 20, 1811, raised the mental activities of Napoleon to a climax. The dream of his life was realised. Since November 25, 1809, a *Maison des Enfants de France* had been in existence, its title copied literally from the ceremonial of the old French monarchy. The *fiat* in honour of his birth were confined to the exclusive Court circle, and had no connexion with the public festivities arranged for the people of Paris. There was no trace of popular enthusiasm; no one cared for either Marie-Louise or the King of Rome. To make his isolation complete, Napoleon, after his divorce, quarrelled with every member of his family in turn, even with the emperor's Elise, who was not allowed to come to Paris for the christening. But this state of things was by no means distasteful to the Emperor of Austria's son-in-law, the father of the King of Rome.

In reality, the position was growing more and more disquieting. To speak only of France proper, the population was suffering acutely from the effects of the Continental System and the continued war. Commercial activity was falling off. Industry was entering upon a critical phase, and the manufacture of articles of luxury, in Paris and Lyons, was the first branch to feel the strain. The harvest of 1811 was bad. Napoleon came to the rescue in his characteristic fashion. A new Ministry of Manufactures and Trade was created in June, 1811, though it had no head until January, 1812, when Gille de Berry was appointed to the post. A Food Commission was secretly organised, with a view to securing an adequate food-supply for Paris (August 30, 1811). Loans were made to manufacturers, amounting to 18,000,000 francs in 1812, scarcely half of which had been repaid at the close of the Empire. The Food Commission purchased corn with a view to retarding the public granaries. Wheat rose from 78 francs (a price already above the average) to 80 francs the

sack (equal to about 8 bushels). Frightened by the rise, the Commission could, surreptitiously, at 75 francs. On this leaking out, leted in an enormous influx, became general, and prices rose still further, until they reached 140 francs per sack in 1812. The Decrees of March 22, May 4 and 6, 1812, aimed at remedying this state of things, by limiting the use of grain in the distilleries, by keeping a watch over circulation and sale, and finally by fixing the maximum price at 30 francs per hectolitre, *i.e.* about 35 francs per sack. Napoleon was thus obliged to revert to the old device of a maximum fixed by law. The year 1812 was a year of scarcity. In Paris more than 25000 workmen (tailors, makers, goldsmiths, etc.) were out of employment. Nor was the other industrial centres much better off.

The economic crisis had already become acute when Napoleon set forth on the invasion of Russia (May 9, 1812). News of the expedition was so empty as it was false, a circumstance of which Mallet determined to take advantage. After being in prison for 26 months he had obtained leave to move to the "house" kept by Dr Dubousson, at the further end of the Faubourg Saint-Jacques. There he had made acquaintance with several other political prisoners, to whom the same privilege of living under the doctor's surveillance had been granted. Almost all of them were royalists or clericals; among them were the two Polignacs, who had conspired with Coblentz, and the Abbé Lefebvre, who had been arrested for papalistic intrigues. A new plot was formed with the aid of certain young men who visited the prisoners while under the doctor's roof.

Mallet assembled the documents which had been stored in 1808—the *Actes des Comités Consultatifs*, the list of the provisional government (to which he added the names of Montmorency, Fréchet and others), and the appeal to the army. He no longer proposed to proclaim the Republic, but to grant permission to all émigrés to return to France, and to send a deputation to the Pope begging him to pardon the results to which he had been subjected, and to pass through Poiss on his way back to Rome—was this for the purpose of restoring Louis XVIII? The scheme of 1808 had, in fact, undergone so many changes that it became a question whether Mallet had not turned royalist. The truth was that, for the time being, royalists and republicans had agreed to combine their efforts so far as the summoning of the Electoral Assembly, which, Napoleon once overthrown, were to decide authoritatively, either for the reestablishment of the Republic or the restoration of Louis XVIII. Mallet laid his plans with extreme care. He drew up beforehand a number of forged manifestoes, to which he succeeded in giving an appearance of perfect authenticity. He even arranged for a detachment to be sent to Saint-Cloud for the protection of Marse-Laune. Why then did he not succeed? Was success more improbable than the very existence of the plot?

When all was ready, Mallet escaped under cover of night from

Eschasson's house, went to a friend's house to get on his uniform once more, and then without any other companions save two janits, penetrated himself at one of the barracks occupied by the National Guard (October 23, 1834). He roused the old Commissariat Berlier, informed him that Napoleon had died before Masson, and ordered him to hand over his men. Berlier obeyed. Malet took command of the troop and marched straight to La Harpe in order to set at liberty two generals imprisoned there, viz. La Harpe, an ex-chief of staff under Masson, and Gualdi, whose intimacy with both the royalists and the English in the north had aroused suspicion. Malet recited his fairy tale for their benefit, and they, too, obeyed in their turn. La Harpe and Gualdi went to the Ministry of Police, arrested Savary and put him under lock and key; after which La Harpe went to the Prefecture of Police to secure the person of Fougère, while Gualdi roused Clarke at the War Office. At the Hôtel de Ville Prévost was busy getting ready a hall for the reception of the provisional government. All seemed to be going perfectly when Malet himself spelt the game. He had chosen as his own task the arrest of Hulin, commander of the Paris garrison. Hulin resisted: Malet had him low with a pistol-shot. A tumult ensued. Two officers, suspecting the imposture, threw themselves upon Malet, recognized and denounced him. At 11 a.m. all was over. The punishment of the conspirators was swift. Twelve unfortunate accomplices, or rather dupes, were shot with Malet (October 28), among them Fougère, La Harpe, and Gualdi. It was not without some show of reason that, at the court-martial, when asked by Dumas, the president, who were his accomplices, Malet proudly replied, "You, yourself, Sir, and all France—if I had succeeded!"

This curious episode was not without its bearing upon Napoleon's decision secretly to desert the Grand Army in its disorderly retreat from Russia, and to return to Paris, where he arrived on the evening of December 24. His reply to the address of the conservative Senate (December 26), showed that he had grasped the true meaning of the Malet conspiracy. So long as the story of Napoleon's death was believed, Malet had no difficulty in making himself obeyed, and no one had desired for one single instant that, if Napoleon were dead, the King of Rome would, as a matter of course, succeed. One moment had sufficed to reveal the vanity of all the precautions taken by the Emperor to place his system on an enduring basis. Without him the whole structure would collapse. "Our fathers," he said to the Senate, "had for their rallying cry, 'The King is dead—Long live the King!' In those words the principal advantages of monarchy are summed up." But the real truth was that the people had no love for either Marie-Louise or the King of Rome. They were ignored; and it was this fact which lent to the Malet affair so grave a significance.

Still possessed by his dynastic ideas, Napoleon attempted to remedy



new state of things. He showed no severity towards anyone. The utmost he did was to replace Fouché by Choiseul. Instead of keeping Marie-Louise hidden behind a hedge of Court etiquette, he went abroad in her company, seizing every opportunity during the winter of 1811-2 of showing her to the Parisians, who could not fail to be charmed by her grace and simplicity. He conceived the idea of having his son crowned by the Pope in anticipation. By a Senate Commission, dated February 8, 1812, he established an Imperial Regency. By letters-patent in the event of the Emperor's ordered absence from home, by prescription right in the event of his premature death, the Empress-mother was to continue the care of her son during his minority with the Regency of the Empire, assisted by a Council of Regency composed of the Princes of the Blood, the Grand Electors of the Empire, and other members appointed by the Emperor either by letters-patent or in his will. Thus vanished the *ordre de service* in use since the Consulate, which, in the Emperor's absence, delegated the presidency to Cambacérès. The letters-patent of March 26, 1812, actually conferred the Regency upon Marie-Louise, with Cambacérès as her secret adviser.

Napoleon was absent from April 16 to November 3, 1812. France shattered, less from grief over her defeats, than from moral and physical exhaustion, after so many years of oppression. Nevertheless, a still further effort was expected of her. It was felt that only some performance quite out of the common could raise public opinion. The session of the Legislative Body, due in 1812, was not held till February and March, 1813, and it was as completely insignificant as its predecessor. By way of contrast, Napoleon determined to give great magnificence to the session of 1813. By the Senate Commission of November 15, 1812, he announced that the Senate and Council of State would take part collectively in the Imperial conferences of the Legislative Body. The idea of the three bodies meeting together, in a sort of national convention, to listen to the words of its sovereign, was not without a certain grandeur, and it was legitimate to hope that the spectacle would make a profound impression not only upon France but upon Europe.

It is true that, by the same Senate Commission, the Emperor arrogated to himself the right to choose the President of the Legislative Body, thus withdrawing from the deputies their right of presentation. Regnier was selected for the presidency, though he was not a deputy but a Grand Judge. Thence resulted a general change in the Ministry—the last of the reign. Molé succeeded Regnier at the Ministry of Justice. Maret went back to the Secretaryship of State. Dava replaced Lacaze (Garnier) at the Ministry of Marine. Cambacérès was installed at the Foreign Office. It was a sort of ministerial shuffle, similar to those of 1807 and 1811. Ministerial stability, which was the rule under the Consulate and during the years of the Empire, had now become the exception.

The Imperial session took place on December 18, 1813. "Everything has turned against us," the Emperor confessed. "No obstacle will be offered by me to the restoration of peace. It is with regret that I ask fresh sacrifices at the hands of my generous people." By way of still more closely uniting Emperor and nation, Napoleon announced that all the original documents, now lying at the Foreign Office, relative to the recent negotiations with the Powers, would be laid before the Senate. The Decree of December 28 ordered the Senate and the Legislative Body to elect from their own ranks two commissions of five members each, to examine, with the aid of the two Presidents, the documents furnished by the Government.

In the Senate everything passed off as Napoleon hoped. The report of the Commission was approved at the sitting of December 27; and the Senate repaired in a body to the Emperor to express its gratitude and devotion. But in the Legislative Body matters turned out differently. The Commissioners, who were all northernmen, naturally profited by the chance afforded them to express their views. When Regnier accused one of them of making an unconstitutional remark, the deputy retorted: "I can conceive of nothing more unconstitutional than you are yourself—*you*, who, in contempt of the law, come here to preside over the people's representatives without even possessing the right to sit amongst them." Here was novel language indeed! But it was even less surprising than Lainé's report. In this document the Emperor was invited, in very respectful terms, to declare that he would continue the war only "in order to preserve the independence of the French people and the integrity of French territory." If, however, the Coalition persisted in maintaining the offensive, France would not be found wanting. "Nevertheless," he continued, "this is not enough in itself to revive the national spirit"; and His Majesty is "anxious to see to the constant and effectual execution of those laws by which liberty, personal security, and the rights of private property are secured to every Frenchman, and to the nation at large the unfettered exercise of its political rights." Lainé's report, put to the vote on the 28th, was carried by 253 votes to 51. The division is all the more interesting from the fact that, at that time at any rate, there was no trace of opposition to the dynasty in the Legislative Body, and because the actual terms of the report had been drawn up with the assistance of the Government. The deputies, in fact, still remained loyal subjects of the Empire; they had merely put into words the passionate longing of the whole Empire for liberty and peace.

Nevertheless the report threw Napoleon into a violent passion. "In spite of the counsels of moderation urged by Cambacérès," he approved the publication of Lainé's report, on December 31 he returned the Legislative Body, and at the official new year's banquet on January 1, 1814, he welcomed the deputies present with a still *more* ardent. "You ought have done me so much good, and yet

you have only done me harm? Do you represent the people? I am its representative. Five times have I been summoned by the nation; five times have I received the votes of five millions of citizens. I have a right to speak, and you have none. You are merely delegates of the departments.... Your report is drawn up with an ostentation, a pomposity of intention which you do not yourselves realize. The loss of two battles in Champagne would have done less harm.... Do you think, by such complaints to raise the prestige of the throne? After all, what is the throne? Nothing but four pieces of gilded wood, covered with a scrap of velvet! The true throne rests on the nation's will, and you cannot separate me from the nation without doing it harm, for the nation has greater need of me than I have of the nation.... With the enemy at your very doors, you ask for institutions? As if we had no institutions already! Perhaps you want to copy the Constituent Assembly and start a revolution! You would find no resemblance whatever between me and the then king. I should abdicate at once, for I would infinitely rather take my place among the Sovereign People than remain a royal slave!... Go back to your departments." One can feel the anger that vibrated through this passionate eloquence. In truth Napoleon was a great orator, just as, judged by the evidence of certain of his letters and by his dispatches, he was a great writer. His imagination was full of romanticism; and his literary style went straight to the point without the meaningless embellishments of the classical school. But on this particular occasion his speech was even more impetuous than eloquent. The deputies went back to their departments, but in quite as angry a mood as that evoked by the Emperor. The speech of January 1, 1814, marked, in fact, the rupture between Napoleon and the French middle-class.

Before returning to the front, Napoleon planned, even more carefully than the year before, the line of action to be followed in his absence. Twenty-four Senators or Councillors of State were sent, in the capacity of extraordinary commissioners, to the military districts which had not yet been invaded by the enemy, to hasten on the conscription and the organization of the National Guard (December 26, 1813). In Paris the National Guard was mobilized (January 4, 1814). The regency was again vested in Marie-Louise, assisted by Camille-Alexis and King Joseph. On January 23, 1814, Napoleon left Paris; and henceforth the history of his reign is merely the record of war and invasion.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE CODICIL.

The codification of French law, if it was probably the most desirable, was certainly not the most surprising manifestation of Napoleon's energy. It was the fulfilment of an aspiration, as old at least as the fifteenth century, and partially realised by the ordinances of kings and the treatises of jurists—an aspiration for the legal unity of France, for "one weight, one measure, one law." To this ideal the Revolution imparted a fresh and powerful impulse. The birth of the new nation, the triumph of the new civic enthusiasm, the victory of philosophic reason, seemed to demand a code of uniform laws suitable to an enlightened people. At the same time, all those social obstacles which had hitherto stood in the path of legal unity were swept away—provincialism and feudalism, caste and corporation, the wealth and influence of the Church, the power and prestige of the Crown. The whole law of property and of persons was remodelled by the Revolutionary Assemblies under the stress of a democratic theory as coherent as it was imperious.

The land was liberated from feudal dues and tithes; and its freedom was secured by the prohibition of all perpetual and unalienable rents. The corporate property of the Church and of the rural communities passed almost entirely into the hands of the State, and was thrown, parcelled into the market. Again, as the land was freed to guard against tyranny, so it was divided to promote equality. The Roman law of intestate, which was favourable to testamentary freedom and therefore to inequality, was set aside; and the egalitarian tendencies of the Customal were developed and sharpened. Wills were almost entirely forbidden, the distinction between movable, acquisitions, and paternal property was abolished; and the inheritance, considered as a uniform mass of property, was to be divided equally among the heirs. Still further to promote territorial equality, representation was declared to be infinite in the direct line; donations were to be returned to the donor; natural children were recognised, and gifts to the rich prohibited. Then, while the law detained the proprietor during his lifetime, it weakened his influence after death.

Equally sweeping were the changes which came over the law of persons. Under the monarchy, sex and nationality, social status and professional calling, had created legal inequalities between French subjects. In virtue of the *droit d'aubaine*, a foreigner could not inherit a legacy or execute a will, or transmit his property save to children born in France. The division of persons into three orders—clergy, nobility, and *third état*—carried with it social and political inequalities and also some differences of civil status. The monk was dead to civil life; and in the mountains of the Jura there lingered a last remnant of serfdom. In several Cantons, the rule of inheritance differed according as the parent concerned was noble or roturier. Religion, which gave privileges to the Catholics, brought penalties to the Protestant and the Jew. The civil disabilities of women were many. But all these artificial, manifold, and unreasonable distinctions were swept away by the Revolutionary Assembly. The *droit d'aubaine* was suppressed; the division between the three orders was effaced, and monks were restored to civil life. Religious toleration took the place of the intolerant privileges of the Catholic religion. The clergy were permitted to marry; and marriage itself, being declared a civil contract, passed into the domain of state control. Divorce and adoption were introduced, to the scandal of the Catholic world, and the care of the registers of births, marriages, and deaths was transferred from the Church to lay officials. A secular State based upon a large general assembly, \* still far emancipated from religious influences, \* system of law power derived to secure the possession of equality, \* law of persons, which proclaimed that all men had equal rights—such were the main results of a period of legislation impermanent in history for its volume, its violence, its idealism, its splendid achievements, and its deplorable mistakes.

An atmosphere of great legislative fertility, of high passions and quick changes, is unfavourable to codification: and the draft codes of the Convention and the Directory received so little attention from the pre-occupied Assembly to which they were successively submitted, that the revolution of Brumaire found France still waiting for that body of simple and clear laws which had been promised in the Constitution of 1791. Yet no one could doubt but that a code would eventually be enacted, even if three successive drafts had been consigned to limbo. Every Assembly had regarded the task as a solemn charge upon its conscience, and every sensible man felt—as one more than Cambacérès, the chief draftsman of the Convention—that in the Revolutionary legislation there was much to criticise, to combat, and to correct. At the first calm moment the task could be completed. Indeed, immediately after the revolution of Brumaire, a committee was appointed to consider the reform of the Code and to report to the Legislative Commission.

There is perhaps no single document more significant of the temper of France upon the morning of Brumaire than the speech made by

Jacquemont in submitting his draft to the Commission. The reporter fully acknowledged that the work of his committee had been hasty and imperfect, but urged in extenuation that it was necessary to put on and to the world of the Revolutionary decade here, to restore its parental power its lawful authority, and to widen the liberty of testamentary bequest. So instantaneous was the reversion from Revolutionary earnest to the old and perturbation-traditions of French jurisprudence! The draft of Jacquemont was in itself of no consequence. Composed in the brief and unsettled interlude between the fall of the Council and the establishment of the Consulate, and far inferior in elaboration and technique to the earlier work of Cambacérès, it was not even discussed for five minutes. The Legislative Commission was confronted with larger and more pressing problems, but it is well to remember that, before their task had been completed, and while the Elements of the Consular Constitution were still under discussion, the spirit which was destined to inform the *Codé Napoléon* had spoken and revealed itself. The laws of France, as they had been left by the Revolutionary Assemblies, were to be coordinated and reduced to system; but philosophical legislation was to be concerted by juristic tradition, and the political extravagance of the pasting hour utterly effaced. Law was to be the expression of settled national character, not of every passionate and casual mood.

### The Civil Code.

The desired moment of calm came after the battle of Marengo had secured the frontier of France, established the prestige of the Consulate, opened the avenue to an honorable peace, and liberated the energies of Bonaparte for the civil organization of the State. On August 18, 1800, a committee of four lawyers, Tranchesi, Portalis, Bigot de Préameneu, and Malville, was appointed to draw up a project of a Civil Code, with instructions to bring the work to a conclusion in the following November. Every committee has a head and a tail. Though Malville was a capable lawyer and afterwards distinguished as the first of a long line of commentators on the Code, and though Bigot's address and pliancy were destined to be proved in more fields than one, the driving power in this committee lay with Tranchesi and Portalis. Of these two men, Tranchesi, the venerable president of the *Ordr de Commerce*, stood for massive learning, sound judgment, and conservative caution; while Portalis, if less eminent in knowledge than "the Nuncio of the aristocracy," was specially distinguished in the art of legal and philosophical exposition. "He would have been," said Napoleon, "the most eloquent member in the Council if he had known when to stop"; but, save for its fluency, the shagreened eloquence of the great Provençal jurist had little in common with the exaggerated rhetoric of the *Globe*. Portalis was a Calvinist, a Catholic, and a conservative. A true parliamentarian,

as the French sense of the term, he had opposed legal verification in 1789 on the ground that a code would be the precursor of despotism; and ten years later, when the Directory was tottering to its fall, he expressed to a friend his earnest desire that a liberator might be found to free France from the tolls of Revolutionary legislation. It was certain that he viewed divorce with aversion, and that his will would be cast into the scale of moderate reaction towards the past. While Portalis and Malesherbes represented the legal traditions of the land of written law, Tronchet and Bigot had been trained in the Parlement and the Customs of Paris; and the Civil Code, which was the result of their labours, exhibits many traces of compromise between northern Tradition and the Latin inheritance of the south.

The draft of the Civil Code was completed in four months and printed on January 1, 1801. It was then, by order of Bonaparte, sent to the *jurisconsults*, which were invited to submit their criticisms and observations in the course of the next three months. In the light of the commentary the draft Code was then examined and revised by the legislative section of the Council of State, composed of Bodey, Bérrier, Ekmann, Portalis, Réal, and Thibaudoux; and, when this process was completed, it was submitted title by title to the whole body of the Council. It was at this stage that the provisions of the Code first came under the notice of Bonaparte.

Eyewitnesses have described the vivid and animated drama which was enacted whenever Bonaparte came down to preside over the Council-chamber in the Tuileries. A clank of arms, a roll of the drum under the arcades, and then, as the door opens, and the usher calls, and the councillors rise in salutation, the master steps briskly up to his green table on the dais, calls to Cambacérès on his right, to Lefèvre on his left, signs to his Council to be seated, and with his "*allons, Messieurs, avançons*," sets the debate afloat. Under the Consulate, these discussions were free, vivacious, and unembarrassed; and, when the First Consul presided in person—and he presided over thirty-five of the eighty-seven sittings devoted to the Civil Code—they were greatly prolonged till a late hour in the evening. His too was the most quickening spirit in debate. With little legal training, now that he had gathered from centuries of reading or from the talk of Tronchet and Portalis, and devoid of the scholarly temper of the professional draftsmen, he possessed no luxuriant intellectual culture, no lively power of concrete vision, no keen an instinct for the large issues of politics, that his contributions to the discussion were a series of splendid surges, occasionally appropriate and decisive, occasionally involved in the glowing chaos of a dream, but always stamped with the mark of genius and glowing with the impulse of a fresh and impetuous temperament. Landry has indeed urged that the official report of the proceedings drawn up by Locré, the clerk of the Council, has imparted a correctness

to Bonaparte's language which did not belong to it, and has afforded the concentration which would have betrayed the narrowness of legislation. This is true. Bonaparte often talked at random, and some of his warmest adherents in the Council complained that he betrayed the attention of his audience by the confused abundance and the unexpected turns of his thought. On the other hand, it is equally true to say that the grave and chilly language of the official reporter has robbed the First Consul of all his peculiar views and most of his originality.

"He spoke," says Thibaudon, "without embarrassment and without pretension. He was never inferior to any member of the Council; he often equalled the ability of them, by the ease with which he seized the point of a question, by the justice of his ideas and the force of his reasoning; he often surpassed them by the turn of his phrases and the originality of his expression." At one moment he would embark upon the most adventures of intellectual cruises; at the next he would propose some plain legal definition. Here would be a flash of anger, here a string of maxims; here a florid passage of badinage punctuated by self-taking; here a flight of gaudy rhetoric. But the prevailing impression left on the reader of these debates is the calm in the mind of the chief debater of hard-headed common sense with imaginative vision. He thinks, not in legal rules but in concrete cases, keeping always in sight the gain and loss to the whole State, the political advantages and disadvantages to France. "You act as law-makers," he cried once, "not as statesmen. It is by speaking to the soul that men are divided." He was in fact the master of genius, leaning as he went along, throwing off opinions as sparks fly from the wheel, shaking himself free from the views of yesterday if they embarrassed him or were plainly overpowered, but always capable of making a contribution to the discussion by his clear power of seeing principles as they would work themselves out in the life of the individual or the State. "I fast thought," he continued, "that it would be possible to refuse laws to shape geometrical demonstrations, so that whoever could read and tie two ideas together would be capable of pronouncing on them, but I almost immediately corrected myself that this was an absurd idea", and in one of the last sittings of the Council he pronounced what legal opinion has left to be the true criticism on the Code itself. "I often perceived that over-simplicity in legislation was the enemy of precision. It is impossible to make laws extremely simple without cutting the best officer than you order it, and without leaving much to uncertainty and arbitrariness." Yet Bonaparte's appreciation of the simplicity of the task was only equalled by his impatience to dispatch it without delay.

As each Title of the Code passed the Council, it was submitted successively to the Tribunate and the Legislature. The spirit of these two assemblies was in the early days of the Consulate tolerably independent, and the debates of the Tribunate were often distinguished by



dispute and courage. As the Tribunats had been provided with copies of the first draft, they had ample leisure to mature their objections; and it was expected that they would assent to the Code for its lack of originality, its deference to tradition, and its departure from some of the Revolutionary innovations. To disarm criticism of this kind Portalis pointed out that the Prussian Code had respected historic facts and even local customs, that moderation was a quality essential to the legislator, and that the temporary laws of the Revolution were like palm-waxing in a stormy sea. Nevertheless, the Tribunats proceeded to level a volley of well-aimed criticism against the first two "Titles," or laws, which were presented to them. It was objected against the First—which dealt with the publication, the effects, and the application of laws in general—that its scope was too wide, that its character, consisting largely of moral and legal maxims, was inappropriate, and that the arrangement of the clauses was incoherent. These objections were so strongly felt that the law was thrown out by a majority of sixty-five to thirteen in the Tribunats, and by a hundred and fifty-two to a hundred and thirty-nine in the Legislative. The Second Title, on the enjoyment and loss of civil rights, shared the same fate; and the Council was obliged to withdraw both laws. The First Council was deeply disgraced. "When I see a man like Simeon," he said, "doubting if persons born in the colonies are Frenchmen, I ask myself whether my head has turned"; and, announcing that the time had not yet come when one could "report into these great discussions the calm and unity of intention which they demanded," he decreed (April 1, 1802) a revision of procedure. An end was put to open debate in the full House. The Titles of the Code were henceforward to be submitted to the legislative section of the Tribunats, which was invited to tender its comments to the section of the Council responsible for that portion of the draft. In case of non-agreement, a conference was held under the presidency of Cambacérès; and, when the clauses had been there settled, they were referred back to the whole body of the Council, discussed anew, and then in their final shape introduced to the silent legislature by three selected Councillors. Under the new arrangement the work proceeded swiftly, and on March 23, 1804, the Civil Code in its entirety passed into law.

It has been often said that the spirit displayed by the Tribunats in these legal debates was captious and unsteady, and that it was well for France that the rhetoricians were silenced. This view is untenable. The speeches of Andrieux and Simeon, who took the lead in opposition, are serious and weighty; and nearly all the criticisms of the Tribunats were well-founded. One speaker protested against the *droit d'aubaine*, another against civil death, a third against confiscation. All three have the verdict of posterity on their side. When Simeon, the brother-in-law of Portalis, urged that there was no pressing hurry, and that every effort should be made to bring the Code to perfection, he was only taking

overman arose. But Bonaparte was impatient of delay, and, through no fault of its own, the action of the Tribunal was bound to wear the aspect of despotism. By an abrupt change of the Constitution, that body was debased from proposing amendments to the laws which was submitted to it. If, then, the Tribunal were to give practical effect to their criticism of an article, they were forced to shew out the whole title of which that article formed perhaps only an inconsiderable part. The alternative was one which no self-respecting public man could accept, and, refusing to accept it, the Tribunal was deprived of the power of publicly debating the Civil Code.

The First Book of the Civil Code treats of "Persons," the Second of "Things and the various kinds of Property," the Third of "The various modes in which Property is acquired."

The French Revolution was justly charged with having disturbed the foundations of family life. In order to stimulate the cultivation of property, it had, by its encouragement of adoption and its recognition of natural children, introduced new members into the family, while, with the same clear intention, it had restricted the testamentary powers of the father, equalised the sexes in marriage, and facilitated divorce. In the strong reaction which had set in against these ideas Bonaparte fully participated. He held that the legislator, far from encouraging the selfish individualism of property, should aim at securing a nation of modernity features. He was a keen advocate of the subjection of women. "He thought that it was the function of law to charter home society, to exhibit the solemnity and sanctity of marriage, to strengthen the authority of the father, and to maintain the cohesion of the family group." All these views—and they were by no means the exclusive property of Bonaparte—are reflected in the provisions of the Code. "If adoption was retained, the institution was accompanied by so many precautions that it could no longer be regarded as a deterrent to matrimony or a menace to family life. The adopter must be childless and over fifty years of age; and the adopted is not to sever the ties which had him to his natural family. Nor can adoption take place so long as the adopted is a minor. Again, a clear line of separation was traced between the lawful and the natural child. "Natural children are not heirs. The law only accords them a claim upon the goods of their deceased father and mother when they have been legally recognised". Even so their share is reduced to a third, a half, or three-fourths of what it would have been had they been born in wedlock; a third if the father and mother have left lawful descendants; a half if they have only left ascendants, brothers or sisters; and three-fourths where there are neither descendants nor ascendants, to share the inheritance. In this Cambacérès pleaded that it is certain cases the parent should be compelled to recognise the child. "Sorcery," replied Bonaparte, "has no interest in the recognition of bastards", and he set his face against facilitating

investigations into questions of paternity. Save in one eventuality, in *inculpée de la paternité* is forbidden in the Civil Code.

In one of those large moral precepts, which are plentifully sown about the Code, it is laid down that the "child at every age owes honour and respect to his father and mother." The power of the father was restored, and the despotism of the State repeated in the structure of the family. While the mother has no voice in the control of her children, the father is absolute. He may imprison his child, if under sixteen years of age, for a period not exceeding six months, if between sixteen and twenty one, for a period not exceeding six months. In neither case is any writing or judicial formality required. The president of the Court of the arrondissement is bound to grant the order for detention. The father is not even required to state his motives. It is merely demanded of him that he shall sign an undertaking to pay all the expenses, and to furnish a suitable support to the prisoner. There is no more significant tribute to the continuity of French independence than this curious revival of the *lettres de cachet*, which, in the later half, at any rate, of the eighteenth century, were almost exclusively used to protect family honour by enabling a parent to incarcerate his troublesome offspring, without any assignable process of violating duty family laws in open court. In the north of France, no doubt, when the Roman law had always been a living force, the paternal power was the cornerstone of society; but all over the country, partly owing to the pride of the aristocracy, partly owing to a delicate sensitiveness which is a feature of the national temperament, and partly owing to the general dislike of the royal tribunals as intrusive meddling, the strongest prejudice existed against dragging family affairs into court. Indeed it is a singular fact that many of the authors of 1789, while denouncing the *lettres de cachet*, express a hope that some less objectionable provision may be made for maintaining domestic discipline. To this aspiration the Code responds.

Nor are these the only stones in the edifice of domestic morality. A marriage may not be contracted without consent of the parents by a son who has not reached his twenty-sixth year, or by a daughter who has not reached her twenty-first. The parents have the control of their children's property until they have entered upon their majority year. They have the right to choose a guardian without the intervention of the relations or of a magistrate; and, if the father may not disinherit his son, he is given a larger power of devising his property by will. "Thus in the most absolute governments," said Bonaparte, "despotism steps short at the threshold of the home. It weighs upon the head of the household; and, as the head of the family is absolutely at the disposition of the Government, so is the family absolutely at the disposition of its head."

In accordance with these principles, the civil status of women was carefully depressed. A woman cannot be accepted as a witness to the

acts of the Civil State, nor can she act as guardian or form part of the family council unless she is the mother or one of the ascendants. As a wife she is subject to her husband, and has no voice in the administration of their common property. She cannot give, sell, or mortgage; she cannot acquire by sale or gift without the husband's written consent. Only if she is carrying on a separate trade can she make a contract without her husband's authority. The woman of the Civil Code is regarded as a feeble, defenceless, wireless being; and her lapses from virtue are punished more severely than those of a man. "A husband," said Napoleon, "ought to have the right to say to his wife: 'you shall not go out, you shall not go to the play, you shall not see such and such a person.'" When a Councillor asked whether wifely obedience had been prescribed in the old laws of France, the First Consul turned upon him sharply. "What a question!" he cried. "Do you not know that the angel told Eve to obey her husband? . . . Modesty has written this article in all languages. *Alors*! should it be written in French in our Code?"

A law of September, 1793, had abolished judicial separation and admitted divorce, not only by mutual consent, but also for incompatibility of temper upon the allegation of one of the parties. That a contract should be abolished at the will of one of the parties was in itself an anomaly; and in this instance it was clearly subversive not only of religious tradition but of the most elementary principles of social order. Some of the law-courts, when consulted upon the first draft of the Code, declared against divorce altogether, and asserted that, as a matter of fact, no recourse had been made to it in the provinces. With the single exception of the Tribunal of Paris, every Court in France rejected divorce for incompatibility; and the Tribunal of Paris stipulated that incompatibility should be proved in court. It was a question upon which Bonaparte himself was profoundly interested. On the one hand, with his strong views as to the subjection of the weaker sex and the value of family cohesion, he was aware from any provision which might encourage the levity or augment the liberty of women; and so powerful was this feeling in him that he subsequently prohibited divorce for members of the Imperial family. On the other hand, he recognised that divorce might serve his own ends, and that within certain prescribed bounds it was necessary to society. As he said at St Helena, "to make marriage indissoluble is to provoke men, and to put the village cart above the law." The Council too was substantially agreed upon the necessity of admitting the principle of divorce, though it was willing to yield to Catholic opposition so far as to reserve judicial separation (inserted in the first draft) as an alternative. Nor was there any doubt that, while divorce for grave specific causes should be admitted, divorce for incompatibility at the demand of one of the parties should be eliminated from the Code. The main contest raged over divorce by mutual consent; and, but for the strong advocacy of the First Consul,

this would not have been received into the Code. Bonaparte's conviction was that divorce for specific causes would not be sufficient. The offences contemplated were not only difficult to prove, but, in the attempt to prove them, the wronged and the wrong-doer were alike dragged into publicity. "Five men are as lost to shame as to proclaim the turpitude of their wives. It would be monstrous and against the honour of the nation to reveal what passes in some households."

Practical and political considerations therefore concurred in suggesting that this form of dissolving the marriage union should be supplemented by an alternative expedient which should be at once more private, more honourable, and more popular. Bonaparte was willing to concede that unions should not be dissolved after they had endured ten years; he was willing to prevent the same person from divorcing twice; he urged that the law should forbid divorced persons from marrying within five years. But, hedged round by these safeguards, divorce by mutual consent for incompatibility of temper was to him ever essential to marital happiness. Girls married young; and, though he had succeeded in raising the age from thirteen to fifteen, he had not raised it as high as he wished. In most cases, a young girl fresh from school or convent could not know whether her husband would prove congenial; in most cases a marriage was an affair of convenience. It was well that, when mistakes had been made, they should be capable of being corrected, without shame or scandal. Accordingly he proposed that the affair should be brought before a family council presided over by a magistrate; that the relations on both sides should be unexceptionable, and that with their consent the Court should pronounce the divorce without examination. "I do nothing against the married persons," he said, "since I require mutual consent. I do nothing against marriage, since I demand the affection of the relations." Judicial separation was in his view a bad expedient, for it involved publicity and favoured unworldly conduct. At St Helena he added, with penetration, that it was "a *remède d'homme* which could only be applied to the upper classes." All things then conspired to commend the adoption of some provision for divorce by mutual consent. After long debate the First Council prevailed; and, surrounded with a large number of restrictions, divorce by mutual consent passed into law.

No less paltry was the attitude of the Council towards divorce for "specified motives." The possible causes were reduced from seven to three—*adultery, cruelty, and the conviction of one of the parties for a grave criminal offence*; and the investigation into the facts was transferred from the family council to the law-court. It is a curious fact in human history that the experiment of extending these delicate enquiries to the family council broke down, not so much by reason of the incompetence of its members as because of their sheer indifference to an issue in which their sentiments should have been most closely involved.

The sentiment of equality, which had shaped the family law of the Revolution, had also modified its conception of civic rights. The Constituent Assembly, in a fit of cosmopolitan generosity, had unconditionally abolished the *droit d'aubaine*, and the *droit de dévolution*, a ten per cent. succession duty levied by the Treasury upon the property of foreigners. But the clouds of war had obscured the clear sky of philanthropy; and the draft Code proposed a return to the earlier system of reciprocity, which accorded to the alien in France just such treatment as was accorded to the Frenchman in the alien's country. Though sharply attacked in the Tribunats, this clause passed into the Code. In favour of the change it was argued that the generous policy of the Constituent Assembly had failed to induce other countries to relax their alien laws, and that, by retaining something to give away in return for concessions, France could secure better terms for her emigrants. Animated by the same spirit of traditional nationalism, the framers of the draft Code had proposed to grant civil rights to such persons only as were born in France and were the children of French parents. This proposition seemed "too narrow" for too narrow. On political and on military grounds, he held that the privileges and duties of French citizenship should be as widely diffused as possible. He insisted that civil rights should be granted to the children of an alien father if they were born in France, and to the children of a French father born abroad. So too he urged that the child born abroad of a French father who had renounced his nationality should always be able to recover his French citizenship. "As for me," he said long afterwards when reviving his share in this debate, "I deemed that a Frenchman by origin should feel himself a Frenchman again even if his family had been for ten generations abroad. If he should appear on the farther bank of the Rhine, saying, 'I wish to be a Frenchman,' I deemed that the barrier should fall before him and that he should return triumphant to the bosom of the common mother." It is also due to the First Council that special dispositions were inserted in the Code to facilitate the registration of births, marriages, and deaths occurring in the French army while it was serving beyond the frontier. *Où on le dépense, là on le France.*

The fundamental principle of the Revolutionary law of property was too clearly based on social economic principles to be shaken by the lawyers of the Council. Nobody dreamed of restoring feudalism or the dead hand of the great corporations. A proposal to revive the *rente foncière*, a contract resembling the Roman *emphyteusis* by which a proprietor may let out waste land at a perpetual and irreducible charge, was indeed discussed, but only to be rejected. The First Council saw no advantage in it; and Portalis urged that, however useful it might have been in days when there was much waste to be reclaimed, such a contract would now create "intolerable embarrassment." But, while the law of tenure underwent no considerable modification, the law which

regulated the transfer of property was modified in several important particulars. A sale of immovable property could be rescinded *par suite de lésion*, if the seller had been defrauded of more than seven-twelfths of the price; and that, too, even if he had expressly reserved his right to take action for the rescission of the contract. Such a provision implies that there is a just price, the result of common opinion; and that, if property is sold for less than it is worth, the State should step in to protect the innocent vendor. The doctrine had been repudiated by the Convention, which had abolished the action for rescission in 1793; but it was hotly disapproved by the First Consul, whose hatred of the Stock Exchange and of army contractors led him to welcome any expedient for repudiating a contract.

With a similar aim of defeating the machinations of financiers, it was intimated in the Code that the rule of interest would be fixed by law. "Interest," so runs the text, "is legal or contractual. Legal interest is fixed by law. Contractual interest may exceed legal interest whenever the law does not prohibit." It was urged in defence of the principle of regulation that, ever since the Convention had declared money to be merchandise, it had been loaned out at various rates. No criticism, it was not until September, 1807, that the rate was actually fixed—by a law which, as Napoleon remarked to Mallevé, did not belong "to the system of your idologies."

Two questions arose with regard to loans and mortgages. Should the law require them to be publicly registered? Should the law require them to be specially attached to a particular piece of immovable property? The Convention, which desired to facilitate land-transfer to the furthest extent possible, decided on 11 Brumaire, year VII (Nov. 2, 1798) both for the principle of publicity and for that of specialty. But these rules seemed too violent a departure from previous custom. It is true that in the Low Countries mortgages had long been publicly inscribed and specially allocated; but in France the monotony of an unbroken antiquity had rendered so obvious a method of facilitating credit. Of thirty Courts of Appeal consulted upon the point, only nine were in favour of maintaining the Law of Brumaire. The legislative section of the Council was divided, and two plans were submitted. It was alleged that the Law of Brumaire violated family secrets, destroyed credit, and injured the circulation of wealth; that inscription was costly and inefficient; that the principle of specialty was inconsistent with the rights of property, because the debtor was bound to fulfil his engagements upon all his property and not upon some special part of it. But the most valid practical objection to the law, as it stood, was the injury which might be inflicted upon wives and minors who had not taken the step of inscribing their legal claims upon the property of their respective husbands or fathers. The division of opinion pointed to a compromise; and, while the publicity and specialty of loans and mortgages

were imagined, a particular exception was made in favour of women and women who had omitted the formality of registration.

Crucial as was the debate upon *mayors*, as revealing unexpected depths of social conservatism, it was far less important than the discussion provoked by the law of inheritance. The theory of the French Revolution had been that the State, having conferred temporary rights upon the individual, could abridge or expand them at will; and that in the interests of social equality it was necessary to abridge them. Consequently entails (*substitutions*) were forbidden: the divisible portion was limited to a tenth; and equality of division was prescribed. The Code admitted a sensible but extreme modification of this extreme position. The divisible portion was augmented, rising to a half if the testator had but one child, and never falling below a fourth. The father may bequeath all or any of this portion to one of his natural heirs, or give it in a relation in trust for children who may be yet unborn. Entails, owing to the vigorous advocacy of Bonaparte, are permitted to one degree. The arguments used in debate were both economic and moral. On economic grounds, urged Maleville, it was undesirable that property should be narrowly divided, especially in the poorer departments where corn and movable wealth were scarce. On moral grounds, urged Portalis, it was well that the father should be placed in a position in which he "could punish and recompense his children, reduce inequalities between them, and satisfy obligations of gratitude towards strangers." While Bonaparte was fully in accord with the spirit of these contentions, he proposed, as an alternative plan for giving effect to them, that the divisible portion should be graduated according to the amount of the heritable property rather than according to the number of the children, in such a way that, the wealthier the testator, the less should be the ratio which the divisible portion should bear to the *net* total of his property. This suggestion, however, was overruled, as entailing expensive and inequitable researches, and the First Consul acquiesced in his defeat. The concession could be afforded; for, though the Code favours the subdivision of property, it is far more intent on inequality than was the Convention, whose debates still numbered some vigorous opponents in the Council of State.

Napoleon once said at St Helena that his glory consisted, not in having won forty battles, but in the Civil Code and in the deliberations of his Council of State. Judged by external tests, the features of the Civil Code have indeed been brilliant, and its influence has been wide. Yet it has been subjected to much severe criticism. Savigny, the founder of the historical school of European jurists, and Austin, the chief exponent of the analytical school in England, attacked it with vigour and knowledge. The Civil Code, said Savigny, was drafted at an unfortunate epoch, at a time of mortality and madness, when the ideas of the Revolution were fast passing away and the ideas of the Empire were slowly growing, and this uncertainty is reflected in its



revisions. To take one instance—the system of entails, reported in 1805, was retained in 1808, and included in the Code in 1807. The Council of State had no part in the technical discussion of the Code, which was left to the four draftsmen, who were ignorant of Roman law. The judicial literature of France, consisting almost entirely of *Parolier*, ran down; twelve treatise three-fourths of the Code were extracted, was stable; and the selection of subjects was not determined by experience and practical knowledge, but by the institutes of Justinian. The Code was incomplete; it had to be supplemented by external authority, and, far from being an organic product, was but a mechanical mixture of the results of the Revolution and the old rigour of Roman law and the *coutumes*. Austin, too, condemned the haste and ignorance of the draftsmen, the absence of definitions of technical terms and of any provision for amendment. The Council of State, he pointed out, often devoted great attention to points of no importance, while neglecting many vital portions of arrangement and expression. The Code must not be regarded as a body of law forming a substantive whole, but as an index to an immense body of jurisprudence existing outside itself.

The Civil Code has also been criticised, upon economic grounds, as too favourable to the subdivision of property. From this cause some have deduced the lack of commercial enterprise, the foolishness for safe investments, and the stationary income returns which they regard as characteristic of France. Then *Le Fig* contended that, before the reign of Louis XIV, the French peasantry made use of their testamentary freedom to keep their properties together, and that these habits resulted in an admirable social organisation and great agrarian prosperity. By degrees, however, the old traditions of work and economy declined, and it was found more difficult to make pecuniary endowments for the younger children. The habit of testamentary subdivision acquired strength; and it was intensified by the legislation of the Revolution and the Jacobins. It may be sufficient here to point out that the economic criticism is more properly directed against the Revolutionary law of succession than against the Civil Code, which travelled so far back on the road to testamentary freedom as public opinion would then allow.

The criticisms of the jurists are no doubt largely true, but some of them would be equally applicable to any code framed at any time. The most elaborate system of legal culture is poor beside the inexhaustible power of life to produce new combinations; and no code can be more than a legal alphabet. It is doubtful whether the Civil Code has reduced the bulk of French law, or materially lightened the labours of French judges. On the other hand, it has diffused the knowledge of law, and made it comparatively easy for the ordinary Frenchman to become acquainted with the leading principles which govern the law of his own country. Again, its simplicity and elegance of form have made it a convenient article of exportation; and these qualities have perhaps

helped to secure for it a wider acceptance outside the frontiers of France than upon its intrinsic merits it deserves. In France, the Code has perhaps commanded an excessive deference and stood in the way of useful legislative changes. There the glamour which attaches to it is due not only to the circumstances of its production, to the fact that it is at once the summary and the coronation of the French Revolution, as well as the legal formula of the most dazzling period of French national history, but also and more especially to the circumstance that it is the shining symbol of that unity of law which was first made possible by the meeting of the States-General in 1789. So long as law was united, it did not so much matter whether the text was scrupulous or clumsy, whether the principles were collected in a code or left to be inferred from legislative acts, custom, and judicial decisions. The Civil Code was a hasty piece of work; and the First Council imported a strong gust of passion and of politics into the laboratory of legal science. Civil death—a separated, unjust, and criminal fiction—confiscation, and the partition of women, are laid forth upon the page. Could anything be more monstrous than that a widow should not be allowed to succeed to her husband, until all his relations, even his natural children, have taken their share? There is also much disproportion and confusion. There are instances of a subject being discussed in the Council, then forgotten and allowed to lapse. The law of contract is taken almost bodily from Doucet and Pothier. But, when all deductions have been made for haste, negligence, and political corruption, it remains a great achievement. It was a single code for the whole of France, substantially based upon the best historic instincts of the race, while preserving the most valuable social conquests of the Revolution. It is vain to say that the moment was unfavourable. Ideally favourable it certainly was not, but it was the one moment which had never occurred before and would never occur again. A few years earlier, the Code would have been stopped in Revolutionary extravagance; a few years later, it would have become the ward and instrument of despotism. Fortunately for France, the Code was composed at the only time since the Revolution when the government of the country had been both glorious and even-handed. And to the strictures of the choir it is at least some reply, that the Code has proved eloquent to the roads and congruous to the temper of France.

The share taken by Bonaparte himself in the construction of the famous movement has been variously estimated according to the political propensities of historians. Lanfrey believed that, if the First Council advocated divorce and adoption, this was because he was thinking of his own possible requirements, and that his interference with the legal discussions of the Council, being dictated in the same order by strictly political or by strictly private considerations, was a positive disservice to French law. Such a view is a great exaggeration. It is perfectly true that the quillmen of Paris were speculating upon a possible divorce of

Josephine as early as July, 1802, and perhaps Bonaparte even then regarded the divorce as a considerable and serious contingency. But his attitude upon the question is quite explicable without reference to any defensible hypothesis; and the safeguards with which he proposed to surround adoption clearly show that in that matter at least he was not thinking of his own case. Again, it would be a wild paradox to assert that the Code gained nothing by Bonaparte's shaking criticism. That he had little interest in the technical side of law, that he had none of that patient and tested sagacity which slowly works out the heart of an intricate subject; that he was often grossly irrelevant; that he took as part whatever in the composition of the Second Book of the Code and only an intermittent part in the composition of the Third; that he was mainly interested in the larger social and political aspects of every legal problem which came before his notice—all this may be admitted. Nor can any fair apologist deny that Bonaparte was directly responsible for some of the worst features of the Code, that he admitted without a word of censure other features which were hardly less objectionable; and that, if he had always had his way, some provisions would have been inserted which every sound lawyer and statesman would have deplored. He was solely responsible for the admission of cohabitation; he was largely responsible for the gross inequality of treatment meted out to the two sexes. If his will had prevailed, all infants would have been declared civilly dead, and their marriages regarded as null and void by the law.

All this notwithstanding, the Civil Code owes much to Bonaparte. Without his driving power it would certainly not have come into existence as soon, and it might not have come into existence at all. To his glowing imagination and fertile intelligence are due several small changes of a humanitarian character and some technical improvements. "Would you allow a father to drive a daughter of fifteen from his house or to thrust out his heir into misery? A well-to-do father always owes maintenance to his children," he cried; and this eloquent protest against the doctrine that alienage was not due to minors was embodied in the Code. In another passage he argued that the deaf and dumb should be permitted to marry. "He has known through his father and mother the marriage man. He can declare his will to live like them. Why then aggravate his misfortune?" And here again the argument won. He suggested several improvements in the law of divorce; he framed the definition of "*domestic*" which has found its way into the Code; he advocated, in the interests of the race, that the age at which marriage could be legally contracted should be more advanced than that authorized by the old French law. But, over and above these specific contributions, the guiding intelligence of Bonaparte gave scope and dignity to the work. Professional lawyers may easily lose sight of the wider implications of their professional studies; through perhaps this was not the greatest danger in a Council where men like Bérrier and Treillard championed

at every turn the huge political faith of the Revolution. Yet it was a danger; and to Bonaparte's goodness we may ascribe the fact that the civil law of France was unified, not only with more scrupulousity than other portions of French law, but also with a livelier sense of the general interests of the State. What those interests were, Bonaparte knew. They were civil equality, healthy family life, secure landmarks to property, religious toleration, a government mixed above the hosts of nation. This is the policy which he stamped upon the Civil Code.

### *The Code of Civil Procedure.*

By turn feudal and ecclesiastical, royal and democratic, civil procedure in France has earned, in its successive phases, the bad opinion of lawyers. The venality of judges, the confusion, the delays, and the cumbersome forms of the law have been denounced or satirized by a long succession of writers, from Theodulf of Orleans to Balzac's, Montaigne, Molière, and Saint Pierre. In its feudal stage, procedure was public and oral; its proofs were characterized by extreme rigidity and formalism, and also by the barbarous method of the combat. But, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Church began to extend her influence over the whole realm of legal forms, softening the rigors of the old Germanic codes, introducing written proofs and secret enquiry, and appealing to reason rather than to force. In the thirteenth century, the usage of secret enquiry, diffused specially through the medium of the Inquisition, found its way into the "*Ordonnance*" and the official registers of the *Parlement* of Paris; and the influence of St Louis, who in 1266 suppressed judicial combat in the royal domain, was exerted to promote this tendency.

The triumph of the Canon Law invented the civil procedure of France with a higher degree of unity than existed in the department of Civil Law. The *Customs*, at any rate in their later stages, generally contained no rules relating to forms; and, although each *Parlement* had its own "*style of procedure*," there was a large measure of uniformity through France, always excepting those provinces which had lately been conquered. When, therefore, in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, the Kings of France undertook the task of converting the votes which had crept into the administration of justice, they were able with comparatively little trouble to secure general acceptance for their edicts. Several important partial reforms were effected in the sixteenth century, as for instance by the *Ordonnance* of Villers-Cotterêts in 1563, which prescribed the use of the French language in legal documents, simplified procedure in cases of default, and restricted the number of dilatory exceptions; and by the *Ordonnance* of Orleans (1583), which introduced into lay Courts the canonical distinction between ordinary and summary affairs. But all these edicts were welded together in the Great *Ordonnance* of 1607, which aimed at establishing a uniform

"style" in all the Courts of the kingdom, public, feudal, and ecclesiastical. Supplemented by local usages, this elaborate code—for such it was—ruled France till the Revolution. It abolished some abuses, but, since its object was rather to codify existing rules than to introduce reforms, it was often subjected to sharp criticism. The eighteenth century was filled with complaints of the delays, the costs, and the technicalities of justice, but, unfortunately for legal progress, the aversion from formalism characteristic of the age was unaccompanied by an accurate knowledge of facts. With the exception of d'Aguesseau's two Ordinances of 1757 and 1758, no definite modifications were proposed. The works of Lamoignon and Berriou, who had commented upon the Ordinance of 1687 in the reign of Louis XIV, were reprinted; and the reform of French judicial procedure failed to attract a single word of high quality. Indeed, it is well to note that the eminent Portier, whose labours had so large an influence on the Civil Code, left only one unimportant treatise upon the subject of civil procedure, and that composed only in extreme old age. Thus, when the Revolution broke out, the lawyers, whose gun was rusted within the four corners of seventeenth century formalism, were confronted with a public that viewed all formalism at the bottom of the sea. The public said in effect, "Let justice be speedy, unpretentious, governed by natural law, directed of technicalities, affording large facilities for arbitration", and what the fashionable theory pronounced the Revolutionary Assembly enacted. The Constituent Assembly promised a code, organized the procedure to be followed before the newly created *juges de paix*, and curtailed some judicial expenses. In the Constitution of 1793 it was decreed that public arbitration was to decide upon verbal pleadings without formality or expense; and this principle was translated into practice by a law passed in October of that year, which suppressed attorneys, and required that proceedings should be simple and inexpensive, "founded upon a verbal defence or on a simple written plea to the Court by one of the judges."

The attempt to reduce simplicity and sentiment into transactions which are necessarily complicated and dry is suitably exemplified herein. Theilhard said that justice was never so costly as during the temporary eclipse of the legal profession, when every brigand was making large and irregular payments for unskilful and unauthorized advice. Nor was this the only road in the face of suitable intentions which suffered shipwreck. While theory pronounced the *juge de paix* as "arbitrator," "father," and "angel of conciliation," practice too often exhibited him as a cruel, violent, and ignorant politician. The summary procedure, from which Voltaire had hoped so much, failed for a reason which a man of letters could not have been expected to foresee. If it was a means of averting litigation in tranquil country districts, it broke down in the existing atmosphere of the towns; and, so early as 1795, it was clear that the belief in trained legal intelligence and settled

heavily had experienced a revival. The attorney was reestablished by law; the old procedure was restored pending the preparation of a new code; and men of weight held association to be a thing of proved utility and a spurious source of delay and expense.

While the Council of State was elaborating the Civil Code, a Commission was at work upon civil procedure. Sanctioned on March 26, 1809, this Commission was composed of Tréillard, President of the Court of Appeal of Paris; Try, substitute of the Commissioner of the Republic in the same Court; Berthoulet, President of the Court of First Instance of the Seine; Séguier, government Commissioner in the same Court; and Figeac, formerly a practitioner in the Court of the Châtelet and a recognized expert upon procedure. The work of the Commission was published in 1809, submitted to the Courts of Appeal and the *Cour de Cassation* for their observations, accepted by the Commission, sanctioned by the legislative section of the Council of State, and then, after a discussion in full Council, communicated privately to a section of the Tribunals, and finally voted on in the Legislative Body (April 14-22, 1809). In the case of the Civil Code, for the most interesting stage in the proceedings had been the debate in full Council; but this cannot be predicated of the Code of Civil Procedure. Most of the Commissioners were unversed in minute technicalities, and the Commission, composed as it was of practicing judges and lawyers with little sense of philosophy or literary finish, presented their work in a somewhat shrunken and feeble shape. Once only, on February 28, 1806, was Napoleon present; and his personal influence was restricted to obscuring the insertion of two clauses which modified the law relating to the inscription of mortgages in the interests of the Treasury. So languid, indeed, was the movement of the Council, that a code containing no less than 1046 articles was despatched in twenty-three sittings (April 22, 1806, to March 29, 1806).

The Commission decided to exclude from its purview all questions affecting judicial competence. It did not attempt to settle the procedure of the commercial Courts, for this would properly belong to the framers of the Commercial Code; nor that of the *Cour de Cassation*, which still substantially follows, in civil cases, the regulation issued by the Council des Parties in 1728. It was also determined to leave the settlement of a tariff of judicial costs to subsequent regulation, rather than to include it in the Code. Nevertheless, the task of Tréillard and his colleagues was sufficiently arduous. They had to bring the civil procedure of the ordinary Courts into harmony with the Civil Code, to simplify and amend the ancient forms, and to review the Revolutionary legislation as to the *juges de paix*, execution proceedings, and the various processes of distraint. Yet, when all allowances have been made for the difficulty of the task, it must be confessed that the arrangement of topics is singularly illogical and disorderly. The first part is entitled "Procedure before the Courts," and the second "Devant Procédure."

The former is by no means a model of systematic treatment; while the latter, as its title implies, comprises a miscellaneous assemblage of regulations dealing with such varied subjects as offers of payment by a debtor, judicial separation, and the procedure incidental to arbitrations at the opening of a succession.

Yet, however faulty its arrangement, the Code of Civil Procedure contains some useful innovations upon the law as *d'Algerie* left it. The provisions in the First Book as to the procedure to be followed before the *juge de paix* are substantially based upon the law of 1793, but comprise a few marked improvements in detail, such as a simplification of procedure on appeal, and the prohibition of oral re-examinations to witnesses after evidence given. It was decided to take over from the Revolution the principle that *serges* should not be given to the lay-courts until all attempts at conciliation had been exhausted; but the exceptions to the general rule of obligatory conciliation were multiplied. The law of 1793 had decided that *affaires* which concerned the State, the communes, and public order need not in the first instance be brought before the *juge de paix* for conciliation. The Code extends the privilege—exemption from mandatory proceedings is nothing else—to minors, to commercial *affaires* which admit of no delay, to actions incidental to pending suits, and to actions directed against two persons. Even these exceptions have been regarded as insufficient. The Commission on the revision of the Code of Civil Procedure in 1838 revealed the presence of considerable dissatisfaction with compulsory conciliation. It was described as a *formalité* "soverein in three-fourths of the cases which arise, and always long and burdensome." It was pointed out that the number of cases settled by conciliation was only 55 per cent. of those brought before the *juge conciliateur*; that ten or twelve days were consumed by the process, and that, where conciliation had failed, the record of the proceedings was often prejudicial to the interests of local *fil de litiges* in the Court to which the case was subsequently removed. It would, however, have been folly in 1838 to reject a promising experiment simply because it had broken down under the stress of abnormal circumstances. The Commission rightly held that conciliation proceedings had never had a fair trial, and that the conditions in regard to the temper of the country and the qualifications of the Bench were so far changed as to admit of these proceedings being continued with a good prospect of success.

This was the boundary beyond which the influence of the French Revolution was not permitted to pass. The rest of the Code is founded on the rules of the ancien régime, though some useful additions were made with a view to curtailing expense, reducing *formalité*, and abridging delay. The Court was given power to disallow the right of a party to conduct his case *in person*, whenever it had reason to believe that the course of justice would suffer from the passion, the inexperience,

as the obscurity of the pleader. In order to defeat fraudulent attempts to win a judgment by default by intercepting the summons, it was laid down that summons could not be taken out "after an act necessarily known to the defaulting party." Some excellent provisions were added concerning the examination of experts, but, save for two slight changes, the whole procedure to be followed when the genuineness of a document was questioned in a civil trial (*pour servir d'act*) was taken from d'Agoussant's Grand Ordinance of 1793. Indeed the First Book of the Code of Civil Procedure may be roughly described as a revision of the Ordinance of 1807 and 1793 with some improvements and such additions as were rendered necessary by the institution of conciliation and other proceedings before the *juge de paix*. Like the Civil Code, the Code of Civil Procedure was a synthesis of old and new law; but the old law was here the dominating factor. The rules relating to the examination of witnesses show that they shall be examined in camera, but in the presence of the parties to the suit. The secrecy of 1807 is substantially preserved. The witnesses are not examined in each other's presence; nor is the public admitted to hear the examination. But the presence of the parties is a guarantee that the judge will not tamper with the depositions. In the compilation of the Second Book, the Commission found less guidance in the great code of the seventeenth century, and recourse was had to the "edicts and declarations of kings, to local statutes, and custom." Here more considerable changes were effected, partly in order to bring the procedure into harmony with the Civil Code, and partly to correct some suspected tendencies of Revolutionary legislation. Whether these changes were always wise is a matter of grave doubt; and it has been alleged that the Code, by too sharply reacting against the easy Revolutionary law of distraint (November 1, 1794), has damaged credit and rendered property almost impignurable.

In the main, then, the Code is an almost literal reproduction of the ancient ordinances and of the practice of the *Châtelet*. Even the most conservative lawyers criticize the luxury of provisions, the profusion of documents, the extreme slowness and costliness which it entails or entails. It may be regarded as a blunder that it reverts to imprisonment for debt, though, in view of the fact that the *contrainte par corps* as *matière civile et commerciale* was not abolished till 1867, this step was clearly in accordance with opinion and custom. That a bolder and more drastic treatment was not applied to civil procedure is a matter for regret, but readily admits of explanation. The writers of the eighteenth century were either too vague or else too critical to afford any practical guide to the reformer. There was no French Jeremy Bentham, nor had the Revolutionary Assemblies produced a draft code of civil procedure which might serve as a corrective to the Grand Ordinance of 1807; and a revision to the cautious formulas of that and other legal monuments of the ancien régime seemed especially imperative to



was just escaped from a period of turbulence and corruption, when judges were ignorant and weak, and justice was frequently perverted to political ends. Personal influence may have contributed its quota, something may have been due to the absence of Napoleon and to the activity of Pigeau—a conservative Orator lawyer whose Court had been abolished by the Revolution, and who now took a modest revenge by importing the practice of the Orator into the Code. But though public and lawyers alike have grumbled over the Code of Civil Procedure, though the Academy has offered prizes for the best suggestions for reforming it, though two commissions have reconstructed it on paper, and nine statutes have amended it in detail, the course of business in a French civil Court is still substantially determined by the will of Napoleon's commission.

### *Criminal Procedure and Penal Law.*

As in civil, so in criminal procedure, the jurists of the Consulate and the Empire were presented with two sharply contrasted systems, the one the product of the monarchy, and the other of revolution. The salient features of the older criminal procedure, as first tabulated in 1599 by the Ordinance of Villan-Cotterets and afterwards incorporated in the Grand Ordinance of 1670, were, first, that the presence of the King or the lord is a party to every criminal proceeding; next, that the case is divided into two parts of unequal length, the instruction, a long secret enquiry before a single judge, and the judgement, given in secret by the whole Court upon the written evidence submitted to it; thirdly, that the accused is not permitted to be represented by counsel or to see the charges brought against him; and lastly, that he is on oath to answer all questions truly. In other words, the procedure was secret, inquisitorial, and highly unfavourable to the accused; and many flagrant violations of justice drew attention to its obvious defects. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the movement in favour of a reform of criminal procedure spread through the whole educated class in France. It had been preached by Rousseau, Voltaire, and Diderot: it was encouraged by Louis XVI, who carried through some elementary but precious reforms, such as the abolition of torture; and it led to some remarkable and comprehensive changes during the Revolution.

The laws upon which these changes were effected were English rather than French. All the legal reforms were laid in praise of the English system—the English jury, the English public trial, the English practice of allowing the prisoner to employ counsel, the English principle that no prisoner is to be examined on oath. The Constitutional Assembly therefore addressed itself to the task of a radical reform of criminal procedure upon English lines. Two points were introduced—the jury *d'accusation*,

corresponding to the English grand jury, and the *jury de jugement*, corresponding to the English petty jury. The secret preliminary instruction, which had been the longest and most important part of the proceedings under the ancien régime, was whittled down to a summary examination by the police officer, to the possible hearing of witnesses by the *jury d'accusation*, and to the interrogation of the accused by the director of the jury, who was always one of the judges of the district Court. Further, although the instruction was held with closed doors, the public was now represented by the accusing jury, which examined the documents submitted to it by the *juge de paix*, and decided whether to bring in or to throw out the bill. Greater facilities were given to private persons to institute criminal proceedings; there was more oral examination and less writing. An important change also came over the second stage of the proceedings, the trial proper. The procedure is oral and public instead of written and private. The accused has the advantage of removal: the judge reads out the charge to him; he is put upon oath only if he wishes to advance charges against the witnesses. He is condemned or acquitted by the verdict of a jury of twelve men, but he is given a practically unlimited right of objecting jurymen. The criminal prosecutions are no longer exclusively initiated by the Government; and no prosecution proceeds to the second stage unless the accusing jury sees fit to draw up an *acte d'accusation*. In a word, the system of the Constituent Assembly was as favourable to the defence as the Ordinance of 1739 had been favourable to the prosecution.

During the Revolution these rules proved unworkable. At the best, a system so alien to French tradition, and making such large drafts upon the judicial temper of the populace, could only have succeeded in quiet times. As it was, the jury was introduced into the country during the one decade of its history in which it was almost certain to be useless. The excesses of Revolutionary law courts and the prevalence of crimes of violence exhibited the weakness of the new procedure; and Mirabeau's Code of Delicts and Penalties (October 22, 1790), heightening the importance of the written instruction, marks an early stage in reaction.

The rise of Bonaparte sharply closed the epoch of generous experiments and airy boldness. Anarchy, rare in many departments, supplied pretence enough to a soldier's temperament. An article of the Constitution of 1799 decreed that the public prosecutor was to be the agent and the seal of the executive power. A law, of January 27, 1801, provided for the appointment of government prosecutors in every arrondissement, gave them power to imprison, pending the report of the accusing jury, restored the secret examination of witnesses in the absence of the prisoner, and reintroduced written, for oral procedure before the *jury d'accusation*. On Jan. 5, 1806, in spite of the terms of the Constitution which guaranteed trial by jury for all crimes, special criminal tribunals were established exempt from the restraint of jury or appeal. The

cretors of the Tribunaux were laid in their indignation. These new Courts, they said, were only the Courts proficients of 1870 renewed, it was vain to urge that they were limited as to function, space, or time. In a short time all France would be covered with these tribunals, and what kind of tribunals were they? They denied the prisoner time and opportunity to prepare his defence, they deprived him of the right of being heard on questions of importance, of objecting to his judges, of being released on bail. Since the Bench was relieved of the necessity of explaining the grounds of its judgment, there was no guarantee that the judgment would be reached by any competent intellectual process at all; and, since the law denied the right to appeal, there was no redress if the procedure should be tainted by rashness or injustice. To these criticisms the government critics replied that the disorder of the country demanded exceptional measures, that the Courts were to be abolished two years after the conclusion of peace; that the procedure was to be public and oral; that the prisoner was to have the benefit of counsel and to be acquainted with the act of accusation; that it was impossible to obtain a verdict of guilty in the west or the south, where the jury had become the "safeguard of brigands"; that military tribunals had been established to deal with brigandage under the Convention and the Directory; that exceptional Courts were generally demanded by the protests; and that the Constitution itself had sanctioned the suspension of the jury in case of armed revolt. The measure was carried in the Tribunaux by 69 votes to 44, and in the Legislature by 285 to 55.

Meunier (May 28, 1800) a Commissioner had been appointed to draw up a criminal code. These labours resulted in a draft comprising both penal law and criminal procedure (*Code criminel corrigé et de police*), which preserved the jury and was still grossly English in character. But no sooner was the draft submitted to the law-courts than it became clear that Anglomaniac was falling out of fashion. Of the twenty-five Courts whose observations were published, only twenty-six pronounced in favour of the retention of the jury; twenty-three did not refer to the subject; while twenty-six, mainly from the south of France, were adverse. Of the Courts of Appeal, twelve were adverse, and seven favourable. The problem of the jury became a burning question.

The Criminal Code first came before the Council of State on May 25, 1804. The Emperor, in order to clear the ground, ordered the legislative section of the Council to prepare and print a list of fundamental questions relating to criminal law and procedure which might be debated before the articles of the draft Code came to be discussed in detail. Accordingly, on June 4, fourteen questions were submitted. Should the jury be preserved? Should there be a jury of accusation and a jury of judgment? How should the jury be constituted? On what grounds should objection be taken to a juror? Should the instruction be partly oral, or partly oral and partly written? Should several questions be

put to the jury of judgment, or was only—"Guilty or not guilty?" Should the verdict be given by unanimity or majority? Should there be created *chefs de jury*? Should the penalty of death be preserved? Should there be *lebensstrafe*? Should confession be admitted in certain cases? Should the judges have a certain initiative in the application of penalties? Should condemned persons who have finished their term of imprisonment be placed under supervision? Should condemned persons of subsequent good conduct be rehabilitated?

The debate extended over three days, and was characterized by great ability and acuteness. Capital punishment and imprisonment for life were passed without discussion. Confession was contested, but advocated by Napoleon and carried through. The main debate centred round the *Jury*; and here Napoleon, after listening to a number of speeches, most of them adverse to the retention of the institution, watched his step with characteristic decision. A tyrannical government, as the experience of the Revolution showed, could influence a jury more easily than it could influence a judge, and, given public trial and counsel for the defence, the jury was a superfluous guarantee. Besides, a jury would always acquit a man who could afford an advocate, and always condemn an officer against the *gendarmes*. Still, if it was well composed, and provided that counsel should not be permitted to address it, a jury might be allowed; but exceptional Courts would always be needed to chastise organized crime. If, however, a jury were allowed, the verdict should be given by a majority vote, for so the danger of sweeps would be diminished. In these views the Council only partially concurred. The retention of both *Juries*—that of Accusation and that of Judgment—was voted in principle; but it was decided that they should be chosen by the prefect from the Electoral Colleges, and that the verdict should go by an absolute majority. If agitation were done, it might be remedied by the right of pardon.

With these large principles determined, the Council, under the presidency of Cambacérès, settled down to discuss the draft Code. Twelve sessions were held, and the work was proceeding fast, when it was disturbed by an intervention of the Emperor. In the great *Jury* debate, Napoleon had argued for the establishment of large Courts like the old Parliaments in order to give greater authority to the magistrature. "Did we not," he said, "see judges, even of the *Cour de Cassation*, live with advocates, and contract habits of familiarity with them which destroyed the moral independence and prestige of their office?" But his idea found no favour with the Council. On October 26, however, the legislative session was presented with a draft law on the organization of civil and criminal justice which was to give effect to Napoleon's intention. The Council of State was again summoned to Saint-Cloud, and five days were devoted to the discussion of the Emperor's plan in his presence. "It is necessary," urged Napoleon, "to form great corporations,

strong in the reputation conferred by a knowledge of civil law, strong in numbers, above private fears and considerations, in order that they may assign the guilty to their pole and may communicate their energy to the prosecution. It is necessary, in fact, to organize the prosecution of crime. At present there is no such thing." It was argued on the other side that it had been difficult enough to gather the departmental juries, and that under the proposed plan of wider jurisdiction the Jury would be impossible. Napoleon replied that his Court might send judges on tour; but this did not satisfy the Council, whose view was shared and supported by the magistrates then present in Paris for the Imperial nomination. They reported that the proposed change would extinguish the Jury, and that the Jury was working better every day. At this Cambacerès softened his response; and Napoleon tacitly withdrew his plan. After December 10 the work of the Commission was mysteriously interrupted. Twenty-five sittings of the Council had been held, over eleven of which Napoleon had presided; but opinion was not yet ripe for the changes which he had in mind, and he was content that opinion should ripen. Thus all the questions relating to criminal law and procedure which had engaged the public, the law-courts, the Institute, and the Council, were allowed to fall into abeyance for three years.

It was not till January 63, 1806, that the legislative action of the Council of State was commanded to resume its labours on criminal procedure. Their recollection of past proceedings was confused and unrefreshed; and the great questions which had excited so much controversy in 1804 were debated now as if they had never arisen. A close and crushing criticism from Napoleon settled the fate of the Jury of Accusation, but the Jury of Judgement successfully weathered the storm. Napoleon himself advanced arguments in its favour, provided that it was properly constituted. "The real interest of the accused," he said, "is to be judged by enlightened and not by ignorant men"; and this object would be obtained if the jurors were drawn from the Judges of First Instance and the Electoral Colleges. There remained the great question of the assignment of civil and criminal justice; and into this Napoleon threw himself with passionate energy. He had to vanquish an old prejudice against itinerant judges, and a suspicion that the scheme might revive the *Parlements* of the ancien régime in a new shape. Never did he wield the rapier of controversy with a more persuasive brilliance. He touched on the need of curtailing the power of the prefect, already excessive; on his desire for a tipson local life, for more decentralization; on the respect due to the magistrature, which was now to receive greater dignity; on the clear necessity of covering crime; on the knowledge-influence which a turn at civil business would exert upon the temperament of a criminal judge. Nor was Napoleon risk on principles only; he drew from his pocket two draft laws for consideration, and presided day after day till the scheme passed through

The system of Assize Courts once safely secured, Napoleon could afford to admit the Jury, and to allow the Code of Criminal Procedure to proceed quietly on its way. In thirty-seven sittings (Jan. 50 to Oct. 50, 1808), the Council cut the Gordian knots over which they had stumbled in 1804.

In the Code of Criminal Procedure (*Code d'instruction criminelle*) the jury of accusation is suppressed. The depositions of witnesses are taken secretly in the presence of the *juge d'instruction* and his clerk, and in the absence of the prisoner; and all the guarantees of 1793 disappear. The defence cannot contest the choice of an expert made by a judge, the *juge d'instruction* is not compelled to hear the witnesses for the defence; and, during the whole of the instruction, the prisoner may remain in complete ignorance of the steps which are being taken against him. The regulations as to bail are so liberal as to be almost prohibitive, and they were contested in the Council. And yet, with this exception, the portion of the Code, utterly submissive though it was of the Revolutionary law, was passed almost without discussion. So great a change had been wrought by the advancing policy of despotism.

But while the Code of Criminal Procedure borrows from the Ordinances of 1679 almost all its rules of preparatory instruction, the rules for the trial in court were based upon the legislation of the Revolution. The accused was to be tried in public; he was allowed to produce witnesses, to be assisted by counsel, and to be heard in his own defence. A jury of well-to-do persons was permitted to return a verdict by a majority vote. The Code however maintained the special Courts which were authorized to decide without recourse to a jury upon cases of rebellion, false coinage, assassination if committed by armed bands, and armed smuggling; nor was any provision offered in the Council of State to the permanent incorporation within the judicial system of France of those tyrannous and autocratic tribunals.

It cannot be denied that the apparatus set up in the Code for performing the preliminary business of penal jurisdiction was, though complicated, highly effective as an instrument of exploration. Whereas in England no judicial functionary was then obliged to attend to any evidence except such as was voluntarily offered to him, in France the power of the State was at once put on motion to search out everything that could illuminate the case. On the other hand, the rule which required every question to be referred to the witness to be put through the medium of the presiding judge sacrificed much of the extensive force of the English cross-examination. The questions framed by the judge for the jury admitted a more delicate consideration of circumstances than the mere alternative "guilty" or "not guilty." But the Code of Criminal Procedure, though on the whole well adapted for the detection of crime and for the speedy trial of prisoners, presented hardly any barrier against the arbitrary use of executive authority. There was no adequate machinery to correspond to the English proceedings upon a writ of

labour *supra*, the jury were nominated by the prefect, the prefect might act as a judge of instruction; and, in the course of the preliminary instruction, a case might be prepared for the jury which the innocent prisoner would find it difficult to rebut.

### *The Penal Code*

The Code of Criminal Procedure could not be put into force until the completion of a Penal Code; and on October 4, 1808, this task was given in hand. Some fundamental questions had already been decided in the June debate four years earlier. It had been settled that there should be capital punishment and imprisonment for life, that discharged convicts might be placed under police supervision; that a convict might be rehabilitated; that a minimum and a maximum penalty should be fixed for each crime, with latitude of choice within the boundary. It remained to revise the Code of 1791 in detail under the influence of the social climate of 1808. The work was accomplished in forty-one sittings; and the Penal Code was decreed on February 2, 1810. On the single occasion upon which Napoleon presided, he expressed his desire for shortness, which left a large discretion to the judges and the Government, as he protestant that "man had breath and the law had not"; but his general view of penal law did not swerve on the side of leniency. In 1800 he had advocated with enthusiasm the penalty of branding, especially for forgery. "The forger is generally rich," he remarked. "If only condemned to prison, he returns to society, keeps a fine wife, and people live with him. This would not happen if he were branded by the mark of the convict." And his defence of education was equally characteristic; it would, he said, tempt the relatives of a conspirator to betray.

"Punishment," said Target, "is certainly not vengeance...It is not the object of law that a guilty man should suffer, but that crime should be prevented." This theory of punishment had recently been made famous in Bentham's *Treatise on Legislation* which was once studied to its course by the chamberlain. It is not however probable, considering the prevailing Anglophobia of the time, that the influence of Bentham upon the Commission was great; and such influence would never have been acknowledged. The memory of the crimes of the Revolution and the administrative needs of a strong despotism were far more potent influences. The Penal Code is severe, suspicious, and in places barbarous. The penalty of confiscation, which had been condemned by Montesquieu and excluded from the Code of 1791, was restored. The Legislative bodies agreed almost unanimously to restore the penalty of branding, on the ground of "political reason and the general interest." The article was to lose his head before undergoing the penalty of death. Men condemned to forced labour were to be employed upon the most

painful tasks. "They shall drag a ball at their feet, and shall be clad two and two with a chain when the nature of the work on which they are employed shall permit." The penalty of death was to be inflicted for murder and arson, for theft and larceny endangering life and personal security, for extortion and false witness in cases which impaired the life of the innocent. Penal servitude for life was meted out to those who organised and committed associations of malefactors against persons or property, even where no actual crime has been committed; against unprovoked acts of violence which were of a nature to cause death; and against rebellion, armed gatherings, and "grave crimes." Deportation for life was assigned to "state crimes due to false political ideas, the spirit of party, or an ill-understood ambition," as well as to grave cases of forgery and perjury. So great was the suspicion of political meetings that it was provided that "an association of more than twenty persons, whose aim is to unite every day or on certain fixed days to occupy itself with religious, literary, political, or other objects, not be formed, except with the consent of the Government or under such conditions as public authority may impose."

The Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure bear very strongly the imprint of the times in which they were composed. Unlike the Civil Code, they belong to the later epoch of the Empire, when despotism had assumed its hardest form, and the ideals of the Revolution had ceased to be serious factors in political life. Napoleon intervened only in the most crucial questions, but his attitude was understood, and his purposes were fulfilled. No despotism could have wished for a more powerful or terrible instrument than the combination of these two branches of penal law. It has been truly said of the compilation of the Penal Code that "they were far less concerned with devising means of repression sufficient for public safety, than with compensating the horror of crime by the horror of punishment." And, while the Penal Code displays its long catalogue of terrible penalties for offences against public order or the political principles of the Empire, the Code of Criminal Procedure furnishes the Government with the most ample means for the exploration of criminal charges and for the packing of the jury by whom these charges are to be tried.

### The Commercial Code.

A Commercial Code cements the ordered structure of Napoleonic law. This was in the national tradition; for, ever since the days of L'Hôpital, France had possessed separate commercial Courts established "for the public good and the shortening of all suits and differences between merchants." Two great Ordinances, due to the initiative of Colbert, had fixed the outlines of French commercial law—the Edict of 1673 touching inland, and the Ordinance of 1681 touching marine



commerce. So excellent was the Ordinance of 1681 that it became the common maritime law of Europe.

A commission was sitting in 1789 to investigate the commercial law of France. Commerce had grown, new wants were urgent, and the two great edicts of the seventeenth century, variously interpreted and expounded with a hierarchy of local customs, needed pruning and adaptation. Bonaparte recommended the suspended task to be resumed, and on April 3, 1801, a committee of six was appointed to prepare a Code. Their draft was submitted not only to the law-courts but also to the commercial councils and tribunals, and duly revised in the light of their criticisms. By some mistake, however, this revised Code was handed on, not to the legislative section of the Council of State, but to the section of the Interior, where it slumbered peacefully in its pigeon-hole for several years. A curious incident served to disturb it. In the autumn of 1806, while the Emperor was campaigning in Germany, Paris was startled by a scandalous and equal case of fraudulent bankruptcy. The firm of Bâcheux had failed. A receipt came from the camp denouncing a serious law, and an earnest trust that such a law would properly form part of the Commercial Code. The Code then, replied Napoleon, must be instantly pushed forward. Accordingly, the draft was produced, and submitted in all the processes employed in the case of the other Codes. The discussion began on November 4, 1806, occupied sixty-eight sessions, and ended on August 22, 1807. The Emperor was absent during the greater part of this period; but, on his return, he demanded a general account of the proceedings, and held four sessions at Saint-Cloud (July 22, 23, August 1, 8, 1807) which began at 7 a.m. and lasted till the evening.

Two points riveted his attention; and on them he poured out his rich and oft-repeated eloquence. The first concerned the question whether the commercial Courts should take cognizance of all cases arising out of promissory notes, where the signatories had declared their intention of being bound by the law of commerce. Napoleon argued strenuously that no one, save a merchant, should be liable to imprisonment for failing to meet an obligation contracted by a promissory note. The obligations of private individuals were not as precise as those of merchants; for the former, credit was a mediocrity and a law to discretion. For his part, he was unwilling to see bills of exchange or other negotiable instruments used by those who were not in business. Such a practice would lead to the stabilization of fortunes, and spread alarm among the fathers of families. "A coxswain who had extorted a promissory note from a young man might drag him before the commercial Court and get him sent to prison." This vehement advocacy, inspired by a hatred of speculation and of the free transfer of land, produced its due effect upon the Code; and, by Clauses 486 and 487, uncommercial persons and uncommercial transactions were exempted from the severe

parallelism by which the commercial Courts were empowered to enforce the payment of negotiable instruments.

The second point which specially interested Napoleon was bankruptcy. The old law had assumed misfortune until fraud was proved; and in other respects it was characterized by objectionable leniency. The Council proposed, in the first instance, to appropriate the bankruptcy and to vest the administration of his property in the hands of provisional trustees; then, to subject his conduct to strict examination, after which he might be brought before a correctional or a criminal Court according as his offence was one of negligence or fraud. In any case, action was to be taken by the public prosecutor and not by the creditors. These proposals were serious, but they were not severe enough for Napoleon. "Bankruptcy," he said, "take away men's fortunes without destroying their honour; and that is what it is important to destroy." He argued in favour of innovation in order to prevent the bankrupt flaunting his triumph of indifference. The creditors could not be treated to humiliate the bankrupt, for their sole interest was to recover their debts as soon as possible. But justice would do it, even if it were but for an hour. It was also desirable that in every case the woman should share the misfortune of her husband. It was pointed out by more than one member of the Council that the proposals were too severe; and that to suppose every failure to be the result of fraud until the contrary had been established would injure credit, and bear heavily upon merchants and traders in the country districts. The clause in the Code represented a somewhat softened version of Napoleon's view. The administration of the debtor's affairs is entrusted first to agents named by the Court of Commerce, and then to syndics named by the creditors; and the magistrate must be kept fully informed of the proceedings, so that on any indication of misconduct or fraud he may send the bankrupt before the correctional or the criminal Court.

Ferdinand has complained that the Code of Commerce was more carefully drafted than any of the other Codes, and yet it was the Code for which there existed the most abundant materials. In the First Book, entitled *De Commerce Général*, the whole question of purchase and sale is disposed of in a single unimportant clause. There is not a word concerning price, promise of sale, or earnest money; nothing upon the conditions of weights, measures, and assay; nothing on patents or copyrights, on contracts of apprenticeship, or contracts between retailers and manufacturers or shopkeepers, on bank commissions or on the various kinds of loans which are used in commerce. The Second Book, *De Commerce Maritime*, being copied from the Ordinance of 1681 with little alteration save what was derived from later experience or later laws, is pronounced to be the best Book of the Code, though here again several topics are omitted, for instance, quays and ports, shipwrecks, and fishing. The Third Book, on bankruptcy, is

and by Pardessus to contain some excellent dispositions, with others so full of objectionable matter that it is difficult to believe they could have passed uncorrected; and the result is confirmed by Laroze, who shows how the Law of Bankruptcy breaks down. The Fourth Book, on the competence and procedure of the commercial Courts, is far less being either clear or precise, and is distinguished by the extreme omission of any chance dealing with imprisonment for debt. No part of the Napoleonic legislation has required or received more amendment.

The Five Codes—a sixth, the Code Rural, was drafted but never passed—represented a great rise, the unity and comprehensiveness of French law. When it is remembered that a task demanding the most exacting hearing, the richest and most scrupulous enquiry, was accomplished in the midst of unparalleled excitement and strain, that it was begun in the reconvalescence of a great war, when all the organs of government were being simultaneously re-created; and that it was continued and brought to a close while the country was involved in a series of gigantic and perilous foreign enterprises—we need not wonder that the report has detected signs of perfunctory work and political passion. The point of despotism is stamped hard and deep on the Penal Code, the subjection of women on the Civil Law. It was left for future generations to make adequate provision for the needs of an industrial society, to regulate labour contracts, to protect the interests of the working classes against the tyranny of capital, and to expand the sphere of company law, so jealously contracted by the middle-class individualism of the Civil Code. Nevertheless, the Codes preserve the essential acquirements of the revolutionary spirit—civil equality, religious toleration, the nationalization of land, public trial, the jury of independent Original they were not, but rather a hasty amalgamation of civil and revolutionary legislation, governed by the genius of Napoleon, driving, traversing, and penetrating all complications in order to make law subservient to his rule. But, if in France herself the Codes were a symbol of a strict but enlightened despotism, in Germany and Italy they stood for liberty. Here they were the earliest message, as well as the most mature embodiment, of the new spirit. In a clear and compact shape, they presented to Europe the main rules which should govern a civilized society.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE CONCORDATS.

When, on March 18, 1800, Cardinal Chiaramonte became Pope Pius VII, he could hardly have expected permanent agreement with the French Republic. The outlook in France seemed dark indeed. Persecuted by the Directory, the clergy had little to hope from a Government created by an army whose leaders were among the most noted opponents of the Church. The past history of the more prominent civilian officials, Talleyrand and Fouché, gave no promise of goodwill to the Roman Catholic cause. The First Consul himself, while in Egypt, had openly professed his sympathy with Islam, and could scarcely be expected to restore the old religion of France. Even if any recognition of the Christian faith took place, the favour of the State was more likely to be extended to the pliant constitutional clergy than to the non-juring Church, which, led by bishops who were mostly absent from France, was intrinsically in the presence on behalf of the Bourbons. On the other hand, a keen observer might have noted certain signs which pointed to a cessation of the active hostility of the Republic to the Papacy. The anti-religious tendency of the Revolution had never been more than superficial in the provinces, while, even in Paris, the hankering classes had preserved much of their respect for the Church. The clergy, too, began to experience a respite from their persecutions, and after 18 Brumaire were slowly returning to France. The Government declared itself satisfied with a promise from parish priests of fidelity to the Constitution, and no longer insisted on the obstinate oath of fidelity to the Republic. Though a large number of clergy refused to form any connexion with the weaker, the less enthusiastic members of the order, including some of the bishops, began to comply with the more moderate demands of the Consular Government. Moreover, the other Church, called constitutional, had by its verities to the Republic forfeited popular respect, while the persecutions of the ultraliberals clergy had reduced the sympathy of the people with that section, and contributed in no small degree to the unpopularity of the Directory. The avowed mission of the Consular Government was to retrieve the errors

of the Jacobins and save the Republic. It was imperative that the religious question should be settled; and, if an understanding with the orthodox clergy could be reached, the resulting union of the nation would greatly strengthen the position of the Government.

Nevertheless, it was natural that Pius VII should feel the utmost anxiety as to his position, for the apathy of the Austrian Government seemed to leave him without any important friend. His delight, therefore, was great when he heard that not only had the First Consul told the Milanese clergy that the French people were of the same religion as they, but had also attended a Te Deum after the battle of Marengo. Better still, Bonaparte had told Cardinal Martini that he was willing to treat with the Pope. His terms were that the Roman Catholic faith should be "dominant" in France; and that all the bishops, whether subject or constituted, should resign their sees, so that the First Consul might name out a reduced number of dioceses, to which, in accordance with the Concordat of 1804, he would nominate, and the Pope institute, bishops loyal to the new policy. This measure, he added, would secure to the bishops a salary of 18,000 francs apiece, to indemnify them for the loss of the Church funds.

After a delay of more than three months, due on the French side to the negotiations with Austria, and on the Roman to uncertainty as to Bonaparte's good faith, Pius VII decided to give the French Government a signal proof of his goodwill. On September 23, 1800, Mgr. Spina, Archbishop of Cremona, set out for Vercelli, accompanied by Father Camilli, a learned Servite. But the French Government transferred the negotiations from Vercelli to Paris, and the Pope could not but acquiesce. He therefore ordered Spina to Paris, but instructed him to discuss only the points raised at Vercelli, and strictly forbade him to sign any document whatever. Seeing that there was a prospect of an agreement between the Pope and the Republic, the royalist party now made a desperate effort to stop the negotiations. Through the agency of Cardinal Maury, Louis XVIII had done what he could to keep alive Pius VII's distrust of Bonaparte; and, when he heard that the Pope had not only issued a brief to the non-juring clergy expressing hopes of a settlement, but had also sent a mission to Paris, Louis tried to interest his host, the Tsar, on his behalf. But the victory of Hohenlinden began, and Bonaparte's offer of Malta completed, the conversion of Pius to friendship with the Republic. Louis could only protest.

Spina arrived at Paris on November 5, and found that, with the exception of Lebrun, Bonaparte was the only official in favour of a religious settlement. Talleyrand secretly, Fouché openly, opposed the new policy; but Bonaparte was not a man to be intimidated by his subordinates. Since his return from Italy, he had attended mass with some regularity, not from any religious convictions, but in order to emphasize his desire for an understanding with the Church. A Deat,

but not a Christian, he admired the centralized Roman Catholic form of Christianity above all others, what he aimed at was the stability of his government. He calculated that, should the strike in the Church be ended, the Pope would become his ally. Consequently he was extremely anxious that negotiations should be equally pursued; and, as soon as Spina arrived, they began. Giquière, whom the First Council had previously approached, proved too hostile to the Roman Court for Bonaparte's purposes, and Roussin, a refractory priest—once a leader of the *Chouans*, now a government agent—was appointed to conduct the negotiations. An agreement was all but arrived at in the first three weeks. Bonaparte having offered to recognize the Roman Catholic religion, the Pope was prepared to acquiesce in the confiscation of the Church lands. Spina raised objections to the compulsory excommunication of bishops from their sees by the Pope, as such a measure would be *ad hoc*. The Gallian Bureau acquiesced in this objection, and proposed that the Pope, after a "general exhortation," should suspend the disubdication, whereupon the Government would appoint *diocesan administrators non jure canonico*. Spina had virtually suggested this; but Bernier's opponent warning induced Spina to raise his demands. He refused to agree to a promise of fidelity to the Government, and thereby destroyed all chance of an immediate agreement.

The negotiations were intricate and prolonged. Bonaparte, as usual in diplomacy as in the field of battle, at one moment pressed one point and withdrew another, then withdrew both and emphasized a third. By January, 1860, however, he had put Spina in possession of what may be considered as his definite intentions. Spina must have bitterly repented his inglorious refusal of the French proposals when, between November and February, Bonaparte formulated his demands with greater precision and in more startling terms. The phrase "dominant religion" was withdrawn in favour of a bold recognition by the Councils that the Roman Catholic religion was that of the majority of Frenchmen; the oath of bishops who refused to obey the Pope's request, or command, to resign were to be declared *ipso facto* vacant; the Church lands, even if encumbered, were not to be returned to the Church; the clergy must take an oath of fidelity to the Constitution or to the Government; and the married constitutional clergy were to be recognized as laymen in communion with the Catholic Church. Meanwhile, the Pope's demands had also been rising. In January and February he urged Spina to press for the abandonment of the sale of the Church lands, while the prevarications of the Temporal Power thrust the spiritual needs of the Church into the background. So the Archbishop of Corbieth was told not to forget to claim the Legation, and to demand a compensation for the loss of Avignon. But these instructions led to nothing, for they reached Paris too late. In spite of Talleyrand's attempts to mediate Spina into signing the draft convention, the Archbishop had succeeded in

transferring the negotiations to Rome, and so virtually relieving himself of all direct responsibility.

Simultaneously the First Consul, dissatisfied at the slowness of the negotiations and anxious of Spain's good faith, appointed as minister to Rome a man whom he knew to be favorable to his policy. Casault was ordered to combine assurances as to the Temporal Power with demands for an unreserved acceptance of the terms as they stood. Yet, at the same time, Bonaparte carefully expressed respect for the Pope. "Behave towards the Pope," he told Casault in his last interview, "as though he were in command of 100,000 men." Casault obeyed his master's commands in all respects, but Pius VII., in accordance with his usual policy, submitted the French project to two Congresses; and the arts of procrastination were so successfully practiced that no answer was given till May 12. It took the form of a counter-project, based on an alternative scheme which Bonnier had sent along with Bonaparte's terms. Any suggestion entailing recognition of the constitutional clergy was met with a direct non *passamus*; to allow the confiscation of the Church lands would be to sanction the breaking of treaties such as Arnold of Brescia and Wyclif; but the Pope was ready to give a dispensation to the present occupiers. Although the Pope had previously expressed the opinion that, if the phrase "dominant religion" were not used, "the whole fabric would collapse," the Roman theologians offered to sacrifice it, provided the Roman constitution were established as the religion of the State. It was urged that, if the First Consul was to have the right of nominating to vacant sees, this provision was imperative, in order to avoid offending the King of Sicily and the Kings of England and Prussia, to whom Bonaparte XIV had refused a similar right on the ground that those sovereigns were not Catholics. An excuse for meeting the First Consul in another matter was furnished by historical research. It was discovered that, to end the Donatist schism, all the African bishops had resigned their sees, and, as the French bishops had refused to resign in 1701, advantage might now be taken of that offer. Refusal would entail the use of "detestable incantations," which would justify the deprivation of the offender. Finally, the question of the oath afforded a good opportunity for asserting the superiority of the Pope to General Councils. For, though the Fourth Lateran Council had forbidden the clergy to take oaths, the Pope was willing to sanction an oath of fidelity to the Government.

The Cause, therefore, conscious of its inability to resist, and anxious for a settlement, was willing to agree to the French proposals. But, before its offer reached Paris, the negotiations entered on a new phase. The long delay had irritated the First Consul, and his reaction at the failure of his diplomatic schemes was vented on the comparatively innocent Pope. The constitutional clergy were now allowed to hold a national council, while Talleyrand despatched an ultimatum to Rome.

The effect of these measures was to bring Cardinal Consuelo, the papal Secretary of State, to Paris. He arrived on June 26, 1801; and, after a dramatic reception by Bonaparte on June 28, the negotiations were resumed. The solution of the problem was aided, on the one side, by the absence of Talleyrand, and, on the other side, by the meeting, on July 2, of the council of constitutional clergy, which appeared to Consuelo to be a potential realisation of the First Consul's desire of a national religion.

Although Bonaparte refused to abate the demands he had made in January, the Cardinal drafted a counter-project (July 11) which Bernas declared to be consistent with Gallican liberties. Accordingly Joseph Bonaparte, Cretet, and Demer were named as French plenipotentiaries, and on July 13 they met the papal envoys. The project submitted to the meeting differed substantially from Consuelo's, especially in some words (now heard for the first time) about police restrictions on the liberty of worship. The Cardinal offered a strenuous opposition to the new proposals, and at last succeeded in getting rid of the objectionable amendments. The new convention was brought to the First Consul in the afternoon of July 14. He tore it up, and exclaimed at dinner to Consuelo that, if Henry VIII, who had not one-half of his power, could break with the Pope, the First Consul would be well able to manage without him. Eventually, however, Bonaparte allowed himself to be persuaded by the Austrian minister, Philip Cobenzl, to renege the conference, and, on July 18, the Concordat was signed by the plenipotentiaries and accepted by the First Consul.

The preamble of this famous convention defines the nature of the faith professed by the French nation and the Council. The seventeen articles which follow may be divided into three classes. Five articles define the rights of the Church—its freedom to exercise public worship (Art. 1), the prayer to be said at the end of divine services (2), the establishment of cathedral chapters (3), the grant of salaries to the beneficed clergy (4), the permission to Catholics to make pious foundations (5). Five others deal with the question of nomination to benefices. In the case of bishoprics, the arrangement of the Concordat of 1516 is revived (6, 7); the patronage of the parish livings, taken away from the landlords in 1790, is now given to the bishops (8); the oath to be taken by the clergy is defined (9, 10). Other articles are dictated by the circumstances of 1801, and deal with the forfeiture of new dioceses and parishes (3, 9), the resignation of the bishops from holding diocesan titles (3), the restoration of the churches and the alienation of lands (11, 15), the grant to the Republic of the privileges enjoyed at Rome by the Kings of France (16). Art. 17 provided for a new Concordat, should any future First Consul not be a Catholic.

As signs of haste are apparent in the haphazard arrangement of the clauses, so also does their phrasology betray a lack of deliberation.



There was a want of precision, and there were many strange certainties. No number was fixed for the new dioceses. Not a word was said as to whether the Pope could refuse to institute a member of the Government. After a long struggle about the manner of making pious foundations, the Government had suddenly dropped its contention, but only when it put forward its claim to making police regulations for the execution of the Concordat, and these regulations were subject to no limitation but the will of the French Government. Nevertheless, vague as the terms occasionally were, they were precise enough to show that Bonaparte had attained the main objects for which he had been striving. The revolutionary settlement of the Church lands was maintained: that of residence was recognised in Art. IV. The Pope's consent to deprive the bishops of their sees, if they refused to resign, permitted Bonaparte to sweep out the new dioceses, while the recovery of the power of nominating bishops, and the provision for the appointment to another residence, gave the Government control over the ecclesiastical and political complexion of the clergy. Any deficiency in this respect could be made good by the police restrictions on liberty of worship referred to in Art. I.

On the other hand, if the Pope surrendered positions which he had once considered vital, his retreat was covered by the phraseology of the Concordat. The Government refused to recognise the Catholic religion as "dominant"; but the Concordat had been persuaded to make a public profession of that creed. Though the bishops were to resign their sees under penalty of deprivation, the threat was so worded that compulsion was veiled under an exposure of confidence that the bishops would obey the Pope's exhortation. The worst question of the oath of fidelity had been solved by substituting the oath taken by the clergy under the *ancien régime*, a compromise which could hardly be offensive to either party. The abandonment of the Church lands was represented, not as a matter of principle, but merely as a measure of necessitation; and this loss was more than counterbalanced by the guaranteed salaries of the clergy, the restoration of cathedral chapters, and the apparent abandonment of the Government's claim to regulate the manner of making pious foundations. Politically, too, the alliance of France with the Papacy gave the latter a friend among the Great Powers, and reconciled it with the first military State in Europe. Still, while Pius VII might congratulate himself on having approved the pacification of the Church in matters spiritual and temporal, he can scarcely have doubted which side gained most by the agreement.

The next step was to obtain the ratification of the Concordat. The complete success of the measure depended on the goodwill of no less than four parties—the Pope, the French Republic, the constitutional clergy, and the legitimate bishops. On August 18, 1801, the National Council was dissolved by order of the First Consul. A show of

resistance was made; and Le Coq, the President of the Council, with Grégoire and a few other bishops, protested against the reduction of the vote, demanded the restoration of episcopal elections, accepted papal institutions only as a temporary device, and declared that bulls from Rome should be regarded by the French metropolitans. But no more was heard of these objections; and, when the constitutional bishops were requested to resign, only two refused. Although signs of trouble appeared at Rome, the attempt to resist the Concordat came to nothing. It was prompted by jealousy of Geneva, on whose return the Pope departed from his usual custom of following the advice of the Sacred College. With some hesitation, he despatched two ratifications of the convention—the one absolute, the other conditional. With the latter on the married clergy, he also sent two bulls concerning the resignation of the bishops, the one addressed to Spina and through him to the constitutional bishops, the other addressed directly to the latter. Spina was left to choose which documents he should present, and he wisely went in the absolute ratification and the "indirect" bull. Talleyrand's attempt to procrastinate was roughly defeated by Bonaparte, who, on September 8, 1802, retailed the Concordat on behalf of the Republic, according to himself the right of "providing by regulations against the more serious inconveniences that might arise from a literal execution of the Concordat." What this meant the next few months were to show.

Thus far, the process of ratification had been carried out with remarkably little friction. Ninety French bishops, however, met in London, and refused to resign their sees. Encouraged by Louis XVIII, who saw a new chance of meeting the hateful Concordat, twenty-six of their brethren in Germany followed their example. Later, some of them gave way; but there still remained thirty-five bishops to form a seceding body called the "*petite église*," which survived till 1808. The majority of the legitimate bishops deserted the cause of Louis, and, by obeying the Pope, rallied to the Republic. Forty-four prelates resigned, and, after a final exhortation to the recalcitrant bishops, Pope VII issued the bull for the delimitation of the new dioceses. The resistance of the legitimate bishops caused considerable delay in the issue of this bull; and the legate appointed to create the Concordat had to leave Rome without it. Bonaparte, on the advice of Cabanis, had requested that Cardinal Caprara might be appointed to this post. He was a pious and amiable ecclesiastic, devoid of insight into motives or character, easily intimidated and cajoled, and, as regards at Vienna, had given much dissatisfaction to the Roman Court. The Pope, unable to refuse Bonaparte's request, attempted to tie Caprara's hands by instructing him to refuse ratification to the constitutional clergy, and, looking back to the Temporal Power, to demand the restoration of the Legation and compensation for Avignon. The Legate was received by Bonaparte with great honour; but the delay in the issue of the bull

ceased his use, and he complained of being tricked by the Curia. In December, however, the bull arrived, and it was at length possible to submit the treaty to the legislative bodies for their acceptance as a law of the State. It was here that Bonaparte had reason to anticipate serious opposition. When, on August 8, 1804, the Concordat was read before the Council of State, not a word was said in its favour, even the Senate did not disguise its dissatisfaction. But, by a stroke on the Constitution, the opposition of the Tribunate was silenced; the promised public regulations, which appeared under the title of *Lois Organiques*, somewhat guided the path for the legislature, and, with remarkable clarity, the law, comprising both the Concordat and the Organic Articles, was passed, after a short discussion, in three days (April 8, 1804).

The Organic Articles had been expressly kept back by Bonaparte until the bulls connected with the Concordat had been issued. Had these articles been known to Pius VII, he would certainly have broken off the negotiations—a fact which explains Bonaparte's eagerness that the Pope should immediately perform his part of the bargain. Of the hundred and twenty-one articles, seventy-seven dealt with the Roman Church, and here Bonaparte was able to exact those provisions which he had been forced to yield from the Concordat. The supremacy of the State over the Church was asserted by provisions that no bulls, briefs, or legates from Rome, no decrees of General Councils or National Synods, could enter France without permission from the Government; the system of *appel comme d'abus* was revived; while other articles dealt with the more trivial questions of the ringing of church bells, the position, salary, qualifications, dress, and titles of the clergy. One thing and one calculation only were to be used throughout the Republic: civil marriage was always to precede the ecclesiastical rite. Though obviously intended to reduce the Gallicanism of the entire régime, the preceding articles would not have excited opposition by themselves. What galled the Court of Rome was a clause which showed a disposition to go back to the worst days of Louis XIV, by ordering seminarians to be taught the four Gallican articles of 1682; while the arrangement of the articles, by combining regulations for Catholics and Protestants, placed all religions on a level, and maintained the obvious principle of liberty of conscience.

All the formalities having been completed, the First Council nominated the new bishops. On March 30, Capotoni, who had received authority to nominate the First Council members, learnt that Bonaparte intended to nominate ten constitutional bishops. He was deeply mortified, for, though on his arrival in Paris he heard that the number would be fifteen, and though, on March 18, he had been asked if he would accept constitutional members, he had, during the negotiations at Arona, been lulled into the belief that no constitutional bishops would

he nominated. On April 9 he was received by Bonaparte in a solemn audience. Although he had been promised an exemption from the oath, usually exacted from papal legates, he read a Latin dedication, promising to respect the Gallican liberties. Next day the Minister announced that he had signed the dedication. He protested, but was told that the matter was of no consequence; and there, with characteristic weakness, he let it rest. But he insisted that, if the constitutional bishops were to receive institution, they must retract their error. Their refusal was unanimous, but they consented to sign a letter drawn up by Bonaparte and Portalis by which they renounced the civil constitution. Caprara was induced to accept this, but he required that it should be publicly announced that the constitutional nominees had been reconciled to the Holy See after explicitly confessing their late error before Bonaparte and Portalis. These two men, on the morning of their consecration as Bishops of Orléans and Vannes, informed the Cardinal that these conditions had been fulfilled. Caprara thereupon (April 17) nominated the constitutional Bishops, who next day denied the truth of the statement.

The publication of the Concordat took place on Easter Day (April 18, 1802). Bonaparte's victory was complete. He had triumphed over the Jacobins by forcing the grounds to come to Jacobin, by the Organic Articles he had apparently retained the clergy to the condition of an obedient department of the State; by the convention with the Pope he had made an alliance with the most powerful moral force in Europe, had removed all religious reasons for opposition to the Republic, and had established his own position more firmly than ever. Nor can it be doubted that to the mass of the French people the achievement was most acceptable. What opposition there was had arisen among the remnants of the old revolutionists; but the loyalty of the bulk of the younger generation to the Catholic Church was shown by the enthusiasm which hailed Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme*. In so far, then, as the policy of the Concordat agreed with the wishes of the French nation, there is nothing to be said against it. But experience was to show that in some ways its effect was the reverse of what Bonaparte intended. He had hoped that the clergy would revive its old loyalty to the Government, and count all encroachments of the papal power. He did not see that, by putting the parish priests absolutely into the hands of the bishops, he gave the latter an army which might some day be used against him; and that, by depriving the bishops of their lands, he deprived them, now that they had lost their self-taxing power, of the moderating influence they had been able to exercise over the Government of the same region, and reduced them, in case of conflict with the civil power, to rely for support on their ancient rival, the Pope. The decay of Gallicanism and the rise of Ultramontanism in France during the nineteenth century is to be attributed in no small degree to the Revolution and to the Concordat of 1801.

At present, however, the First Consul had every reason for satisfaction. Such was not the case with the Pope. When he heard of the Organic Articles, he delivered an allocution, which was the first of a series of papal protests against them; and he considered Caprea's weakness in the matter of the oath tantamount to treason. Caprea, too, had said that Bonaparte would communicate at Easter; and here again the Pope had been disappointed. In short, the effect at Rome of the news of recent events in Paris was disastrous; but, as the Pope did not wish to break with the Power which alone could restore to him his territories, he pretended to be satisfied with the explanation that the Articles were necessary police regulations. Meanwhile, in Paris, Caprea was busy running his master's interests. In May the concession to the smaller diocesan bishops. Bonaparte desired that the constitutional clergy should be left undisturbed so far as possible, and treated the legitimate clergy with more harshness. Caprea, on his side, insisted on obtaining a retraction from the constitutional clergy. On hearing this, Bonaparte tried to intimidate the Legate by a threat to convert the French to Protestantism. Even Caprea saw through this, so Panconot, Talleyrand, the Archbishop of Aix, and Bessier in turn berated the unfortunate Cardinal with notes declaring that his obstinacy was ruining the new settlement. Their efforts, combined with a judicious offer by Bonaparte of the archbishopric of Milan, and an unbounded confidence in the piety and good faith of the First Consul, induced Caprea to give way. The Pope also yielded on this point, as he was not in a position to make trouble; for, by restoring France and Ancona, and by representing to the King of Naples that Benevento and Pechia Corvo belonged to the Church, the French Government had laid the Curia under a considerable obligation.

The First Consul's wishes, therefore, thanks to Caprea, had now been met by the Pope in every respect; and relations between the two Powers became cooled. But it was not to be expected that this ill-assorted pair would long remain on friendly terms. The compliance of the Pope led Bonaparte to make further demands. He required, in relation of the privileges of the other Catholic Powers, that the five vacant places in the College of Cardinals should be filled by Frenchmen. If the Pope would not create five French Cardinals, he would allow none at all, and would hold no communication with the Sacred College. Here again the Pope had to give way.

Matters followed a similar course when Bonaparte asked tenepapists for an Italian Concordat; the Pope was unwilling to grant it, but unable to resist. In 1806 a concordat between the Pope and the Italian Republic was formed, on the same basis as that with France, but its terms were generally more favorable to the Church. The religion of the Italian Republic continued to be that of Rome: two bishoprics were suppressed and only three archbishoprics allowed, cathedral chapters

were to be reduced; and education was put under the control of the bishops. A decree was added, exempting the clergy from any obligation to marry persons suffering from a consensual impediment. But in February, 1804, Michel, the Vice-President, issued a *decree analogue* to the Organic Articles. The Pope protested that Bonaparte, as President, by allowing this decree, had violated the Concordat. The first article of the decree maintained certain laws which the Concordat had explicitly repealed; by another the President claimed certain rights formerly assumed by the Emperor, but never recognized by the Pope, and leaving no part of the privileges of the Duke of Milan, to which alone the President was entitled by the Concordat; thirdly, by adding the word "definitely" to the clause stating that no foundations might be suppressed save by consent of the Holy See, the decree claimed the right of "provisional" suppression; and lastly, the attempt to reserve government control over the number of monasteries and abbacies was a clear violation of one of the conditions of the treaty. To these protests, however, Bonaparte turned a deaf ear.

Within the limits of France the policy of Bonaparte required similar methods. We have seen how in May, 1803, he had insisted on the parishes being filled to a great extent by constitutional clergy. Exactly the opposite policy was followed with regard to the bishops. These were drawn for the most part from the clergy of the ancien régime, who, as converts to the Revolution and deserters from the old mass, might be relied on to give stronger support to Napoleon's government than those who had never wavered in their allegiance to the new order. But, to ensure the submission of the clergy, the prefects were ordered, on May 31, 1803, to exercise a censorship over all the pastoral letters of the bishops. When these protested, the regulation was interpreted as an order that the letters should be handed in to the prefect and printed at the Press of the prefecture. Any attempts at independence on the part of the clerical as of the secular Press were soon crushed; and in 1803 all the clerical papers were united into one, the *Journal des Curés*, issued under the strict supervision of the Government.

If Bonaparte hoped that the secular clergy of France would support him in the event of a quarrel with the Pope, and would use their influence for the purposes of facilitating conscription—and in the latter case his confidence was not misplaced—he saw clearly that the regular clergy might prove less amenable. Taking advantage of the peace proclaimed by the Concordat, many of the old religious Orders had returned to France and resumed their educational work. In June, 1803, Bonaparte suppressed all such communities in the German territories recently annexed to France, and in January, 1803, he issued an order to the prefects to prevent the revival of these Orders. In June, 1804, he decreed the suppression of all unauthorized congregations, and especially of the "*Filles de la Foi*," who disguised under that name the old Society

of Jesus; but this sweeping decree was not rigorously carried out. Charitable communication was not molested; and Napoleon put under the high protection of his mother five communities of sisters engaged in works of mercy.

The Organic Articles had provided for the use of one liturgy and one catechism throughout France. Sure for the observance of the festival of St. Napoleon on August 15, better known as the feast of the Assumption, the single liturgy seems to have been an unachieved ideal; but the *titulorum* was ready in 1803, and made no small stir. It was based on that of Bonaire. But the First Council delayed its publication until his proclamation as Emperor, and in September, 1805, Council issued it. He ordered Caprara to prevent its appearance, on the ground that the publication of a catechism by command of the Emperor would be an infringement of the rights of the Church. In February, 1806, Caprara sanctioned the catechism; and the Vatican had to content itself with reprimanding its Legate. But the catechism did not satisfy the bishops; and Cardinal Fisch discovered the reason. It did not contain the doctrine *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. Aware that a catechism which damned those who dared resist the Emperor should be well received, Napoleon, contrary to the spirit of the Organic Articles, inserted the doctrine. Local appeals greeted the appearance of the catechism; the bishops recorded their objections till 1814.

The proclamation of Napoleon Bonaparte as First Consul for Life in August, 1802, marks a further step in the development of his policy towards the Holy See. During the negotiations for the Concordat, La Fayette had remarked, "*Citoyen Consul, comme que vous voulez nous faire croire la fable sur la tête*", and Bonaparte had not denied it. Now that he was in power for life, all his relations with the Pope are seen to lead up to a coronation in Paris by the Pope. In order to persuade Pius VII to comply, he held out hopes of still further concessions to the Holy See; but he hinted that disaster would follow if the Pope refused. Casati, who showed himself too sympathetic with the Curia, was recalled, and the First Consul appointed as ambassador at Rome his own uncle, Cardinal Fisch, who proved as bad a diplomatist as he was, subsequently, a good bishop.

In March, 1804, Fisch demanded the extradition of an Englishman who was supposed to be implicated in the plots, but, as a nationalized Russian subject, was in no way amenable to the French courts. The Pope would have resisted this demand, had he not been cowed by the news of the murder of the Duc d'Enghien; once again he capitulated. On May 16, 1804, Napoleon was declared Emperor. A week earlier he had consulted Caprara on the subject of the coronation. The pious Legate advised the Pope to accede to Napoleon's wishes; but Pius VII. received the French advances coldly. The blood of the Duc d'Enghien was still fresh on Napoleon's hands. From motives of courtesy nothing

was said about this, but other excuses were put forward. The demand was unrepresented; and Paris was far from Rome. Some religious reasons must be alleged for such a request, compliance with which would probably offend the Court of Vienna. The coronation oath must not contain any allusion to the Organic Articles, or to liberty of worship; some allusion must be paid to the protests against Pius's decree; the constitutional bishops must retract their errors before the Pope in person. Caprara, who seems to have assured Napoleon that no difficulties would arise, was covered with confusion on receiving the despatch; and, on learning its import, Napoleon roughly refused to receive the Legate. The Pope, however, was master of the situation, and Napoleon's diplomatic efforts show that he was aware of this. Bonald's mission proving vain, the Emperor declared that, if his demands were not granted, the blame of overthrowing the Church settlement would fall on the Pope. Insult succeeded where threats and flattery had failed. Napoleon suggested that Pius VII had written to Vienna for advice. Struck to the quick, the Pope decided to go to Paris in order to prove his good faith. Fresh gifts announced that the Pope's religious scruples would be respected; but, to the latter's disgust, the formal letter of invitation contained no mention of the interests of religion. As it was too late to decline, the Pope started, doubting whether he had not been tricked again, and leaving, at a sad, an act of abjection against the event of his being detained in France against his will.

The Pope was received by the common people with enthusiasm and devotion; but by the officials generally, the "*Dominus universalis*," though treated with respect, was made to feel his inferiority to the Emperor of the French. The only advantages that he was able to gain from his journey were the ceremonial marriage of Napoleon and Josephine the night before the coronation, and the omission of any mention in the *Moniteur* of the Emperor's self-coronation. That he could insist on the ceremonial marriage shows how advantageous a position Pius VII held before the coronation; while his failure to obtain the retrocession of the Legations, the restoration of the Church to a "*dominant*" position, or the abolition of divorce, is strong evidence of his hostility or his lack of firmness. After the coronation, the Pope's demands were met by polite reminders of the Emperor's services to the Church, and by assurances of Napoleon's desire for its welfare; and in March, 1806, Pius VII left Paris on his return to Rome.

Pius VII had now reached the end of his career. The spiritual gains won for the Church had not been obtained without sacrifice of principle, while the territorial advantages derived from his Gallophile policy had not been equal to his expectations. His compliance with Napoleon's demands had led to personal humiliation. Now, however, the turning-point was reached. The Emperor's arrogance rapidly increased; and the Pope determined to take no more concessions. The



Emperor became a persecutor, the Pope a martyr. But, though these were spiritual questions at issue in the quarrel, the clash was caused by temporal considerations. Napoleon's continental policy was incompatible with the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. The differences, however, were at first of another kind. In June, 1808, the Cede Napoleon was extended to Italy. As it permitted divorce, the Pope protested against this fresh violation of the Italian Concordat. As usual, the Emperor needed his services in religion, but authorized Pius to propose modifications. The promise was not fulfilled, and it was forgotten in the more serious trouble that arose over the marriage of Jerome. The light-hearted ruler had, at the age of nineteen and without his mother's leave, married a Miss Patterson, of Baltimore. When the Empire was proclaimed, Jerome brought his wife back to Europe. The Emperor, who could not brook this rebuffance and had other matrimonial projects for Jerome, asked the Pope to quash the marriage, which, according to the decrees of the Council of Trent, was nullified by its secrecy. But the Pope replied that, as the decrees of Trent had never been published at Baltimore, he could not annul the union. Napoleon declared, perhaps with truth, that the Pope's refusal was a piece of optics because the Legations had not been returned to the Church; and, during June was no means of overcoming the Pope's resistance, he dispensed with his services and quashed Jerome's marriage by an Imperial edict.

If Napoleon had succeeded in keeping this dispute secret, his next step revealed to the whole world the delicate nature of his relations with the Pope. From this time forward, Napoleon gradually resumed his hold over the Papal States, and entered on the policy which was finally to lead to their annexation and thus to complete the breach between him and Pius VII. When, in 1808, war between Austria and France was impending, the Court of Naples offered its neutrality, if the French Emperor would withdraw General Saint-Cyr from Otranto. Anxious to concentrate his forces, Napoleon, who was rather over-weighted by his combinations, agreed to pay the price. He therefore ordered Saint-Cyr to join Massena on the Adige; but instructed him, while on the way, to occupy Ancona.

For a time the Pope made no sign. Austria, with whom he was on bad terms, as he misunderstood the situation as to protest against the Pope's deplorable breach of neutrality in allowing the passage of the French troops; and indeed it was generally believed that the French occupied Ancona with the concurrence of the Pontifical Government. But, after hearing of this and Treviso, the Pope sent a protest to Napoleon. It reached him on the anxious days before Ancona, and seemed to be a deliberate attempt to add to his difficulties. In his reply, written after the victory, Napoleon made no secret of his feelings. He told the Pope that Ancona had been occupied to protect the Holy See; and, in a violent letter to Pius, he threatened that, if the Pope continued his

unsustainable intensions, he would be reduced to the condition of Bishop of Rome. To justify his conduct, the Pope asserted that his protest was made to remove the impression that he was in collusion with the French, and once more claimed the Legations and the repayment of money advanced to the French troops. But Napoleon now had further designs. The Continental Blockade must be enforced, the British ministers, Jackson, expelled, and the Papal ports closed to the British, the Russians, and the Swedes. This exorbitant request was put forward by Napoleon as successor of Charlemagne, Emperor of Rome. Seeing the storm coming, Jackson withdrew; but the other demands had to be met. In accordance with the advice of the Sacred College, the Pope refused to close his ports, as he had no grudge against the nations concerned; and he pointed out that, in calling himself Emperor of Rome, his Imperial Majesty was talking nonsense.

Had not the general been so better, the recall of French might have improved the situation. The Cardinal was no longer on speaking terms with the Pope. He had grossly offended the Papal Government of complicity in the murder of a French trader, of making the tax levied for the maintenance of the French garrisons as vexatious as possible, and of fanning brands of men for the murder of isolated French soldiers. The aggravation of the situation gave Napoleon an opportunity of assuaging the Papal Court by submitting a layman for a cardinalate, but, by obtaining an ambassador with whom the Pope was on speaking terms, the Quarrel escaped from a difficulty so long as French war at Rome, the only channel of communication between the Quirinal and the Vatican was Caprara, who was now more than useful to the Pope, for the Emperor had paid his debts.

Before his departure from Rome, French notified the Pontifical Government of the accession of Joseph Bonaparte as King of Naples. In reply, Consalvi reminded him of the ancient suzerainty of the Pope over that kingdom, and put in a claim for homage. To this proud but injudicious overture Napoleon replied by advancing still further into the Papal States. If the Pope refused to close his ports, they must be closed for him: the Continental Blockade was not to be nullified by the obstinacy of an insignificant Power. Joseph therefore was unprompted to send Grégoire Vaucher; and the protest against this step furnished an excellent excuse for completing the occupation of the Papal ports by the seizure of Ostia, while Bracciano and Porto Cervo were granted as principalities to Talleyrand and Bernadotte.

But the dismemberment of the Papal States did not strike the Pope's imagination, though he accepted Consalvi's resignation, which had been offered as a conciliatory measure. On July 1, 1806, Napoleon, in a violent interview with Caprara, threatened to occupy the whole of the Pope's territory. Seeing the approach of war with Prussia, Napoleon was anxious that the Pope should be terrified into yielding before the

which became acute. The troops at Ancona and Civita Vecchia were therefore ordered to seize the Papal revenues and incorporate the Papal troops in the French army; and, on July 8, the new viceroy, Alquier, a former member of the Convention, presented an ultimatum, bidding the Pope choose between surrender and annihilation. But, although Caprara and Spina implored the Pope to yield, Pius VII would not give way, and events in the north for a time averted the threatened blow. After Jena, Napoleon tried to induce the Pope to capitulate by negotiating through the vicars at Dresden. But the Emperor's difficulties were the Pope's opportunity. In October, 1806, he refused to ratify Napoleon's promises to his legates in the newly annexed Venetian territory, on the ground that the Italian Concordat did not apply to those lands. Charged at Rome, and busy with his combinations against Russia, Napoleon could only complain to Eugene of the intransigence of the legate occupying the Roman Court.

But the tables were turned when the Treaty of Tilsit left Napoleon free. The Emperor's tone became unbearably arrogant, and the retirement of Talleyrand from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs removed the digital pen which had softened down so many harsh decrees. As the Papal posts were in Napoleon's hands, it is not surprising that an offer made by Pius VII in October, 1807, to close his ports and meet the Emperor's wishes in any matter not entailing war, should have been considered insufficient. In spite, however, of Lamarca's assumption of the style of governor of the occupied Papal provinces, and in spite of his imprisonment of the officials who protested against the usurpation, the Pope hesitated to complete the rupture. Very little more was needed, for the Pope had revoked Caprara's powers and ordered Cardinal de Boyen, the Papal plenipotentiary, to prepare to leave Paris.

Napoleon, however, seems to have decided to give the Pope an opportunity of making peace. A draft treaty was submitted, under the terms of which the Pope, in return for the Emperor's protection, would close his ports to British, Dutch, and Prussian ships; make peace with France; surrender Ancona, Civita Vecchia, and Ostia, recognize the new dynasty; abandon his claims against Naples; and extend the Italian Concordat to Venetia. Further, one-third of the Sacred College was to be French, and a new Concordat was to be made for the Confederation of the Rhine. To these stipulations were added, in the original draft, two clauses, directing that no protests should be made against the Gallican liberties, and that the treaty should be accepted without reserve. These clauses French had succeeded in removing, but Champagny refused to promise that they would not be inserted. The Sacred College, to whom these preposterous proposals were submitted, emphatically rejected them. Napoleon thereupon ordered General Miolla to occupy the Castle of Saint Angelo, in order "to protect the rear of the Neapolitan army," and "to clear

Rome of legends." Alquier was ordered to control the press and to crush any action against French interests; while Napoleon announced his resolve that, should the Pope issue any bull against him, he would arrest the Papal States.

When, therefore, on February 2, 1808, Media carried out the Emperor's commands, the Papal States became French in everything but in name. The Papal army was absorbed in the French, and, by the expulsion of the Neapolitan cardinals, the disorganisation of the Pontifical Government was rendered complete. As soon as any Secretary of State appeared to be gaining influence over the Pope, he was driven from the capital; and only the personal intervention of Pius VII saved the last Secretary, Cardinal Fieschi, from a similar fate. Last summer paragonage was incessantly thrown into prison. At last, on May 17, 1809, Napoleon issued from Schönbrunn an Imperial decree annulling the "donation of Charlemagne, our august predecessors," and annexing Rome to the Empire. On June 10 the tricolour replaced the Papal banner over the Castle of Sant' Angelo. "Communism at," exclaimed Pius VII, with the gift's profanity of an Italian; and the next day there was affixed to the doors of the three chief basilicas, a bull, "Cum occasione," which, after asserting the supremacy of the Pope over all temporal sovereigns in language worthy of Boniface VIII, communicated the deposition of the Church. The reply to the bull was not long delayed. On July 6 the Pope and Cardinal Fieschi were carried off. At Grenoble they were separated; the Pope was taken to Avignon, and thence to Savona; Fieschi was imprisoned at Fossifortia.

This act of violence was done by Napoleon's orders, of this his letters to Maret furnish conclusive proof. If he thought that the Pope's stubbornness would be bent by such methods, he was grievously mistaken. Now that he was really deprived of his freedom, and so cut off from his friends that he was compelled to make a secretary of his will, Pius VII became infinitely more powerful than before. His policy was simple. He refused to perform any pontifical acts, knowing that, sooner or later, Napoleon would be put to serious inconvenience. Napoleon, on his part, tried, by an expedient which seemed perilously allied to certain Protestant ideas, to substitute the Gallican Church for the Pope. No doubt this had been the logical conclusion of the claims of the French bishops under the ancien régime, but never had the Church of France been in such danger of a supremacy of the Yulor type as during the later years of the First Empire. Confronted by the Pope's opposition, Napoleon announced in November, 1809, an Ecclesiastical Commission, with Fesch, Murry, and Emery as its most prominent members, for the purpose of advising the Government upon the questions at issue. Proceeding to the inquiries submitted to it, the Commission denied the arbitrary power of the Pope in Church affairs, and sharply distinguished the spiritual from the temporal power of the Papacy.

Therefore, as the Concordat was a "synallagmatic contract" between Napoleon and Pius VII, the latter was bound to observe it, and it was implicitly agreed that the annexation of Rome—a matter which did not touch the Concordat—was not sufficient to justify the Pope in refusing to institute the new bishops. So far, the report of the Commission was in Napoleon's favour; but, on the other hand, a protest was offered, denouncing the liberty of the Pope, while protests were raised against certain of the Organic Articles. Further, a National Council was declared incompetent to deal with questions which concerned the whole of Christendom, what was needed was a General Council, which could only be held under the presidency of the Pope. Finally, although Napoleon had not "essentially" violated the Concordat, the separation of the Pope from his cardinals was a serious matter of complaint, "the force and justice of which His Majesty would readily perceive."

These remarks made in no way satisfied the Emperor, and in January, 1808, the Commission was suppressed. Hostile French men were filling vacant; and dissatisfaction at the Emperor's policy had been rapidly growing. In spite of orders to the newspapers against any mention of the Pope, the ball of insurrection and the replacement of Pius VII had become known. The former was secretly circulated throughout France by an association called the Congregation of Paris, to which many of the nobility belonged. It had been founded in 1801, by an ex-Jesuit, as a purely charitable institution; but, its methods now becoming political, Napoleon arrested Abbé de Noailles and the other members. The Congregation pretended to dissolve, and thus anticipated the decree which suppressed all such bodies (October 1, 1808). On the failure of the Commission, the Emperor repudiated the doctrine of the Church by Sacred Councils. It was by this means that the coping-stone was set upon the scheme of religious persecution on February 17, 1808. On that day the Senate passed a decree which, while annexing Rome as a free Imperial city, granting palaces to the Pope at Paris, Rome, and elsewhere, and guaranteeing him an income of 3,000,000 francs, declared that spiritual authority could not be exercised by a foreign Power within the Empire, and provided that future Popes, at their enthronement, should swear not to contravene the Gallian Articles of 1682, which were hereby declared common to all the Churches of the Empire. The result was that, in Italy, bishops and priests refused to adhere to these articles, and were transported in hundreds to Corsica, where they remained in strict seclusion until the fall of Napoleon.

The next victims of the Emperor's rage were the cardinals. Unable to obtain from the Pope a decree nullifying the union with Josephine and a faculty for marrying Marie-Louise, Napoleon created a chapter for the Archbishop of Paris, which granted his demands. Councils and twelve of the cardinals who had been brought to Paris refused to attend the nuptial ceremony. They were driven from the wedding reception

with every caution. Transported to various provincial towns, they were reduced by the confiscation of their property to dependence on charity, and, being forbidden to wear the robes of their rank, they received the name of the "Black Cardinals."

The question of the vacant sees of France and Italy continually grew more urgent. On the advice of Cardinal Maury, who had deserted Louis XVIII, measure was had to an expedient employed by Louis XIV in similar circumstances. The Emperor's nominee was to be appointed by the Chapter as provisional administrator of the diocese. But, unlike Louis XIV, Napoleon could not count on the support of the Chapters. The Congregation mostly distributed heads from Savona, forbidding the Chapters to obey the Government's orders. Some Chapters resisted; that of Paris refused to accept Maury as archbishop. "Anxious to protect his subjects from the rage and fury of this ignorant and puerile old man," Napoleon deprived the Pope of all writing materials, and even of the Fisherman's ring. But, in spite of this disgraceful treatment, Pius VII showed as yet no signs of yielding, although in 1810 Napoleon had made several efforts to induce him to come to terms. Labouchère (the Austrian diplomatist), then Spurz and Casati, tried to persuade the Pope to give way, but he absolutely refused, except under physical compulsion, to live anywhere but at Rome or Savona. He continued to demand liberty as a preliminary to all negotiation.

A new Commission was therefore appointed in January, 1811. Like its predecessor, this body demanded the liberation of the Pope. It declared the dissenting bishops capable of granting dispensations, and suggested that, if the Pope gave no reasons for his refusal to reinstate bishops, a return might be made, after due preparation of public opinion, to the Pragmatic Sanction of 1456. But it shrunk from the responsibility of actually recommending such a step, and reported in favour of the convocation of a National Council. Summoning the Commission before him, Napoleon denounced the policy of Pius VII, and, entering upon a diatribe on the authority of the Pope, was completely routed by Maury. He now decided to summon the National Council, but, at the moment of its assembly, he made one final effort to obtain the Pope's adhesion to the Senate Consultum of February 11, 1810. One Italian and three French bishops were despatched for this purpose. After ten days' negotiation (May 10-22), they succeeded in extracting an unsigned paper by which the Pope agreed that a provision should be inserted in the Concordate that, if he did not within six months give satisfaction to the Emperor's nominee, the right was to lapse to the Metropolitan. No sooner were the bishops gone than Pius VII repented. But it was too late; Napoleon had won the game.

The National Council met on June 17, in a spirit of sincere devotion to Pius VII. An oath of fidelity to the Pope was immediately taken.

and long debates ensued on the vexed question of the relations of the Pope to the Council. Napoleon desired that the Papal agent should follow the decisions of the Council; but the opposition to this was very strong. On July 2 the Council declared that nothing could be done unless the Pope had given his assent to its constitution, and they appointed a commission to learn his intentions. Napoleon's anger passed all bounds. Enraging the more numerous, he sent a message announcing that the Pope had been pleased to agree to the Emperor's demands. Though shaken at first by this news, the Council on the following day became convinced of its folly, and reaffirmed the decree of July 2. The Emperor forthwith dissolved the Council, and imprisoned three of its leaders at Vincennes.

One more Cardinal Mazarin came to the Emperor's help, and remarked that wine which is bad is often good in bottle. Applying this parable, Napoleon summoned individually those members of the Council who had remained in Paris. As these prelates viewed the Emperor's policy with some favour, the task of converting them was not difficult. In a fortnight the persuasive arguments of the Minister of Public Worship, backed up by the sinister presence of the Minister of Police, bore fruit; and when, on August 8, the mutilated Council met once more, it decreed by a great majority that wine could not be tasted so pure that a pope, and that, if the Pope did not give constitution within six months, the right was to lapse to the Metropolitan.

The Imperial supremacy seemed now to be complete. By the decree concerning Rome, the Temporal Power was abolished and the Pope deprived of his necessary liberty; the legislature, in the Senate Constitution of February 25, 1808, had defined the doctrine of the national Church; and now, by a decree of the National Council, the clergy had shaken themselves free of the spiritual supremacy of the Pope. But there was a fatal flaw in this constitution. The decree of the National Council was expressly reserved for the approval of the Pope, without which it was null. Pius VII was not likely to sign away his spiritual supremacy, but Napoleon set himself to persuade him to do so. He sent some Italian cardinals to Rome to act as the Pope's advisers, and he carefully regulated the behaviour of the commissioners of the Council which brought the decree. The Pope, on the advice of the treacherous cardinals, yielded and on September 26 signed the brief "*Ex quo*," which not only nullified the Council's decree, but contained its very words. To the general surprise, Napoleon refused to accept the brief. Its language amounted to "the Gregorians and Bonifacians"; and it did not explicitly extend the French method of appointing bishops to the late Papal States. But, though Napoleon tried to obtain a brief which merely accepted the decree *in toto*, Pius VII refused to issue another. He repeated his demand for liberty. Napoleon replied by asking for his resignation. It was clear that a real settlement was further off than ever. Pius VII

was reduced to the straitened captivity which he had undergone before the negotiations began; and Napoleon, bated himself, amid his preparations against Russia, with a persecution of the clergy who seemed to be devoted to his rule.

In May, 1804, to prevent the British carrying off the Pope, and under the pretence of doing a favour to the Emperor of Austria who was interceding for him, Napoleon ordered Pius VII to be brought to Fontainebleau. Pius VII arrived safely on June 18, although he nearly died on the way, and there he lived, in strict seclusion, during the Russian campaign. That disaster changed the whole situation. It was now the Pope who held the Emperor in his hand; and on December 19, 1805, Napoleon made advances for a settlement of the dispute. His demands were more exorbitant than ever; he knew that the Pope would refuse them, but thought that a compromise would probably represent his real desire. On January 18, 1806, he suddenly descended upon Fontainebleau, and was apparently reconciled to the Pope. The two shut themselves up together for several days, and discussed the treaty. The result was that, on January 25, the Emperor and the Pope signed the preliminaries known as the Concordat of Fontainebleau. The first announced his pretensions to the Catholicity of the Gallican Articles, his claim that the Catholic sovereigns should nominate two-thirds of the Sacred College, and his demand that the Pope should condemn the conduct of the Black Cardinals and exclude *de Pietro* and *Poma* from the assembly. On his side, the Pope yielded only by confirming the Council's decree on infallibility to bishops, but he obtained the restoration of the suburban see and the exclusive right of appointment to those sees; the vacant bishops of the Papal States were to be named bishops *in partibus*, until ones could be found for them in France and Italy, where the Pope would have the right of providing directly to ten bishoprics in each country. The Propaganda and the Propagandary were restored, and were to follow the Pope, wherever he might choose to live; and he was to enjoy a revenue of two millions.

The Pope, however, was not satisfied with the document, and this soon became clear. When the assembly restored to him the Black Cardinals, he began to betray his intentions. Napoleon, on February 15, made the Senate declare the new Concordat a law of the State. On March 24 the Pope, at the instance of the cardinals, protested against the publication of preliminaries as if they were a definite treaty, and sent a remonstrance to the Emperor, saying that he had been "*indotto in errore*." Next day Napoleon retorted by declaring the Concordat obligatory on all bishops and chapters, and asserting that instructions would render the subject accessible to the Imperial courts, not, as hitherto, to the Council of State. Finally, as the Pope had shirked the Concordat, Napoleon imprisoned again *de Pietro* and many of the clergy who had been released by its solemnity clause. But the Emperor's



division in Germany enabled the clergy to display him; and the Pope had no difficulty in making his wishes known.

After the crushing defeat of Leipzig, Napoleon became a suppliant; and the Pope took full advantage. Knowing that the Allies were fighting his battle, Pius VII turned a deaf ear to Napoleon's entreaties. At last, when, in January, 1813, the Allies crossed the Rhine, Napoleon offered the restoration of the Papal States. The offer was rejected, such a restoration was an act of justice, and could not be the subject of a treaty. On January 24 the Austrians entered Bologna, and the Pope was again carried off to Savona. When the Allies at Cortina demanded his liberation, Napoleon ordered him to be conducted to the Austrian outposts; and on March 19 he left Savona on his return to Rome. His captivity had lasted nearly five years.

The year 1805 was another dispute between the Emperor and the Pope reach a critical point. The negotiations for a Concordat with the Confederation of the Rhine were finally broken off. The condition of the German Church was little less than chaotic. During the last decade of the eighteenth century, Josephism had spread widely through the German Courts; and there were many cries for Church reform. In 1805 an attempt was made to satisfy the demand. On February 23 the Diet pronounced the decree of secularization. By that famous Act not only was the sovereignty of the ecclesiastical Princes of the Empire extinguished, but the landed property of the Church was handed over to the civil power. As in Prussia, compensation was offered to the clergy in the form of a state salary, which of itself was sufficient evidence of their dependence on the State. That the Governments were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity is evident from the general suppression of monasteries in consequence of the Decree.

Here, indeed, they were merely following the example of the second Catholic State in Germany. So early as 1803, Bavaria had begun, under Maximilian, a general reform of the Church on Josephian lines. Not only was an attack made upon the Monastic Order, but the supremacy of the State over the Church was uncompromisingly asserted by this Catholic monarchy. A "spiritual" council, consisting of three Protestants and two Catholics, was formed for the regulation of Church affairs. Not unexpectedly, the Pope resented it, and the objectionable council was dissolved.

Other German Governments, by virtue of a right long inherent in Protestant States at least, entrusted the Church to the supervision of a single minister. The most prominent of such were Benedict Wackelsdorf in Württemberg, Philip Joseph Branner in Baden, John Levin von Koch in Nassau, and John Henry Schmiedling in Prussia, where, in 1813, an attempt was to be made to put the Catholic Church under the rule of the Lutheran consistory. The sum of these ministries was

at first not so much to separate the Church from Rome as to make the dioceses of these countries continuous with the boundaries of the State. A rearrangement of the German sees was indeed imperative. The growth of the German States and the disappearance of the Empire took away all cause for the existence of dioceses and states which prevailed throughout Germany; and the loss of the left bank of the Rhine had transferred some of the most important sees in Germany to France. There is no greater symptom of the change in the German Church than the fall of Mainz. That great church, the metropolitan see of all Germany, was reduced to the rank of a suffragan of Mainz. The Archbishop, the sole remaining spiritual member of the Electoral College, was transferred to Batisbon, where a small ecclesiastical State maintained a precarious and anomalous existence in the new Germany.

But, at the end of the Napoleonic war, the rulers of the German States, taking advantage, doubtless, of the position of the Pope, took a further step, and definite attempts were made to rid the Church of extraneous jurisdiction. In 1801 Prussia tried to unite her Catholic dioceses under one Prussian Catholic Patriarch. More significant still, in 1802, the King of Württemberg appointed a Vice-General at Ellwangen. This office, unable to obtain institution from the Pope at Fontenaybleau, was ordered by his Government to take possession at once, but only obtained canonical institution from Ellwangen, the Elector of the Confederation, after having been three months at his post. The Curia, while it disclaimed these changes, was not in a position to quarrel with any individual State, except in the case of Bavaria, with whom relations were broken off in 1805. The Government of Bavaria claimed the right of landlords to the alienation of the churches as their property. This led to friction with the Tyrolian bishops, who appealed to Rome with success. But the Government stood firm, the bishops of Chur and Trent were deported from their dioceses, and the negotiations for a Bavarian Concordat came to an end.

The idea of a Bavarian Concordat had been mooted as early as 1801. For this purpose, the Court of Munich had, in that year, opened relations with the Vatican, and the First Consul, anxious to increase his influence in Germany, accepted with alacrity the proffered post of mediator. But Rome, displeased with Montebello's suppression of the Mendicant Orders, and unwilling to make concessions in Germany, determined to deal with the Empire as a whole, and rejected the suggestion of France. Ellwangen, however, was anxious for the conclusion of a Concordat with the whole Empire; for by this means, and by Napoleon's favour, he hoped to become Patriarch of Germany. In this he was at variance with the Bavarian policy, but was supported by the desire of secularisation. Bavaria again appealed to the First Consul, who instructed Fouché to support its claims. A triangular dispute, which existed between the Diet, the Pope, and Bavaria, remained indecisive, for the

situation was changed by the quarrel about Ancona, and by the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine. The position of Dalberg as Primate and that of Napoleon as Protector, of the Confederation filled the Roman Court with apprehensions of the realisation of Josephist ideas under their influence. The Vatican at once reversed its policy: rather than strengthen the Confederation, it would negotiate with the individual Courts. Napoleon also changed his plans: he desisted from Bavaria, demanded from the Pope a Concordat for the Confederation, and secured the Holy See of raising the Church in Germany. But the rupture with Bavaria did not serve Napoleon, for the Papacy continued to discuss the Concordat with the Confederation with more than usual deliberation. Dalberg drew up a scheme which satisfied his own ambitions, and which made him almost a German Pope. But Caprara, for once, did his master a service. Knowing the jealousy entertained by the Princes towards Dalberg, he secretly proposed that they should send plenipotentiaries to the conference on the Concordat, and thereby started the prospects of the Primate's exaltation. No more was heard of the Concordat, for in December, 1806, Pius VII formally broke off negotiations; and, although Napoleon had vigorously upbraided the Pope for neglecting the "pathetic Church" of Germany, not a word was said about it in the Concordat of Fontainebleau. It was reserved for the Germany of the Congress of Vienna to discuss and settle the tangled relations between Church and State.

It now remains to say a few words on the relations of Napoleon with the non-Roman and the non-Christian bodies under his rule. The Protestants of France were to Napoleon an unknown quantity. He imagined Protestantism to be a many-headed hydra, difficult to control. When he was drawing up the Organic Articles in 1806, a report was presented to him, recommending that, although the Government had declared the Catholic religion to be that of the majority of Frenchmen, it should never the less protect the Protestants, and give them the enjoyment of the same privileges as Catholics except as to the payment of their ministers. This distinction was based on the ground that the Concordat, by allowing the intervention of the State in Church affairs, gave compensation for the loss incurred in paying the bishops and priests. A further report on the Protestants, dated March 12, 1806, dealt with their civil rights and with police regulations for their worship, but, as nothing was said in it about the manner of nomination and about the oath of the ministers at their installation, Bonaparte disapproved of it.

Eventually the question was settled in the Organic Articles themselves. Forty-four of these dealt with the Protestants. They were divided into two Churches, the Lutheran, for the inhabitants of the German departments, and the Reformed, for the French Huguenots.

These articles were strictly framed to prevent any foreign influence filtering into France through the Protestants; and much importance was attached to the education of ministers. Two seminaries for the Lutherans, and one at Geneva for the Huguenots, were to be set up under the control of teachers appointed by the Government. Ministers were to be chosen by the local consistory, and their names submitted to the Government for approval. Before a minister could enter on his duties he had to take the oath imposed on the Roman clergy.

The Reformed or Huguenot churches were divided into local consistories, five of which formed the arrondissement of a synod. There was to be one consistory for every 6000 Huguenots; and each consistory was to contain not less than six and not more than twelve lay members. The synod, composed of a pastor and a layman from each church, was to be held in the presence of the perfect or sub-perfect, and was to last not more than six days. The Lutheran churches differed in having superintendentes and general consistories above the local consistories. Every group of five local consistories was placed under the supervision of a superintendent and two laymen, whose appointment was subject to the confirmation of the First Council, and who were not to discharge their duties without the permission of the Government. The general consistories were to be three in number, at Strasburg, Mainz, and Cologne. They were to be composed of a lay president, two ecclesiastical inspectors, and a deputy from each "inspection." The president was to take the oath of allegiance; and the consistory was not to meet without leave from the Government or to sit for more than six days.

The Protestant articles were received with great enthusiasm by the Churches concerned. But, in the case of the Huguenots, Bonaparte had drawn the teeth of their organization. Formerly they had been governed by a General Assembly and Provincial Assemblies, which regulated their discipline. Bonaparte destroyed the General Assembly and subordinated a number of synods, whose authority was derived from the civil power. In short he nullified the Presbyterian system with still greater violence than did James VI in Scotland. He ordered the controversies of his birthday and his coronation to be observed as festivals in Protestant churches.

The Protestants were alone in finding no cause of complaint under Napoleon. No doubt, the weakness of their numbers was a protection to them. It was otherwise with the Jews. On returning from Antioch, Napoleon heard of the exorbitant interest (30 per cent.) demanded by the Jews in Alsace; and his anger was kindled by reports that this evoked conspiracy. On May 30, 1806, he suspended for a year all contracts entered into between agriculturalists and Jews in the eastern departments; and he decided to reform the "laws that were ravaging France." In order to free the Jews from the French nation, he decided to name a "Jewish State-General." He first convoked an Assembly

of Jewish Notables. One hundred and eleven deputies, sent as Notables from France and Italy; and, later, seventy-one members formed the Grand Sanhedrin, composed of rabbis and laymen in proportion of two to one. This Sanhedrin was supposed to be a revival of the Jewish tribunal at Jerusalem; its functions were to turn the decrees of the Assembly of Notables into doctrinal laws.

The questions addressed to the Assembly of Notables on behalf of the Emperor show what his intentions were. They fell into three groups. The first group deals with the relations of Jews to their neighbours and the country they live in. Are they polygamous? do they allow intermarriage with Christians? do they allow divorce without recourse to the civil power? are the French in their eyes brethren or strangers? The second group relates to the authority and position of the rabbis. The third contained the significant questions, "Is slavery lawful?" and "Are there any professions which the Jews are forbidden to exercise?" Napoleon, who had intimated that the Notables must decide in his favour, received the answer he desired in all cases. Polygamy was forbidden; divorce was allowed only before the civil Courts; intermarriage with Christians was, after discussion, permitted, as the old law only forbade marriages with the Samaritans and polytheistic races. But such marriages, though entailing no infamy, could no more be performed before rabbis than before a Christian minister. It was further decided that French Christians were the brethren of the French Jews, that France was their country, that the rabbi had no authority, that no profession was forbidden, that slavery was contrary to the Mosaic Law. The Sanhedrin turned these decisions into doctrinal laws, and, to please Napoleon, expressly allowed the possession of arms. Carried away by their benevolent feelings, they even thanked the Pope for the protection afforded to their race since the time of St Gregory.

But, while the Grand Sanhedrin might have been useful in furthering Napoleon's object of reconciling the Jews to his control, and in meeting conscription, it was useless in districts outside France, where the Jews refused to recognise its authority. The high-water mark of Imperial favour, however, had been reached; and on March 17, 1808, Napoleon issued a decree regulating Jewish worship. These Organic Articles provided that a synagogue should be erected in each department or group of departments where there were 5000 Jews, with a sanctuary to preserve order in the synagogues and facilitate conscription. A demand for salaries for the rabbis was refused; and, in order to check usury, it was enacted that loans to minors, women, soldiers, and domestic servants should be null and void, as also all loans raised on instruments of labour. "Fraudulent and ruinous usury" was cancelled; the Jews were to trade honestly; no more Jews were to enter Alsace, nor were they permitted to enter other departments except as agriculturists; every Jew was to serve in the army, and substitutes were not to be allowed; lastly, no

Jew was to engage in trade without permission from the prefect. This decree caused a strong revulsion of feeling among the Jews. Though its duration was limited to ten years, its terms were insulting; and, though Napoleon, by 1811, had annexed twenty-two departments from its operation, the Jews turned to the secret societies, which, in 1809, had declared against the Emperor.

Napoleon's relations with the Churches illustrate what has been called the paradox of his career. He began by exciting enthusiasm among his subjects as the friend and champion of religion. He took as a persecutor, and a violator of his best promises. At the end of his reign, the religious opinions of his subjects had almost universally turned against him. He was hated by the Catholics for his barbarous treatment of the Pope; he was hated by the Jews for his broken promises and his insatiable cupidity; he was hated by the secret societies for his despotism and his violation of Liberal principles.

Of these bodies the Catholics were by far the most important. Comprising as they did the majority of the populations of France, Spain, Italy, and northern Germany, they were not to be lightly regarded by a ruler who aspired to universal dominion. No one was more conscious of this than the First Consul; yet, as Emperor, he did his best to wound their most tender feelings. It may be that in reality Napoleon was aiming throughout at one object. He knew that, if his government was to be secure, he must obtain the goodwill of the Pope. But Napoleon's idea of goodwill grew to be passive obedience. Remembering the importance that he attached to friendship with Rome, he tried to obtain it by force, and found that he had secured the very aim of his policy. The Church turned against him, and undermined the basis of popular support on which he had placed his throne.

In France, the secret activity of the Congregations did much to excite that smouldering resentment against Napoleon which existed during the later years of the Empire; while the clergy, having nothing to hope for either from Napoleon or from a Republic, worked for the return of the Bourbons, whose head was, in deed as well as in name, "the Most Christian King." But the Pope's imprisonment had effects beyond France. The resistance of the Spaniards was stiffened by the thought that they were fighting not only to satisfy their wounded national pride, but were also struggling against the infidel; and in 1812 the release of the Pope was a prominent aim of the Allies.

Yet was forgetfulness of his early threats the only mistake which Napoleon made. He mistook entirely the character of the Pope's resistance. He imagined that, just as he had broken down the great continental Powers, so he could bend the petty force of the Papacy to his will. But he found that in spite of the extinction of the Temporal Power, the resistance of the Pope raised up an opposition which was as

intangible as the pressure of the Continental Blockade, and against which the mightiest army was powerless. Force menaced against the Pope so far that, when worn out by captivity and harassed by perfidious advice, Pius VII. was induced to sign the Treaty of Fontainebleau. But a Concordat of this kind, even if it had not been denounced by the Pope immediately after its signature, would have been useless. The Papacy wanted freedom if its confidence was to be given with a whole heart; deflected by an agreement which was such only in name, it aimed constantly at recovering its independence; and the antagonism between Church and State could not cease until that end had been gained.

After all, it may well be doubted whether a permanent agreement between Napoleon and the Papacy was possible. The former aimed at securing his own interest and satisfying his very ambition for universal dominion; the latter hoped by agreement with France to obtain not only peace for the Church, but the recovery of her lost possessions. There indeed lies the severest criticism that can be levelled at the policy of Pius VII. It can be plausibly urged that, in the early years of his Pontificate, while negotiating on the spiritual welfare of his flock, his energy as to the Temporal Power weakened his defence; and further, that the diplomatic ability of the Papacy was not always equal to its reputation. On more than one occasion the Pope had the advantage; had he pressed it with greater energy, he might have obtained a greater measure of success. Finally, the irresponsible character of Pius VII. led him to commit acts which were hasty, if not rash; while his denunciation of the Concordat of Fontainebleau may possibly deserve a harsher epithet. But, on the other hand, his conduct in adversity was indisputably admirable. Except at one moment, he never forgot the high traditions of his office. By his firm stand he raised the Papacy from the depths of contempt into which it had fallen during the eighteenth century, and he showed that the Holy See was a power to be reckoned with in Europe; while the patience with which he bore his sufferings in a captivity far sreater than that which his predecessor was to undergo, and the spectacle of the helpless old man, dragged across Europe at the risk of his life because he would not grant the demands of an over-weening tyrant, aroused at once the pity, the anger, and the enthusiasm of the world. In France, Pius VII. will be remembered, not only as the Pope of the Concordat, but also as the chief cause of the revival of a healthy activity of public opinion, dormant since the early days of the Directory. In Europe, the Pope, the Spaniards, and the sailors who maintained the Continental Blockade, will be associated together as the primary examples which started the nations to the rising that eventually liberated them from the despotism of Napoleon.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE COMMAND OF THE SEA.

THE chief causes which led to the renewal of war between Great Britain and France in 1803 have been described in a previous chapter. Various occurrences which preceded the actual outbreak of hostilities appeared to indicate a design on the part of the French Government to invade England. In December, 1803, instructions sent by the First Consul to his so-called commercial agents in the British ports had been intercepted, and were found to point to such an intention. On February 26, 1803, in an interview with Lord Whitworth, he assumed a threatening attitude, and declared that, in case of war, he would risk his life and reputation in an attempt to invade England, though he did not undervalue the danger of such an adventure. "He acknowledged" (said Lord Whitworth) "that there was a hundred chances to one against him," but he went on to state that he could find army after army for the enterprise.

This violent talk alarmed the British Government, the more so as, according to Lord Whitworth's despatches, it was accompanied by naval preparations. Several French and of the line had embarked troops in the Mediterranean; there was a considerable movement of French troops in Belgium towards Namur and Dunkirk; in the Italian Republic, then under French control, a small naval expedition was fitting out. The British ministry saw in these things indications that some treacherous attack was intended, and at once made counter-preparations. A royal message to Parliament (March 8) stated that the military preparations of France rendered it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution; levies were ordered to manure for enlistment in the fleet; there was a "hot press" in London for likely men; all seamen and officers in foreign employment were recalled; and the militia were embodied. The number of men voted for the navy by the estimate had been only 50,000; 16,000 more were voted on March 14, and 60,000 in addition when war became certain.

In reality, the British Government seems to have been misinformed as to the French armaments. The French archives do not reveal any



discovering movements either by land or sea, which is the more surprising, as it was not Bonaparte's habit to use threats without force to back them. The probable explanation is that he expected a long period of diplomatic correspondence to elapse before the outbreak of hostilities—a conjecture which receives support from the fact that, on March 6, General Dumas was permitted to sail for the French East Indies with a small force, with instructions drawn up in such a manner as to make it clear that war was not anticipated till about September, 1804. If Bonaparte had thought that hostilities were imminent, he would scarcely have risked the loss of this detachment. His irritation was great when, on March 14, he learnt that the British Government had taken his threats seriously, and, instead of giving way, was arming. On the same day he wrote a large number of orders and letters, all having war in view, and constituted two "national flotillas," with headquarters at Dunkirk and Cherbourg. Two days later occurred the famous scene with Lord Whitworth, with its demand of "Maitre or war," indicating that a conflict was inevitable. Yet, after this threat, Bonaparte once more drew back, perhaps to gain time for armaments and to permit Dumas to reach India. War, however, was declared by Great Britain on May 18, 1804. Bonaparte's first measure of retaliation was to seize and imprison every British subject within his reach.

At the outbreak of war the French navy consisted of 35 ships of the line ready for service or in commission, 35 frigates, and 107 corvettes or smaller vessels, with 107 small craft belonging to the *l'arsenne* flotilla of 1804. The best part of the fleet was in the West Indies, where twelve battleships, eight frigates, and 35 smaller vessels were covering the operations against San Domingo. In the home ports or in European waters only five ships of the line and ten frigates were actually ready for sea; but this force, after two months' delay, could be raised to nine ships of the line and thirteen frigates, and in six months to 31 battleships (including those from the West Indies) and 19 frigates; while 48 out of the line were under construction in the French ports. There was the same want of seamen as in the previous war, and timber and naval stores were again lacking. Of the *Bataillon* fleet, comprising fifteen out of the line, all small, only six were in commission. Five others were new and in good condition; while four stood in need of extensive repairs. The dockyards were empty, and money scarce.

The personnel of the French navy was still shrunken and inefficient. It had not recovered from the demoralization caused by the Revolution and by the terrible defeat of the Nile. The admiralships were too old, and, according to Bonaparte, lacked energy and decision. They were badly depressed by the prospects of a naval conflict, and seem to have feared Nelson with an almost superstitious dread. Service with the fleet was unpopular and inglorious, the best men went into the army rather than into the navy. The Dutch navy was in no better plight,

and was more than ever ill-disposed to France, the Batavian Government being suspected of intriguing with England. Bonaparte was credited with the intention of gradually creating a French navy of 150 sail of the line, to be supported by 50 Spanish, 50 Dutch, and 15 Genoese ships, but the construction of these vast plans demanded time, and could not have been completed in less than ten years. The alliance of Spain was guaranteed to France by treaty, but was of an little value that, though Bonaparte demanded of the Spanish Government the twelve sail of the line and the 50,000 men with whom it was bound to support France, he accepted, in lieu of this, an annual subsidy of £2,800,000.

Against the numerically weak and badly manned squadrons of France, England could place on the high sea a powerful force commanded by the men who had made their names famous in the war of 1793-1801. The fleet in commission in January, 1805, numbered 54 sail of the line with 60 50-gun ships and frigates, and numerous small craft. Beside the ships in commission, there were in reserve 77 ships of the line and 49 50-gun ships and frigates. In numbers the British navy was superior to any combination of two or even three Powers. French ships were rapidly commissioned, as the tension between England and France increased; the sail of the line in service rose in May to 56, and in June to 60, with corresponding additions to the force of frigates. Excellent officers were appointed by Lord St Vincent, then at the head of the Admiralty. For the Mediterranean, Nelson was chosen, as this was the post of the greatest danger, and would make the highest demands upon a commander's activity. In the North Sea and the Straits of Dover Lord Keith was stationed with a small fleet. The main force in waters near home was the squadron off Brest, which was to maintain a close blockade of that port; it was commanded by Cornwallis, who was probably, after Nelson, the ablest of British admirals.

The strategic position of England in the Mediterranean had been improved, as compared with that during the revolutionary war, by the acquisition of Malta. But, for the purpose of watching Toulon, Malta was of little importance; and it was usually, used by Nelson, who would have preferred the island of Minorca in exchange. In the later stages of the war, during the operations in the Adriatic and the Levant, Malta proved of greater service. The main object of the British commanders was to intercept a superior force between the French fleets at Toulon and Brest, and Malta lay out of the direct course between these ports. Until the battle of Trafalgar, the British forces in the Mediterranean made Gibraltar their chief base, and used the harbours in the north of Scotland as a "flying base" for action against Toulon.

Throughout the war the British fleets acted on interior lines, blockading the different French detachments in the various ports and preventing their junction—a strategic plan which was comparatively simple in days when the movements of ships depended on confidence

of wind and weather, and could never be calculated with exactitude beforehand. For this reason the French fleets were seldom able to combine effectively. But the difficulty of blockading both Brest and Toulon was great. Toulon, in particular, was so remote that any British force watching it was entirely out of touch with the Channel, and the blockaded squadron, if it escaped, could not be pursued immediately, since there was always doubt as to whether it would put out to sea, and this had to be ascertained before the British could move to the Channel. Bonaparte's Egyptian schemes were well known, and had been emphasised by Sebastiani's report. When Spain ceased to be neutral in 1805, the difficulties of the British admirals were much augmented, as Cadix and Cartagena both contained fleets and had to be watched or blockaded. But it was not necessary, as it had been when Spain joined France in the previous war, that the British navy should evacuate the Mediterranean.

The Italian ports, with the exception of Naples and Sicily, were under French influence or in the hands of the French, while the countries under French domination in the north of Europe extended beyond the limits of France proper as far as Hamburg and Bremen, which were more or less subject to French influence, through the French occupation of Hanover in 1803. As the war proceeded, practically the whole northern littoral of the Mediterranean became French, while in northern Europe French influence penetrated to the Baltic, so that, from the Norman to Corfu, French bayonets expelled the British flag.

Since the British navy was far better trained and prepared for war in 1805 than in 1795, the strategy adopted was bolder and more determined. On the outbreak of war, the British fleets moved up to the hostile ports in the Atlantic and the Channel, and closely blockaded them. A force was at once directed against the French in San Domingo, whence the French Admiralty had already recalled most of their ships of the line. The British forces refused to desert the French on the island, weakened as they were by disease and pressed on all sides by the negroes, and a naval blockade of the ports soon reduced them to starvation.

The first hostile movement in European waters was made by Cornwallis, who on May 17, the day before the declaration of war, put to sea with ten sail of the line, and moved towards Brest. Next day, acting under an Order in Council of May 16, directing operations to be made against France, one of his cruizers captured a French vessel. The situation of the French fleet at this moment was critical, as nine sail of the line were on their way to France from San Domingo, of whom one was captured in the West Indies, the remainder were expected by the British to sail for the Mediterranean, and preparations were made to meet them off Cape St Vincent. Contrary to expectation, they steamed for the Bay of Biscay, two reached Rochefort, two more entered the Spanish harbours of Cadix and Cartagena, and the other stole into Cadix. The

British squadrons detailed to attack them had received too precise instructions; and thus the war opened with a strategic disadvantage instead of with a naval victory. One reason for the British failure was the want of frigates, which throughout the campaign of 1804-5, as in that of 1798, hampered the British admiral at every turn. So many vessels were required for the protection of commerce that the fighting fleet was deprived of their necessary scouts; and Cornwallis was at times compelled to employ battleships in doing frigate's work.

The distribution of the French fleet, before the return of the *Sau Douvres* fleet, was as follows. At Brest there were three ships of the line ready for sea, and fifteen approaching completion. At Lorient and Rochefort there were six ships completing. At Toulon there were three ready, and six nearing completion. Thus the French battleships were so much scattered that a great fleet action at the outset was impossible; and the blockade imposed by the British had to be accepted, until the squadrons could be reinforced. At Brest, Truguet was placed in command, to be succeeded later by Guépratte, who at the outset commanded at Toulon. At an early date orders were issued by Bonaparte, directing his admirals constantly to weigh and anchor, so as to train the crew, or, if the enemy watched, to put out in short cruises.

The real objective against England was to be directed by a flotilla of small craft, capable of conveying an invading force across the Channel in a single night. There were several stages in the development of the flotilla project. According to the first plan, a comparatively simple one, 316 armed craft of small size and light draft were to meet across the Straits of Dover a fleet of fishing-boats, carrying 100,000 men, the central idea being that small vessels could be rowed across in winter tides or calms, when the sailing ships of the period were useless. This plan, however, was open to so many difficulties and dangers that good authorities have believed Bonaparte to have intended it merely as a demonstration. Against this view, which is based ultimately on the theory that he never made mistakes, many facts may be brought forward. The most convincing of these is the lavish expenditure not only on the flotilla but also on the construction of harbours of refuge along the northern coast of France. Boulogne, Havre, Calais, and Cherbourg were begun at Antwerp, Brest, Bayona, Flushing, and Warrington; and millions of francs were lavished upon them at a time when the French treasury was embarrassed for funds. Secondly, the French people looked naturally to Bonaparte to end the war as speedily as possible, but, while it lasted, everything that had been won by the Revolution was at stake. Now the war could be rapidly ended only by an invasion of England. Thirdly, an invasion of England had frequently been contemplated before. That Bonaparte soon perceived some of the dangers of his flotilla project is perfectly clear; but, while he modified, he did

not abandon his plans. He began to think out the means by which he could obtain temporary command of the straits.

The idea of a transport flotilla of armed fishing craft, accompanied by a few small armed vessels, was grown up almost at once, and the number of armed vessels was rapidly increased. In May, 1803, there were in all, as we have seen, only 216 fighting craft; in July the number rose to 316, in August to 353. It was anticipated that the flotilla might be ready by November, and that the armed vessels would be able to clear a way for it by driving off the British fleet. These anticipations were not fulfilled. When Bonaparte visited Brest in July, only fourteen vessels of the flotilla were ready at that place. Numerous skirmishes with the British frigates and small craft went on along the coast, the British showing persistent energy, and attacking the French boats whenever they ventured beyond the shelter of their coast batteries. In these encounters, the British almost always had the upper hand, thus revealing the great military weakness of the flotilla. The French officers complained bitterly of the timidity and hesitations of their men; they did not see that the whole project was absurd, and that to ask men to board to attack well-armed and skillfully handled ships was to demand impossibilities.

In June, in a note to Desbats, his Minister of Marine, Bonaparte insisted on the necessity of having twenty battleships ready at Brest by November, and gave instructions for a large number of additional ships to be taken in hand. But he altogether overestimated his force; in November only eight vessels were actually ready, so that Cornwallis had not the slightest difficulty in maintaining a close blockade of Brest, while other detachments watched Ferrol, whence the French vessels from Cadiz and the West Indies had moved, and the Biscayan ports. It would appear from Bonaparte's order that, as early as June, 1803, he intended his fleet to set on close coasts with the flotilla, which was to be ready before the winter for the attempt on England. The fleet was not to be actually present in the Straits of Dover; it was to divert the attention of the British admiral by work in other directions.

In September, 1803, Bonaparte saw that the flotilla could not be counted upon by November, and postponed the date of action to January, 1804. At the same time he ordered Guichenot at Toulon to be ready to put to sea with ten battleships, though as a matter of fact only seven were complete. In December Guichenot was asked to give his opinion on the flotilla. It was extremely unreasonable; but he suggested that it might be possible for a handy, well-armed fleet to lead the armed entry by force, and then, by suddenly appearing in the Channel, to secure the command of the sea for two days, and so clear the way for the flotilla. The enterprise would be extremely bold and very hazardous, and the best way of accomplishing it would be either to sail round the north of Great Britain or run up the Channel past Brest,

and appear in the Bays. Here we have the germ of the strategy subsequently pursued in the Trafalgar campaign. Six days later, in a letter to the admiral, Bonaparte disclosed his projects, giving a choice of three plans, all of which in substance involved a feat by the Toulon squadron on the direction of Egypt to mislead Nelson, and a gradual concentration of the French squadrons at Ferrol and Bachelot, to be effected by the Toulon fleet moving out of the Mediterranean and successively settling there first. The whole force thus concentrated was finally to appear off Boulogne, while the Brest fleet was to make feints at Ireland, so as to occupy Cornwallis' attention. But, as Guarnier sharply pointed out, the element of surprise would probably be wanting in so complicated a plan; and for the French to move into the Channel with anything larger than a flying squadron of a few fast ships would be to court disaster. The British could detach in pursuit forces "quadruple or quintuple" the strength of the French squadron.

As the construction proceeded, the flotilla proved more and more unworkable and expensive. In November, 1803, Bonaparte went in person to Boulogne and made some unwise discoveries. If the plan of a surprise invasion was to be carried out, it was essential that the boats should be able to get to sea at the very shortest notice. But this involved keeping them outside the basin at Boulogne, since at the most only 100 boats could pass from the basin in any one tide. Outside the basin they were exposed to the British attacks and to injury by weather. Under the eyes of the First Consul five boats were wrecked by a storm, and the records prove that, for nearly six months, from November, 1803, to May, 1804, the flotilla only went out of the basin three and remained outside ten days in all. It had become a mere incumbrance, and had even ceased to cause the British admirals any serious alarm, so long as it was unsupported by a fleet of large ships. In April, 1804, the Boulogne flotilla was caught by a storm when outside the basin, and forty vessels were driven to Étaples. Experience proved that at least six days would be required to get all the boats out of harbour, so that for that period it would be necessary to command the waters of the Channel, but, all through 1803-4, there was no period of six days' continued fine weather. Thus the original idea of a surprise passage of the straits proved impracticable. Yet the sailing on the small craft and on the harbours continued, and Bonaparte refused to abandon his project, though he ordered more and more to the employment of the flotilla in conjunction with a squadron of large ships. His army in 1804 was concentrated between Brest and the Toulon, waiting for the opportunity to embark; his fleets at Brest and Toulon were steadily increasing.

Though the British Government did not seriously believe in the possibility of invasion, it neglected no precaution. In March, 1804, it had 250,000 men under arms on land, of whom 110,000 were regulars. The volunteer movement developed rapidly, though there was considerable

looked as to the military value of the forces which it produced; and in December, 1803, there were 400,000 men available in the three King-doms belonging to this branch alone. Making heavy deductions, the Government could dispose of about 500,000 troops of all sorts during the period of danger, and could rapidly concentrate 100,000 of these against an invader disembarking on the south-east coast. Thus, even had the fleet been drawn off, as Bonaparte had originally contemplated, the position of Great Britain would have been tolerably secure.

In the spring of 1804, fresh instructions were sent to Latouche-Tréville, who had succeeded Guémeau at Toulon, to get to sea. He was to elude Nelson by sailing at Egypt, to pick up the French ship of the line which was blockaded at Cadix, then to make for Rochefort and set free the French ships in that port; after which he was to sail far out into the Atlantic, finally making a dash up the Channel past Cornewall, as soon as the winds were favourable, and putting into Cherbourg, Ferrol and Brest, were to be left blockaded. This plan contained all the characteristics of Napoleonic strategy: unexpected concentration of superior force at the point where that force could be used to the greatest advantage; hints to distract the enemy's attention from that point; disregard of minor considerations. Its defect was that it made no allowance for the energy of the British admiral, and that it assumed a degree of treachery and mismanagement in the French navy which that force did not possess. Bonaparte counted confidently on the mismanagement of the British Admiralty, of which he had a very poor opinion, and he underestimated the military genius of Nelson.

The date at which the French army of invasion was to cross was fixed by the First Consul for September, 1804. Points would no longer be necessary, if a French battle-fleet could reach the Downs; but it was important to have good weather and long days for the operation. All through the spring and summer of 1804 the concentration of the flotilla in the neighbourhood of Boulogne was going peacefully forward, under the gaze of the British cruisers, which watched every movement of the French with keen-eyed vigilance. But the sections of the flotilla which had been concentrated on the island of the Bay of Étang found the British fleet off Brest a fatal obstacle to their passage, and never succeeded in effecting their junction with the Channel division. Of 201 small craft, only 50 reached the Channel from the Atlantic coast. In July, 1804, Bonaparte again visited Boulogne and inspected the flotilla. For a second time a storm occurred in his presence; the flotilla was scattered and thirteen vessels were lost, while, of forty boats at Étaples, nine had to be run ashore and several others were carried by the storm to various ports. The flotilla, even in summer, was the sport of the winds and waves.

On the night of October 2, 1804, an attack was made by the British forces upon the flotilla in the Boulogne roads. Fire-ships and "catamarans," a primitive kind of torpedo, were employed. Their explosion

caused confusion in the French fleet, but the loss of life was being reluctant, and on the whole the French were rather encouraged than alarmed by the affair. From this point onwards the fleet's plied but an unimportant part; and, though large sums were still devoted to it, it became more and more a mere millinery to the French fleet.

The complete inactivity of the French fleet during 1805 and the earlier months of 1806 must in part be explained by the want of crews and the lack of stores in the naval ports. Even when the ships were ready, it was impossible to send them to sea. The fleet made heavy demands for food and men, and thus its equipment militated against the efficiency of the fleet, a fact which Bonaparte never seems to have perceived. In May, 1806, complaining bitterly that Turgot remained immovable at Brest, and allowed himself to be shot at by a small British force, he removed this officer and replaced him by Ganteaume. When Ganteaume took over the command at Brest in June, 1806, twenty ships were ready for sea, but only seven were fully manned; and, to fill up the gaps, it was necessary to put out of commission a large number of boats belonging to the western section of the fleet. In September, 1806, Ganteaume was directed to report on the possibility of getting to sea in November, and carrying a fleet of 16,000 men to Ireland, but the conversion of Bonaparte as Emperor interrupted the project, and no answer from Ganteaume is recorded. As there were accidents wherever he could weigh anchor, his reply is not likely to have been favourable, though his force had now risen to twenty-one ships of the line.

The strength of the Toulon squadron steadily rose; it numbered nine ships early in 1804; ten in the middle of that year; and eleven towards its close. On July 8, 1805, Nelson had arrived off Toulon, and had taken charge of the blockade of the port with a total force of nine ships, of which, however, four were frequently on detached duty. Only seven ships of the line were at first available for the blockade, and these were not in good condition, while their crews were weak, and, it would seem, in some cases of inferior quality. Reinforcements subsequently reached Nelson, raising the Mediterranean fleet to thirteen ships of the line, but he could rarely collect more than six off Toulon, and was always short of frigates. Owing to the inadequacy of this force, the blockade was not a close one. From time to time Nelson withdrew altogether to fill up his ships with water and provisions in Maddalena Bay, which was his real base. On these occasions he generally left two frigates to watch the French. His battleships were so few that it was unsafe for him to divide his squadron, while the method of blockade gave the French a chance of coming out, and it was his one wish to get them out and defeat them. The plan aroused great uneasiness among British officers, because it unquestionably affected openings for the escape of the French and a possible concentration of their forces in the Atlantic. But it was the best adaptation of the available means to the end, moreover, the escape



of the French squadron from Toulon could not be so dangerous to British interests as the escape of the far larger and more formidable squadron in Brest. This last force was kept harmonically shut in by the closest possible blockade; but, had it been thoroughly trained and efficient, it might have found opportunities for escape. For, as Collingwood said—and subsequent experience confirmed his judgment—ships are not like sentinels standing at the door; there must be someone when the greatest vigilance may fail in preventing a sortie.

In the Mediterranean, the French made no move during 1805 and the early part of 1806. Nelson was now convinced that the French intended some fresh stroke against Egypt; Bonaparte's skillfully-derived false information had put him off the track. The British Admiralty were receiving accurate information from their agents in France as to French intentions, but they do not appear to have communicated this intelligence to Nelson. St Vincent had been replaced as First Lord by Lord Melville; and Admiral Ganteau was now First Sea-Lord. Ganteau was an officer of inferior capacity and poor judgment, blind to ruses, he prevented Commaulde from carrying out a daring plan, which had been matured by Captain Piquet, for an attack with five ships on the French fleet at Brest. Melville was a good administrator and understood the general outline of Bonaparte's plan. He thought that a move against the West Indies was probable.

In the autumn of 1806, relations between England and Spain became more than ever strained. The blockade of the French fleet at Brest was carried on by Cockburn with great respect for Spain's rights as a neutral. His haughty conduct was due to the hostile attitude of the Spaniards, who had given constant assistance to French privateers, and were reported to be fitting out a large number of ships in their dockyards, while they had prevented French gunboats to be sent from France to the squadron blockaded at Brest. It was known that Napoleon was drawing a large subsidy from Spain, exempting her in return from the fulfilment of the other conditions of the Treaty of San Ildefonso, because he thought that French interests would on the whole be better served by such an attitude of hypocritical neutrality on the part of the Spanish Government. This state of affairs the British ministry had hitherto tolerated; but Spain was warned that any serious armaments on her part would lead to war, and that without further negotiation or notice. As Spanish hostility always diminished when the treasure-ships from South America were drawing near to Europe, and increased after their safe arrival, and as the British agents, in September, 1806, reported great activity in the Spanish dockyards, the British Government issued instructions to seize five of these ships which were due at Cadiz. The British commander off Brest was also ordered to prevent Spanish vessels leaving or entering that port and to communicate his instructions to the Spanish authorities. On October 8 the treasure

ships were encountered off Cadix by four British frigates. The Spanish commander was summoned to surrender, and *disregarded* the summons, the forces being equal on either side, though he was quite unprepared to resist. A short but furious action followed, in which one of the Spanish vessels, with a number of non-combatants on board, blew up; the other three were captured, with treasure valued at £1,000,000. The act was denounced as one of piracy, but, in the circumstances and in view of the plans running given to Spain, it was justifiable, the only mistake being that an inadequate force was employed.

War was reluctantly declared by Spain on December 22, under pressure from Napoleon. In the same month a Spanish official return gave the Spanish force available as fifteen ships of the line at Cadix, eight at Cartagena, and nine at Ferrol: but two months would be required to get all these ships ready for sea. The armaments were empty; at Cadix the *phages* were raving; and there was a dire want of funds.

The alliance with Spain modified the strategic position, and led Napoleon to make important changes in his plans. In September, 1808, he had appointed Villeneuve to the command of the Toulon squadron, and had detached 7,000 men under General Lauriston to embark on board the fleet. To Doornik he sent instructions and plans for several expeditions. In the first place, the Rochefort squadron was to sail to the West Indies, in order to reinforce the French garrisons there and seize Dominica and Santa Lucia. The bulk of the Toulon fleet was simultaneously to seize Saguenay, and afterwards to join the Rochefort squadron. The whole force, thus concentrated, was then to appear off San Domingo, attack Jamaica, return to Ferrol, and liberate the squadron in that port, finally putting in to Rochefort with twenty sail of the line. Lastly, the Brest fleet was to sail with 18,000 men for Ireland, and, after landing them, to move by either the eastern or the western route to the Tyne or Boscloges. These plans, however, appear to have been intercepted by British agents, since they disappeared for several days and eventually turned up in a damaged envelope, with the postmark "Boscloges." It has been suggested that Napoleon purposely allowed them to fall into British hands in order to divert British attention to Ireland; but this suggestion is improbable, as the plans embodied many features of the combination which Villeneuve afterwards attempted to execute. On learning what had happened to his instructions, Napoleon ordered the fleet ships not to embark any troops, but to remain in readiness for sea.

At the close of the year 1808 the French fleet was at last ready to act, though they still lacked trained seamen. The strain of continued watching was becoming very serious for England; and only young and active officers could have supported the hourly scrutiny of such a blockade as was maintained. The strategy adopted was simple, yet well-adapted to the requirements of the situation. Every effort was

concentrated upon the command of home waters. If the French fleet escaped, the British blockading squadrons were to follow them and bring them to action, or to fall back on the main force at the entrance to the Channel, thus setting England against France. Unfortunately, however, it was not found possible to secure an overwhelming preponderance in force in European waters; the British fleet was scattered, and a large number of ships of the line were on distant stations. The Allied force at the close of 1805 consisted of eleven ships ready at Toulon, five at Cartagena, ten ready at Cadix, five French and four Spanish at Ferrol, five at Rochefort, twenty-one at Brest, and three at the Texel. There were faced by twelve British battleships in the Mediterranean, thirty-seven under Cornwallis off Brest and in the Bay of Biscay, nine in the North Sea, and five in British ports. On foreign or distant service were twelve ships of the line. Thus the total battleship force of England was twenty-five; that of the Allies was sixty-four.

In European waters the British preponderance was extremely slight; and the question arose whether it was a wise disposition, which placed seven ships of the line in the East Indies and five in the West Indies, when, if used in Europe, they might have prevented the escape of the French. The economic importance of the East and West Indies was, however, very great at this period—a fact which explains both Napoleon's anxiety to capture San Domingo, and the maintenance of so large a British force in distant waters. The Mediterranean fleet was the nucleus of all the important British squadrons; and Nelson was hampered in his work by the appointment of an influential but inefficient senior officer, Okech, to command off Cadix. Okech impeded Nelson in various ways, and appropriated his orders whenever they came within reach, which prevented Nelson from keeping a ship on the look-out at Gibraltar.

In December, 1805, fresh instructions were sent by Napoleon to Mincius, his admiral commanding at Rochefort, and to Villeneuve at Toulon. Both were to evade the British and immediately put to sea, the first standing for Martinique and the second for Ceylon. After forming a junction and doing as much harm as possible to the British possessions in the West Indies, they were to return to Ferrol, proceeding thence to Rochefort. The ultimate intention was that this concentrated force, in conjunction with the Spanish fleet and the Brest fleet, should cover the invasion of England. On January 15, 1806, Villeneuve, with eleven ships of the line and some smaller craft, put to sea. His vessels were so crowded with troops and so deeply laden with stores that he expressed grave fear as to their stability and the safety of their cargo. Nelson had retired to Medford to water his fleet, and had only left two frigates on the look-out, so the way was open to the French. But, when Villeneuve had made one day's sail to the north, he was caught by a severe storm; two of his battleships and two of the smaller craft lost masts or yards; and three frigates were accidentally separated from the fleet.

Villeneuve, recognising that a long voyage with damaged ships was out of the question, decided to return to port and effect repairs. On his way back, he captured a small craft carrying despatches for Nelson from England. It, as is probable, the despatches contained the secret in so far as to the true intentions of Napoleon which we know to have been making the British Admiralty, Nelson must have been left in the dark as to the ulterior purposes of the French at the most critical moment of the whole campaign. In March, 1805, he complained that he had had no news from England of later date than November 2, 1804.

As soon as he learnt that the enemy had put to sea, Nelson sailed from Mahdia Bay and closed for battle, with the fixed resolve to bring them instantly to action. Learning from his cruises that the French had been seen off Apenn, steering north, he concluded that they must be making for Egypt, as the wind was strong from the west, which would prevent their rapid movement through the Straits of Gibraltar. He learned to Alexandria, heard nothing of them, and, enraged, overwhelmed with anxiety and fear, to discover that Villeneuve had been driven back to port by bad weather. Nelson's letters show that, then and afterwards, he considered the various possible destinations of the French, and was determined to follow them without further orders, whether to the West or the East Indies. The danger to be apprehended from the arrival of a strong French fleet in the West Indies was in his judgment very great. "If St Lucia, Grenada, St Vincent, Antigua, and St Kitts, fall," he had written, "in that case England would be so clamorous for peace that we should humble ourselves"; and this statement explains his subsequent action.

On his return from Egypt, Nelson proceeded to the Gulf of Palma and provisionsed there. Meanwhile Villeneuve put to sea again on March 26. Again the French squadron was followed and watched for some distance by the British cruises; but again it disappeared from view. Villeneuve learnt from a neutral vessel where Nelson was, and evading him ran in to Cartagena, in order to join forces with the Spaniards. The Spanish admiral, however, had received no orders to put to sea with the French fleet, and declined to move till orders arrived. Unwilling to wait, Villeneuve hastened to the Straits of Gibraltar, and on April 8 passed through them, to the rear of the alarm given from the Rock. Nelson did not hear of his escape till April 6. He then deployed his fleet between Sicily and the Algerian coast, in order to prevent any further movement on the part of the French, and to cover Egypt and Naples, and waited for information before sailing west or east.

The greatest of Napoleon's projects was now in train of execution. The complicated plan had been further modified. Two squadrons were to escape from port, and open the French movement. The proceedings of Villeneuve's force have been described down to the second sortie to Mocha. Maitland's detachment, consisting of five ships of the line and

five small craft, put to sea from Rochefort on January 11, 1805, heavily laden with troops and stores, and proceeded to the Antilles. On the way across, it suffered the usual mishaps which befall French vessels whenever they moved; in three weeks the ships of her squadron lost nine masts or important spars. On February 26 *Missionary* reached Martinique, and at once attacked the British island of Dominica, but, though he took the British by surprise, he could not reduce the island. He seized or destroyed thirty-three British merchandise, levied contributions upon the ports of St. John, Nevis, and Montserrat, and then returned to Martinique, where, according to his original instructions, he was to await Villeneuve. But, when Villeneuve was driven back after his first battle, fresh orders were sent from France, which directed *Missionary* not to expect help from Villeneuve, but to carry out his special mission independently: in other words, he was to convey some reinforcements to San Domingo and then return to Europe.

It was *Missionary's* anxiety to obey these orders that prevented him from waiting a third despatch directing him, after all, to wait for Villeneuve. Villaret-Joyeuse, who commanded at Martinique, was desirous that *Missionary* should assist him in the reduction of the Diamond Rock, an islet off the Martinique coast, where the British had a small post which annoyed passing French ships; and the delay which such an operation would have involved would have given time for the arrival of the third despatch. But *Missionary* was anxious to get away; he feared that superior British forces were following in his wake; he thought, from the tone of his earlier orders, that his return to France was urgently required; and he pointed out that he had already stayed in the West Indies longer than had been intended. Accordingly he sailed off to San Domingo, where he landed a few men and some stores, and then returned to Rochefort, making a very slow passage and reaching that port on May 30. He had been five months at sea and, for all practical purposes, had done nothing beyond causing great alarm in England and the British West Indies, and obtaining some £50,000 by the sale of prizes and by contributions levied on the British.

Through the latter half of 1804 and the first weeks of 1805 reinforcements had been accumulating about Napoleon's path. The attitude of Austria was becoming more and more threatening, as the general feeling in that country was that any failure of the French to invade England would bring about a war on the Continent by way of *diversion*. Relations between France and Russia were already broken off in consequence of the rejection of the *Traité d'Amiens*; and a personal appeal which the French Emperor addressed to George III, with the probable object of strengthening the hands of the British Opposition, was answered by a curt refusal to discuss terms of peace without consulting Russia and the Continental Powers. Under these menacing conditions, Napoleon, early in January, 1805, appears for a moment to have abandoned the

invasion project. Orders were sent recalling Misiony, and instructions were despatched to Villeneuve to undertake a movement against India. But, just after these despatches had been forwarded, the situation changed once more. A letter from the Austrian Emperor, which arrived at Paris at the end of January, reassured Napoleon, and led him to resume the "immense project"—his own term for the complicated plan of invasion. The orders to Misiony were revoked, but the counter-order, as we have seen, reached the West Indies too late.

A brief series of orders, dated March 2, 1808, directed Ganteaume to get to sea with twenty-one battleships as speedily as possible, to sail to Ferrol and open that port, capturing eight British vessels which were watching it, and to form a junction with the two or three French and Spanish ships now ready in the harbour. He was then to stand away for Martinique, where the Rochefort and Toulon fleets would be found; and then, instantly returning to Europe with at least fifty sail of the line, to beat the British fleet off Ushant and move up to Brest, there to cover the passage of Napoleon's army. On the same day further instructions were sent to Villeneuve; and these are of great importance, being the last he received before putting to sea for the second time on March 30. They directed him to move from Toulon, pick up the Spanish ships at Cadix, and proceed to Martinique, there to meet Ganteaume and Misiony. If Villeneuve arrived before Ganteaume, he was to remain at Martinique, ready to put to sea at a signal; after waiting fifty days, in case Ganteaume had not appeared, he was to move by San Domingo to the Canaries, to cruise off the Canaries twenty days, and then to return to Cadix, in the event of nothing having been seen of Ganteaume. Though every precaution was taken to keep these orders secret, they were known to the agents of England and the Bourbon exiles even before they had reached their destination. "The facts," wrote the mysterious "d'A" of d'Antigny, on March 1, "are to move against the West Indies and to attack Jamaica. England will know in eight days the exact facts which I tell you...She places entire faith in these sources of information at Paris; she has found them too trustworthy in the past not to show such faith." Then there is good contemporary evidence that the British secret service was fully informed as to Napoleon's intentions. But these facts do not appear to have been communicated at once to the British admirals, perhaps because of the confusion at the Admiralty at this juncture, owing to the attack on Lord Melville, which culminated in the vote of censure of April 8.

Napoleon had hitherto based all his plans on ending the British naval power. His fleets were ordered to leave port without fighting; but this, in the case of the Brest fleet, was out of the question, so closely did the large British fleet watch that plan. Yet, at times, the blockading fleet fell much below the strength of the blockaded, and, had they been allowed to fight, the French had opportunities, which in consequence of

Napoleon's orders they were unable to see. On March 28 Ganteaume telegraphed to Napoleon that he was ready to sail with twenty-one ships and that there were only fifteen British ships outside; there must be a battle if he went out, but his success was certain. Napoleon replied, directing him to go out but forbidding him to fight a battle. This reluctance to run an insignificant risk at one of the most critical moments had the effect that thereafter he harboured. The last opportunity never occurred, though at a later date Ganteaume was ordered not to desist from fighting his way out. Dispirited by the threatening attitude of the British admiral, who a few days later received large reinforcements, Ganteaume on March 29 retired from Berthecaux Bay to the entrance of Brest harbour; and, when news, received too late, the news that Villeneuve was at sea, with pressing orders he himself to go out.

Meanwhile Villeneuve, after passing the Straits of Gibraltar, appeared on April 9 off Cadiz. There he was joined on the same day by one French ship of the line and by six Spanish ships under Admiral Gravina, making his total force to eighteen vessels of the line. He was anxious to put as great a distance as possible between his ships and Nelson's, "as the enemy's squadron in the Mediterranean must be in pursuit of me, and may be able to effect a junction with that which has been blockading Cadiz." As a matter of fact Orde's squadron, consisting of five ships of the line, narrowly escaped capture, and fled north without keeping touch with the allies or sending information to Nelson, thus rendering that officer's task harder than ever, since he was left to grope in the dark for the destination of the French. On April 11 Villeneuve was well on his way to the West Indies, but with only one of the Spanish ships in company. The Spaniards sailed wretchedly; and, if there had been any British pursuit, they must have been captured one by one. Napoleon was filled with satisfaction at the news that the junction with the Spaniards had been effected, and sent off pressing orders for Admiral Bagon to start with two ships of the line from Brest and join Villeneuve at Martinique. He added further instructions which ordered Villeneuve to spend thirty-five days, after Bagon's arrival, in the West Indies, to employ the time in attacking the British islands, and after that returned to return to Brest if Ganteaume did not appear. Even Brest he was to go to Brest and there join Ganteaume, even at the risk of battle. Villeneuve reached Martinique on May 14, having occupied more than a month on the passage, and in conformity with his original orders—Bagon had not yet joined him—took in water and made ready to put to sea as soon as Ganteaume should appear.

The alarm was great in London at this juncture. The Admiralty was distracted by the political attack which, at this moment, the Opposition were making upon the party of its financial management. The First Lord, Melville, had resigned on April 9; and further complications followed, when, with other disregard of national interests, Lord Selwyl

claimed the office for one of his supporters in the Ministry, and strongly opposed Pitt's appointment of Admiral Sir Charles Middleton (Lord Barham). Fortunately, Pitt stood firm, and his judgment was vindicated by events. The precautionary measures taken by Barham were as follows. Cochrane, with six battleships, had left in March for the West Indies, where four British battleships were already stationed, in order to deal with Mailleu, and on April 27 a secret order was issued by the Admiralty to Gardner, then in temporary command off Brest, to detach Admiral Collingwood with five ships to Madeira. If Nelson with his fleet had not passed that point going west, he was to move to the West Indies and effect a junction with Cochrane, which would raise the force in the West Indies to fifteen battleships. If Nelson had passed, Collingwood was to rejoin the Channel fleet. At the same time orders were sent to the ports to expedite the fitting out of all available ships. A few days later, Orle was removed from his command, and Collingwood was directed to make at once with eight sail for Barbadoes. But, before he could leave, the news that Nelson was moving in pursuit of the French led to counter-orders.

That admiral had been searching the Mediterranean for Villeneuve, now was it till April 16 that he heard that the enemy had passed through the Straits, steering west and picking up the Spanish ships at Cadiz. The fact that the Spaniards, of whose incapacity at sea Nelson was fully aware, were in Villeneuve's company, seemed to point to a move towards Brest and thence to Ireland; and he at once decided to make for the Solly Isles, from which point he could cover the Channel. He was detained the several days by unfavourable winds and by the necessity of conveying 5000 British troops on their way from England to the Mediterranean; but he used the delay to fill up with provisions and water. On May 10 he at last received from Admiral Campbell, a British officer in the Portuguese service, information which confirmed him that the French were bound for the West Indies. Sending in all directions the information that he was following Villeneuve, he started with ten sail of the line "to save the West Indies." So far was he from being "deserped" away, that the mere news that he was on his passage caused a feeling of immense relief in England.

Notwithstanding the foul condition of his ships, so swiftly did Nelson make the passage that on June 4 he was at Barbadoes, where he picked up two battleships, raising his force to twelve. His arrival was speedily reported to Villeneuve, who in obedience to his orders had waited at Martinique, willing his stay to effect the capture of the Diamond Rock. Recalling, however, from Magon Napoleon's later instructions to drive the British from the Antilles, he set sail for Barbadoes, intending to attack that island. On June 8 Villeneuve captured a British courier, and learnt from prisoners that Nelson was in the neighbourhood with a force represented at from twelve to fourteen ships. This intelligence filled



him with something approaching panic; and, after a conference with Gervais, he decided to return forthwith to Ferrol. The Spanish crews were daily diminishing through sickness and desertion; and a prolonged stay might have forced him to abandon some of the Spanish ships. He sent back, on frigates, the troops embarked at Martinique and Guadeloupe, and hurried off to Europe with twenty out of the line. He was fortunate in not being molested on his passage; but this he owed to the fact that Nelson was led by false information to make a move to Trinidad. On June 18, however, Nelson heard that the French had disappeared, and, with the judgment of a consummate commander, at once defined their course of action—if indeed definite information did not reach him from the British secret-service agents at Martinique, where Villeneuve appears to have been dangerously ill-talented. He sent off a fast vessel with news to the Admiralty, and himself followed with his squadron. His fast ship sighted the *Albat* on her passage, and was thus able to carry to London exact information of the enemy's movements.

Nelson was off the Spanish coast on July 18, steering for Gibraltar, and, after provisioning his ships and conferring with Collingwood, who had moved up to Cadix, sailed slowly northwards to the entrance of the Channel with his fleet, being much delayed by unfavourable winds, so that he did not form his junction with Cornwallis till August 18. His return to Europe had a disconcerting effect on Napoleon, who at first fully refused to credit it or to believe that the fleet gained by Villeneuve had been absolutely lost. Meanwhile the British Admiralty, having received Nelson's information as to the French movements, issued orders to Cornwallis to reinforce the British fleet off Ferrol, under Calder, by adding to it the squadron blockading Rochefort, after which Calder was to move to the west of Ferrol with fifteen battleships, so as, if possible, to intercept the allied fleet. It was a both complicated and course of danger to the British that Alford, who had replaced Mincing, put to sea from Rochefort on July 17, as soon as the blockade was lifted, just obeying orders which were sent him from Paris at the last moment to sail direct for Ferrol, and acting on earlier instructions, which ordered him to cruise on the parallel of Ferrol from July 29 to August 5, and also *Os* for ten days in the Bay of Biscay, when he was to put into Vigo. It was unfortunate for the French that he sailed without knowing that Villeneuve was expected back forthwith at Ferrol; and so it happened that he cruised at no great distance from Calder, without being near enough to be present at the battle of Finisterra.

On July 22, in foggy weather, Calder sighted the allied fleet. He had but fifteen ships to their twenty, though he had been given to understand that they would not have more than sixteen, and he had good reason to fear that the Rochefort ships might at any moment appear and form a junction with the enemy. He was a mediocre commander, incapable of bold or decided action, and unequal to the strain of so perfect a position

But Villeneuve did not proceed to Brest; nor did he even effect a junction with Almirant, for a cruiser sent off with instructions to the latter's rendezvous was stopped up by the British almost in sight of both the French fleets. Almirant weathered silently about the Bay of Biscay, out of touch with his colleagues, and performing no useful service. Villeneuve had been forbidden by Napoleon to go into Ferrol, and had some difficulty in getting his ships out of Corunna; both he and Ganteaux were despaired of success. He complained that he had "bad weather, bad sails, bad officers, and bad weather. Absolute moral tactics; we only know one manoeuvre, to form line, and that is just what the enemy wants us to do." When he started to move out of Corunna, his ships collided with each other, and fresh trouble ensued. It took him five days, from August 8 to 13, to get the fleets at Ferrol and Corunna to sea.

On his moving westward, with a total force of twenty-nine sail of the line, Fortune once more played the French a cruel trick; on August 14 several of Almirant's squadrons were sighted to the north, and were mistaken for British ships, at the same time Almirant mistook Villeneuve for his enemy. But for this mutual misunderstanding, the two would have met; the French fleet would have risen to thirty-four sail of the line; and the dependence of Villeneuve might have been removed by a real success. As it was, feeling that he had no chance of carrying out "the immense project," and finding that the wind was dead against him, Villeneuve on the 15th turned south to Cadix, in obedience to the express orders of Napoleon, bearing date July 14, which directed him, in the event of unforeseen circumstances, or if the position of the fleet did not permit him to attain the main object, to concentrate an imposing force at Cadix. These orders had been subsequently cancelled, but none of the fleet had not reached Villeneuve. He was short of supplies, short of everything; and mishap succeeded mishap in the Spanish contingent. On August 20 he drove off Collingwood and entered Cadix, where his force rose to thirty-four, counting the six Spanish ships already in the harbour. A few hours later, with stupefying suddenness, the respectable Collingwood once more closed in on the harbour, though his total force was only three sail of the line; and Villeneuve accepted this truly remarkable blockade. Powerful reinforcements for Collingwood were hurried south, and Nelson, after a brief visit to England, was despatched to Cadix to take command in what was to be the last and greatest battle of his glorious life.

For Napoleon the summer of 1805 had been a period of great suspense, as he was obliged to hie at once towards Austria and England. On August 3 he arrived at Boulogne, five days later he learnt of the battle of Fishburne, and at first expressed satisfaction at Villeneuve having effected a junction with the Ferrol fleet. On second thoughts, he despatched a letter to Villeneuve, blaming him for his weak conduct; and on the 15th, supposing the admiral to be at Ferrol, ordered

him to attack the British, provided the Allies could oppose twenty-eight ships to the British twenty-three or twenty-four. For the first time since he decided "the invasion project," he contemplated a great naval battle. The explanation of this sudden change in his designs is probably that he saw the extreme danger of risking an invasion of England without the command of the sea, now that Nelson was back and Austria was preparing for war. A naval engagement must be won before he could cross the Channel; while, if the battle were lost, it would justify his abandonment of the British scheme without any loss of reputation, since the blame of the disaster would naturally be laid on the unsuccessful admiral. Subsequent orders, dated August 13 and 14, directed Villeneuve to attack the enemy, who were supposed to have but twenty-four ships, and then to move up to the Channel, where "we are ready every where; his appearance for twenty-four hours will suffice."

Napoleon had imagined a picture of the British disposition which was far from the truth. Nelson and Collingwood were in the Mediterranean; a large British force was in the West Indies; there could be nothing in Villeneuve's way. But these messages and orders did not reach the French admiral at Cadix; it was not till he was at Cadix that he knew he was expected to fight. Meanwhile Ganteaume was directed to move his ships out of Brest and to be ready for a battle when Villeneuve drew near. On August 13 a message was sent by semaphore, to be given to Villeneuve when he appeared at Brest, urging him to come up Channel at once, the army being embarked and England at his mercy. Napoleon directed that, if Villeneuve, in obedience to the earlier orders, should have fallen back to Cadix, he was immediately to leave that port, with the Spanish ships there and, if possible, with the ships at Cartagena, and sail for the Channel. Duroc, however, filled with misgivings as to the invasion project, advised the Emperor not to bring the combined fleet north at that season of the year, but to regard its arrival at Cadix as "the decree of destiny, which reserves the fleet for other purposes."

Written on August 15, this letter appears to have decided Napoleon. Though he still wished to wait fifteen days before moving against Austria, his anxiety began on the 15th to march off to the Rhine, and was followed on the 16th and 17th by other portions of the army. On the 18th the British was ordered to be concentrated in the Looz—that which indicated the postponement of the invasion; on September 1 letters were sent to Villeneuve reaffirming his command and directing him to take on board six months' provisions, to "dominate the coast of Andalusia," and to attack the enemy, if of inferior force. On September 8 a letter in Napoleon's correspondence contains, for the first time, the allegation that Villeneuve's movement to Cadix had defeated the project of invasion. It is sufficient comment to point out that on August 13, before he knew of Villeneuve's move unaltered to Cadix, Napoleon had written that the "army is in full march" against Austria.

In reality, it was Nelson's swift movements, the Austrian diversion to Napoleon's rear, and the hopeless unavailability of the flotilla, that dictated the abandonment of the "massive project."

The final act in the great drama was yet to be played. On September 22 Nelson in the *Victory* joined the fleet off Cadix. He at once convened his captains and laid before them his arrangement for the battle. Such enthusiasm did his plans excite, so extraordinary was his influence, that some of his audacious were moved to tears. The whole fleet was filled with exultation at the fact that he commanded it, a thrill of enthusiasm ran through the crews; and, as a small token of their regard for him, the captains presented their ships the colour he preferred. With true generalship, though he judged his force adequate for victory, Nelson sought to obtain a fleet which would secure "not victory but annihilation." And, just as Napoleon at the opening of his Italian campaign strove to attract to himself all available force, so Nelson begged his Government to send him ships, more ships, so that he might have the largest fleet possible at the vital point in contact with the enemy. "It is only numbers that can annihilate," he wrote to Lady Hamilton. Various detachments, however, among others the despatch of a division to take in water and provisions at Gibraltar, reduced his force, in mid-October, to twenty-seven sail of the line.

The attack which he meditated, and the details of which he had communicated to his officers, was a double cutting of the enemy's line and concentration upon its centre and rear, leaving the van out of the fight. If reinforcements joined him in time, he intended to attack in three separate columns and to effect a triple severance; but, as the reinforcements had not reached him, he formed his fleet in two divisions, the second led by Collingwood, who had full authority to manage his own part of the battle. The central idea was that, having lured the enemy out of Cadix, he should pass through them with one division of his fleet in line ahead, covered by the other in line abeam, get to leeward, and cut them off from that port—a manoeuvre which would make a decisive engagement certain. In order to weaken the Allies as in his strength, Nelson kept only a small force close to the port; the bulk of his fleet cruised far away in the offing, out of sight of the coast, linked to the squadron anchored by a chain of orders and battle-ships.

On October 19 Villeneuve, having heard that Rodney had been sent to supersede him, determined to obey the orders of Napoleon and issue forth, his intention being to form a junction with the ships at Cartagena. His force comprised thirty-three sail of the line; but the crews of the French ships were short of their establishment by 2000 men, and the Spanish vessels were in even worse plight. Foodstuffs were so scarce, in consequence of the strict blockade, that his crews were on the verge of starvation. Nelson made no premature attack when he learned that the Allies were moving. His *Red Bank*, trusting to his orders

to keep good watch, and headed for the Straits of Gibraltar to cut his enemy off from the Mediterranean. On the 20th he was in sight of Gibraltar, and there the last conferences were held on board the Victory.

At noon on that day the allied fleet turned and steamed south. Nelson watched them closely all that afternoon and night, the 21st he had selected for the battle, as a day glorious in the annals of his family. At 6.30 a.m. on the 21st he made the signal to form line of battle in two divisions, the left or vanward division under his own personal command, eleven ships strong; the right or leeward one under Collingwood, fifteen strong, while one ship was far off to the north. A little later came the order to prepare for battle, followed by another to "bear up east" towards the Franco-Spanish fleet. The British fleet mustered twenty-seven sail of the line, with a broadside of 89,000 lbs.; the allied fleet thirty-three ships, with a broadside of 80,000 lbs. The morning was grey and cloudy; a light wind blew from the north-west; and a great swell rolled heaving in upon the cliffs of Cape Trafalgar, which showed to the eastward out of the white of morning.

As the British drew nearer, Villeneuve, who had been heading southward, changed his course and stood north, seeing that a battle was inevitable, and wisely deciding to fight with a friendly port under his lee. His ships formed a long line, bent at an obtuse angle, the sails making towards the approaching British fleet. At the head of each British column sailed its admiral, Nelson to the left in the Victory, Collingwood to the right in the *Royal Sovereign*. Under Nelson's leadership the spirit of the fleet had risen to a degree of exaltation which was to herald the passage of victory. Nelson, as he went to battle, declared to a friend that he looked for twenty prizes; the captains joked with each other as to the ships which they should capture. The approach was slow and tedious to excited nerves; while it proceeded, Nelson prepared the final codex to his will and wrote his last prayer, in which he asked for a great and glorious victory, with no attendant to his fleet. His final orders to the flagmen accompanying him drew the sternness of his spirit and its remorseless insistence upon gathering in the full fruits of victory. These lighter vessels were not to save ships or men; they were to complete the enemy's annihilation; "capture was but a secondary object."

As the fleets drew nearer, Nelson was attracted by his personal desire to cover the column which he was on his own, since in naval actions of that date the leader was exposed to the enemy's fire at close quarters, and his decorations would attract the aim of their marksmen. He refused to comply with this request or to move to a light ship where the danger would be less, giving as his reason the importance of a great example to the leaders. About 11 o'clock, perceiving that stormy weather was to be expected, he signalled to prepare to anchor, and soon afterwards made the last great appeal of his life to those he led, in the famous signal

"England expects that every man will do his duty." Originally he had intended a different and perhaps warmer appeal, cast in a form which expressed not expectation but certainty—"Nelson confides that every man will do his duty." But, even in its altered form, the signal evoked a zeal and spirit like his own; "it seemed like inspiration to most of them." The last and memorable order of the Nelson battle, "Engage more closely," follow'd just before the firing began. Then, with the possible exception of an intimation to Collingwood that he must be front against the allied van, were all the important signals of that evening, illustrating the perfect forethought of the admiral, the complete preparation for all contingencies.

The bands played in the British ships as they went down to battle, in regular line, with little provision of formation. Just before closing, Collingwood, whose column, owing to the enemy's formation, was now nearly parallel with the allied van, gave the signal to bear up together, i. e. to turn to the right and attack as evenly simultaneously as possible. Nelson's column was still in line ahead, slightly converging on that of Collingwood. The first gun was fired by accident in a British ship, the next shots were fired by the Allies about midway at the *Royal Sovereign*, as she approached in advance of her line. A dense cloud of smoke gathered round their line as it moved north; Collingwood observing his loss, headed for the twelfth ship from their van, but at the last moment altered and made for the thirteenth, which was larger. The Allies were in the closest possible order; but Collingwood was not to be denied. He drove straight ahead, ready to carry away the homoph of the French naval actors of his quarry; and the Frenchmen gave way before his unflinching tenacity.

From the Victory the *Royal Sovereign* was seen to vanish amidst a tempest of firing in the thick cloud of smoke; then her tall masts showed on the farther side of the line, and it was known that Collingwood had gloriously performed his task. Some minutes followed before support reached her; but Nelson's confidence in his subordinate was justified. The *Royal Sovereign's* fate was deadly, it tore down the stars of the *Sainte Anne*, and caused great confusion in the press of battle ships gathering round her. Her friends followed eagerly to her aid; there was no hanging back in the line; and as, one by one, the other ships jubilationally brought their broadsides to bear, the battle in the van began to go decidedly in favour of the British.

On the left, Nelson watched with intense admiration Collingwood's fierce onset, as the Victory slowly covered the space between the Sterns. He started towards the French van, as he came within range, probably with the object of halting it inactive, and then turned sharply to the right and, after passing some distance down the enemy's line, turned left and broke through, driving his flagship through the smoke and flame, and inflicting heavy loss on the French gunn as he did him. He passed under

the stern of the tenth ship in the allied line, the *Revenge*, pouring into her a raking fire, which brought clouds of shot and splinters from her hull. Then, after penetrating the allied line, she turned to starboard again and dropped on board a French 74, the *Indomptable*. It was about 12.30 p.m. when the Victory broke the French line.

When the leaders had struck the enemy's line and passed through it, without doubling back, the battle might be considered won. Of necessity, in such a scheme of action, the heads of the British column would suffer most heavily in the approach, and this is doubtless the reason why Nelson led himself with Collingwood, on whose iron nerve he could absolutely rely. But, when the line was penetrated, generalship counted for the moment; the rest was the work of the captains, to whom full instruction had been conceded. The logs prove that they too showed judgment and energy worthy of their leaders, breaking boldly through the hostile line wherever they thought their efforts would tell most, or moving without further orders to meet the enemy's van, when it at last began to threaten the British ships in the centre of the fight. The battle of Trafalgar is the most perfect example of initiative among subordinates, as it is of the leader's scientific use of his weapons, that is to be found in the whole naval war. Though the details of the attack have been much disputed, especially in regard to the question whether the method indicated in Nelson's previous instructions was precisely followed or not, there is no doubt that its greatest merit—what he himself called "the Nelson touch"—consisted in the concentration of an overpowering force upon the rear half of the enemy's fleet, the bold compression of the enemy's van with a force numerically inferior (under his immediate command) so as to leave his lee columns free to do its work, and the handling of both columns in such a way as to prevent the enemy, till the last moment, from knowing how the attack was to be made.

Villeneuve's tactics, on the other hand, were of the simplest description. He interspersed the French and Spanish ships, to prevent misconduct on the part of the latter, and then adopted a passive attitude, dictated, no doubt, by his officers' want of skill and practice in manoeuvring. As he had said at an earlier date, there was but one evolution of which they were capable, and this was forming line. But, if the leadership throughout the fleet was indifferent or bad, there was no want of individual courage. The French and Spanish crews displayed the greatest bravery, and suffered terrible losses before they could be induced to strike.

The first French ship struck, about 1 p.m., soon after the engagement had become general; it fell to Collingwood. From this hour onward, the frigates watching the battle saw a steady succession of surrenders: one two-decker at 1.35; two ships to the Victory and *Trafalgar* at 1.55; "several" at 2 o'clock. With each surrender the demoralization of the allied fleet and the confidence of the British increased. But these results were not won without great loss to the British, both in officers

and men. A few minutes before the resistance of his antagonist in the French line was ceasing, Nelson, while walking the Victory's quarter-deck, was struck by a bullet from the Redoubtable's top and mortally wounded. He fell with the words "They have done for me at last," and was borne below. His intellect remained unclouded for two hours, during which, again and again, he urged his flag-captain to give the order to anchor. About three he was told that a great and decisive battle had been gained; that fifteen of the enemy had been taken, and that one British ship had struck. The ruling spirit was strong even in death, and he cried that he had looked for twenty prizes. A little later consciousness ebbed from him; and with the last words "God and my country," this great servant of England passed away.

His presence was sorely needed in the last stage of the battle, to complete the victory which his genius had gained. The French van, the ships strong, turned and attacked the confused mass of British ships struggling with the allied centre. A large part of the British fleet was still intact, and might have been used to crush this detachment. But Collingwood, though incomparable as a subordinate, did not possess the force and decision of Nelson, and let the opportunity slip. Again, when the shattered French and Spanish ships in the centre and rear fled towards Cadix, no general pursuit was ordered or attempted. Had Nelson been alive, it is doubtful if one of them would have been permitted to escape. The logs show numerous signals at the end of the battle to the British ships, which, acting on their own initiative, were attempting pursuit, to "close round the admiral"; and, as night came down, Collingwood consented a final blunder in refusing to anchor his guns.

The violent fighting ended with the capture of the French van about three. Sporadic firing continued till five, when the French ship *Adelle* blew up with a terrific report. Of the allied fleet, thirty-three ships of the line strong, one French ship blew up after she had struck, eight French ships and nine Spanish were taken. Four French vessels escaped to the north; eleven French and Spanish ran southwards to Cadix. After the battle a violent storm set in, in consequence of which three of the prizes, with insufficient crews on board and in a shattered condition, were either recaptured by their own men or handed over by the British prize crews, as the only way to keep them afloat and save the lives of all, while two were wrecked or destroyed by their captives, so that ultimately only four ships remained in the hands of the victors. The British loss was 448 killed, and 1241 wounded; while that of the Allies, though never exactly ascertained, is stated to have reached the enormous figure of 2000, and this estimate was probably be accepted, in view of the fact that, out of a crew of 645 men, the Redoubtable lost 528 killed and wounded.

The losses of the Allies did not, however, end with the day of the great battle. On October 25, Commodore de Commae Rogelien put to sea from Cadix with five battleships and five frigates, in the hope of



retaining some of the British prizes. His movements contributed to the recapture of two of the vessels already mentioned. But his force was caught by a storm, and three of its five ships were wrecked, so that there remained in Cadiz only eleven out of the line, including the recovered ships. On November 4, four of the ships which had escaped from the French raid at Trafalgar, under Rear-Admiral Donacoste de Felieu, were overtaken after a long chase and brought to action by a British squadron of five ships of the line and four frigates, then cruising off Ferrol under the orders of Captain Sir Richard Strachan, and after a prolonged encounter were taken and carried into Plymouth. Strachan was looking for Alameida's squadron, which however eluded the British fleets and returned safely to Rochefort, having done great damage to British commerce.

Brilliant as was the victory of Trafalgar—the climax of the prolonged naval struggle with France, and the last pitched battle of the war fought at sea between large fleets—it caused at the moment little jubilation in England. He clearly had Nelson identified himself with the glory of the navy, so much had he endeared himself to his countrymen, that his loss seemed to them to outweigh the virtual annihilation of the enemy's fleet. The news of Trafalgar brought sorrow rather than rejoicing; and the British triumph seemed to be balanced by the French victories at Ulm and Austerlitz. No immediate effect was perceptible, yet from the day of 1805 the French navy ceased to cause serious anxiety in England; and, though more than once Napoleon attempted to repeat the combinations which had ended this disastrously, British preponderance upon the sea was henceforward beyond dispute.

Before the battle of Trafalgar, but after his army had moved from Boulogne, Napoleon issued orders to Rear-Admirals Willaumez and Linois, both of whom held commands in the Brest fleet, to put to sea, the one with six ships of the line and the other with five, and to wage relentless war on British commerce. Both squadrons managed to escape on December 18, and soon parted company. But their exit was observed; and two powerful squadrons, under Sir John Warren and Sir Richard Strachan, were sent in pursuit. Willaumez sailed to the Cape, after a narrow escape from Admiral Sir John Dacresworth, who saw him bet, though almost equal in force, showed no anxiety to attack him. As the Cape was in British hands, the French admiral proceeded to Brazil and Martinique, off which island he had another narrow escape from a British squadron under Rear-Admiral Cockburn. While he was waiting at sea to catch a British convoy, storms scattered his fleet; and he was compelled with only one ship to make for Havre. He reached that port in safety, and returned to France early in 1807. The results of the expedition were miserable—seventeen merchantmen taken at the cost of two French ships of the line. Linois was even more unfortunate. His five out of the line were caught at anchor in the Douvres roads, so

February 6, 1805, by Duckworth with eight sail of the line, and sustained a crushing defeat. Three of his ships of the line were taken and two destroyed; only the small craft with him managed to escape.

In January, 1805, Cape Colony was attacked by a small British expedition under Commodore Sir Home Popham, and captured with but little difficulty. The results of this conquest, and the subsequent failure of Popham and Whitelocke in their attempt upon Montevideo and Buenos Ayres, will be described in a later chapter of this volume.

In 1807, two important operations were undertaken by the British navy in European waters. The first was against the Sultan, who had been induced by Napoleon to declare war on Russia, with which Great Britain was still in alliance. A squadron of eight ships of the line was sent off the Dardanelles under Duckworth, with orders to compel the Sultan, by a threat of bombardment, to surrender his fleet. Duckworth viewed the project with something more than alarm; but, instead of either resigning his command or acting with velocity, though he knew that the weeks consuming the fleets were being strengthened daily, he wasted time. While he was waiting, one of his ships was accidentally burned with heavy loss of life. At last, on February 18, 1807, he forced his way past the forts in the Dardanelles, destroying a small Turkish squadron on his progress and suffering trivial loss. But, though he now had Constantinople at his mercy, his indecision thwarted itself; and, instead of taking instant action, he spent days in consultations with the British minister at Constantinople, while the Turks recovered from their alarm and prepared to meet him. He was more than ever uneasy when he found that vague threats had no effect on the Porte; and on March 2, after showing himself off Constantinople, he returned to the Dardanelles and repaired the Straits next day, suffering considerable loss and damage in the transit. The whole expedition was mismanaged; and Duckworth was fortunate in escaping a court-martial. An attempt on Egypt was equally unsuccessful. The British took Alexandria, but were defeated at Rosetta, and in September agreed to evacuate the country. The Russian Admiral Senavin, who was in the Mediterranean with his sail, defeated the Turkish fleet in July. But, on hearing that peace had been made at Tilsit, he concluded an armistice with the Sultan and hurried back towards the Baltic. He succeeded in reaching the Tagus, but was blockaded by a British squadron, and ultimately, in August, 1808, after Wellesley's landing in Portugal, was obliged to hand over his ships to the British Government.

The second expedition of 1807 was the direct consequence of the Peace of Tilsit. Information reached the British ministry that a secret article in this treaty stipulated that Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal should be compelled by France and Russia to close their ports to British ships and join in the war against Great Britain. This would add to the naval force at Napoleon's disposal twenty Swedish,

and since Portuguese out of the line, and would more than repair the losses of Trafalgar. It was of the utmost importance that Napoleon should be furnished; and Gensberg, then Foreign Minister, had sufficient during to act at once. The weapon was ready to hand, as a large fleet had recently been mobilised for service on the Continent.

On July 18, eleven days after the signing of the secret articles, the resolution to seize the Danish fleet was formed; and on July 26 Admiral Gambier sailed from Yarmouth with seventeen out of the line, subsequently joined to twenty-five, and a large flotilla of gunboats and transports, carrying 37,000 troops under Lord Cathcart. Though the Danes would not offer any serious resistance, when, on August 2, Gambier appeared off Elsinore, they refused to surrender their ships. The blockade of Zealand was therefore enforced by the British navy, while the army disembarked and drew its lines round Copenhagen. On September 4 the bombardment of the town began. It was continued till the 24th with terrible effect, when negotiations followed; and on the 7th the Danish Government decided to surrender the fleet. Eighteen Danish ships of the line, two frigates, and forty-two smaller vessels were seized and most of them reserved, the others being destroyed. The operations were well planned and skilfully carried out, and an ample force was wisely employed. That the attack was necessary no one will ever deny. England was fighting for her existence; and, however disagreeable was the task of sinking a weak neutral, she risked her own safety if she left in Napoleon's hand a fleet of such proportions. In Count Vandal's words, she "merely broke, before he had aimed it, the weapon which Napoleon had determined to make his own." During the operations against Copenhagen, Heligoland was occupied; it was used thenceforward as a depot for trade with the Continent. The island of Anhalt was seized in 1806, and held till the close of the war.

The natural result of the seizure of the Danish fleet was that Denmark declared formal war, and joined France against Great Britain. A British fleet and a small expeditionary force were despatched to the Baltic early in 1808, and then it came to pass that, when the Spanish troops whom Napoleon had virtually returned to France, under the Hapsburgs of Romania, heard of the detestment of their sovereign and showed signs of dissatisfaction, a British fleet was able to take off the greater portion and to convey them back to Spain. During the later months of 1808 the British blockaded the Russian fleet, which showed little inclination to cause trouble. The blockade continued without intermission until 1812. From 1808 to 1812 Sweden was an unwilling enemy; but the British and Swedish admirals mutually arranged not to attack each other. As for the Portuguese fleet, Napoleon was not able to seize it, since it withdrew to Brazil. At the same time the island of Madeira was temporarily handed over to British custody. In the autumn of 1812, on the approach of the French army, Alexander I

of Russia decided to send his fleet to England for the winter, fearing that otherwise it might fall into the hands of the French. Seventeen Russian sail of the line accordingly withdrew to England.

On his return from Tilsit, Napoleon gave instructions for the fleets at Brest and Toulon to be kept in readiness, and pressed forward the work of shipbuilding with greater energy than ever. A powerful expedition was organized at Toulon to attack Sicily. In January, 1806, Alleano put to sea from Rochefort, headed a British squadron which was watching him, entered the Mediterranean unopposed, and with five of his ships reached Toulon. Ganteaume, who had been transferred to Toulon from Brest, was ready to put to sea, with instructions to attack Sicily, or, if this were impossible, to revictual Corfu. He sailed on February 7 with 122 battleships, including Alleano's force, and a number of smaller craft and transports, but was caught by a storm in which one of his ships lost two topmasts, and four others partial masting, only rejoining him in the Adriatic. He reached Corfu unharmed, and having thrown reinforcements and provisions into it, returned to Toulon on April 14, again without opposition. The inferiority of Collingwood to Nelson as a commander and a strategist was shown by his conduct of these operations: with thirty sail of the line and fifty smaller ships, he failed to cut off the French fleet which had ventured into the Adriatic. The blockade of Toulon had been virtually abandoned, and the French were permitted to come and go much as they liked. Collingwood's failure at this juncture appears to have preyed upon his mind; he was old, ill, worn out by long years of devoted service, and would willingly have relinquished the command to a younger man; but, restrained by his Government to remain at his post, he obeyed, to die in harness in 1806.

In May, 1806, Napoleon formulated another "immense project," from the execution of which he was only diverted by the outbreak of the Spanish insurrection. It embodied most of the features of the old plans formed before the battle of Trafalgar. Great expeditions were to be made ready at Brest, Lorient, Rochefort, Ferrol, Nantes, and Toulon, in order to menace England on every side; while large forces were to occupy close to the coasts, and to embark if the British fleets relaxed their vigilance. Egypt, the West Indies, and Ireland were to be perpetually threatened, with the purpose of wearing out England by incessant alarms. Napoleon calculated that by midsummer, 1806, he would have 48 battleships available, and a year later, 77; which, added to 30 ships belonging to his various allies, would give an effective fleet of 124 sail of the line. But all these hopes and anticipations were shattered when it became clear that a national war had to be faced in Spain, and that, instead of adding the Spanish forces to his own, he would have to count them as hostile to him. In June, 1806, he directed Dacres to delay his naval armaments and to diminish the purchase of stores and supplies for the navy. Practically, this meant that the project

of invading England was again abandoned. In the same month, five French sail of the line, the last remnant of Villeneuve's fleet, which had been in Cadiz harbour since Trafalgar, were captured by the Spanish *escuadra*, and a French ship at Vigo shared their fate. As squadrons were no longer needed off Cadiz, Ferrol, and Cartagena, large British fleets were sent first to watch Toulon and other French ports. The Spanish instruction therefore greatly diminished the pressure on Great Britain, and, from the moral as well as the military point of view, had an important influence on the course of the war.

In February, 1803, the British fleet blockading Brest was driven off the port by a storm, and Villeneuve, who commanded the French seven sail, put to sea with eight sail of the line. Had he shown courage, he might have captured in succession the small British detachments in sailing Lorient and Rochefort, in each of which ports lay three French ships. His orders were to pick up these squadrons and then proceed to Martinique. On February 21 he anchored in Basque Roads with eleven ships of the line, three of which were in no condition to put to sea, and, as he was at once blockaded by the British and feared an attack, he moved into Aix Roads, where defence was easier. In this operation one of his ships went ashore and became a total wreck. Napoleon despatched someone nearer him from his command, and replaced him by Allemand. The British Admiralty prepared five-ships for an attack on the French, and Lord Cochrane, a bold and enterprising officer, was selected for the conduct of the operations, under Admiral Lord Gambier, who viewed the project with no enthusiasm. The attack was delayed on April 11; and, with the smallest energy on Gambier's part, the whole French fleet must have been taken or destroyed. The British five-ships, it is true, did little damage, but they created a panic in the French fleet, so that the vessels cut their cables and, drifting in the strong tides, collided with each other or ran aground. At daylight on the 13th, all the French ships but two were ashore. All that was required to complete the disaster was an attack by the heavy ships of the British fleet. But Gambier did not move, and Cochrane was left to effect what he could with his light ships and frigates. The result was that five of the eight stranded French vessels eventually escaped, and only three of Allemand's fleet were destroyed. But so low had the professional standard of the British navy fallen since the loss of its great leader, that Gambier was regarded as having deserved well of the nation. Notwithstanding bitter protests from Cochrane, he was "most honourably" acquitted by a packed court-martial, and was even thanked by Parliament.

In the disastrous Walcheren expedition, however, there was little fault to find with the navy. This expedition was originally planned in March, 1809, to effect a divorce in favour of Austria, and, had the plan been carried out immediately after the defeat of Napoleon at

Failure, it might have brought about the fall of the Emperor. But there was great delay in completing the preparations; and the French had time to win the battle of Wagram before the fleet and transports sailed (July 20). The naval force consisted of 27 sail of the line and 600 other craft, under Sir R. Stoddan. The army was 30,000 strong, and was under Lieutenant-General Lord Chatham, whose chief recommendation for command appears to have been that he was of high rank, and had been seen "as person carrying eight or ten thousand men much to his credit." The unfortunate results of this expedition will be described in another chapter of this volume. It must suffice to say here that the failure was due to friction between the army and navy, the election of an incompetent general, and the despatch of the fleet at the wrong season of the year.

The only other naval event in Europe of any importance in the year 1808 was the destruction of two French battleships and a convoy in the Gulf of Lyons (October 24—November 1) by ships from Collingwood's fleet. The French were under the orders of Rear-Admiral Baudouin, who was conveying supplies from Toulon to the French army in Spain. Though Guichenot had captured French and Russian ships in Toulon, he made no attempt to support his subordinate. He was soon afterwards replaced by Allemand, who was subsequently sent to Lorient. Thence, in March, 1810, Allemand managed to get to sea, but he went no further than Brest.

In the Atlantic the British navy clearly asserted its superiority. In October, 1809, the Azores Islands, with the exception of Corfa, were reduced by small consort expeditions, which gave the navy a base in those distant waters. This was followed by a victory gained by Captain Horne off Lissa (March, 1811) over a strong French squadron of frigates, and by the capture of a French battleship, the *Stroph*, in 1812.

From the date of the first despatch of a British expeditionary force to Spain, the British navy was called upon to protect the passage of transports and storeships, and to cooperate in the military operations. The best work in this quarter was achieved by Cuthbert, who late in 1808 harried Dubouan in Catalonia. There were many complaints of the navy when Wellington was commanding in Spain. He blamed it in 1810 for insufficient support in the siege of San Sebastian, but not, it would appear, with good reason. He asked responsibility, and, in the words of the First Lord of the Admiralty, appeared to consider "a large ship within a few yards of the shore...as safe in its position and as unassailable by the winds or waves as one of the Pyrenean mountains."

Throughout the later years of the war the main French squadrons remained inactive, and thus though their numbers were steadily growing, and though, from 1812 onwards, Great Britain was at war with the United States. As a general feature of the war from 1805 to 1804, it

may be said that the French fleets never deliberately attacked, they only accepted battle when it was forced upon them.

Outside Europe, the reduction of the French possessions continued steadily all through the war, though it was not affected with the rapidity which might have been expected after the British seas had asserted its command of the sea. Numerous examples, and, in particular, the capture of Mauritius, showed how easy it was, down to 1803, for French squadrons to put to sea, and to throw reinforcements into the French colonies. In the West Indies, Santa Lucia, Tobago, and Demerara were reduced in 1803; Surinam in 1804; the Dutch island of Curaçoa in 1807; Marie Galante and Desroches in 1808; Martinique and Cayenne in 1809; and in 1810 Guadeloupe, the last of the French West India possessions, and the Dutch islands of St. Martin, St. Eustatius, and Saba. In the East the British were equally successful; Pondicherry and the other French colonies in India had not been evacuated by the British troops when war broke out, and were retained; Amboyna and Banda Neira, in the Dutch East Indies, were captured in 1810; in the same year Bourbon and Mascarene, the headquarters of the French presence in the Indian Ocean, were reduced; and in 1811 the valuable island of Java was taken from the Dutch. In Africa, the French colony of Senegal surrendered in 1803. Reference has already been made to the occupation of Cape Colony in 1806. Thus France and her allies were stripped of all their colonial possessions. Yet the loss of these bases did not render attacks upon British commerce altogether impracticable. At that date there was many weak neutrals, on whose coasts it was possible for cruizers to sail and obtain provisions.

After the failure of his project of invading England, Napoleon determined to prohibit British trade on the Continent. As an answer to his efforts, a blockade of the French coast from Brest to the Ebro, with certain reservations, was proclaimed by the British Government in May, 1806. Napoleon's replies to this measure, embodied in the Berlin, Milan, and other decrees, which jointly established what is known as the Continental System, are described elsewhere in this volume. The political effects of these measures fall outside the province of this chapter. As to their economic effects, though practically the entire coast of Europe was under Napoleon's control from the opening of 1806 to the close of 1811, and though British trade at sea was attacked by numerous French privateers and cruizers, the result was far less disastrous than might have been anticipated. The measures directed by Napoleon against neutrals contributed to the success of British shipping, by providing it with freight. Probably it would have been a wiser proceeding on his part, had he given all possible encouragement to American shipping, and sought to reduce British exports by a heavy differential tariff. The following figures, giving the clearances of British and foreign shipping engaged in the foreign trade of Great Britain (exclusive of

Inland), will illustrate the effect of Napoleon's Decrees and the British Orders in Council:

*Clearances, outwardly, in thousands of tons, for ports entering January 2*

	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813
<i>British,</i>	1076	1435	1443	1481	1486	1818	1872	1881	1876	1867	1880
<i>Foreign,</i>	461	571	687	693	556	621	595	897	1118	636	530

The records of 1813 have been destroyed. The remaining figures prove that, while British shipping slightly decreased in the earlier period of the war, and neutral shipping distinctly increased, from 1808 onwards British shipping gained ground, though the heavy demand for transports during the Peninsular War must be taken into account after 1808. The sudden increase of neutral shipping in the second year 1810, really in 1809, was due to the repeal of the American embargo, to the expansion of the Baltic trade when Napoleon's attention was concentrated upon crushing Austria, and to the fact that he intimated that he would permit the entry of neutral shipping, even if laden with British goods, while, in their anxiety to obtain markets for considerable produce, the British authorities were even more tolerant towards neutral shipping. But, when the neutral vessels put into French ports, their cargoes were seized and sold as destroyed by the French authorities.

There is a tendency to regard the Continental System as a disastrous failure; but the economic history of England suggests that it inflicted upon her industrial population terrible suffering and loss, and came perilously near to effecting its object. The attempt of Napoleon to cut off the supply of raw materials from the British manufacturers was so far successful that in England wool, silk, timber, and hemp rose enormously in price—silk, for example, from 50s. per lb. to 110s., and most other materials in proportion. The control of the Baltic by Napoleon, especially in 1810-11, shook England to her foundations. In 1812 the British people were faced with actual famine, owing to the demands of the French army for wheat and corn, the export duty levied at Danzig, and a general bad harvest. Wheat, in places, rose from 10s. a bushel to 80s.; and the foreign sources of supply failed. The trade was virtually dead, but the cost of horses, freight, and insurance was prohibitive. According to Tuck, these charges, on a vessel of 100 tons burden, economically amounted to £100,000 for the voyage to Cadiz from London and back.

It has been calculated (by Captain Mahan) that the average annual loss to British shipping by capture was 584 vessels, or an average of about 2½ per cent. on the annual number of British vessels entering and clearing from ports in the United Kingdom. Such insurance figures as are obtainable suggest that the percentage of premium has not much greater, since, even when re-insurements were included, the average rate of insurance during the war was more than 5 per cent. In the Mediterranean, during the third quarter of the year 1805, the risk varied from



6 to 25 *pièces*, the lower figure being probably that paid for neutral ships. In 1801 the average rate out to the India was £18, and home from that sum, £12. Outside European waters, however, the rate steadily diminished during the war, with the reduction of the French colonies and the capture of French vessels and prisoners. The voyage to the West Indies was insured at 184 *pièces* in 1803, while Valparaiso was at sea; the rate in 1810 was £9. To the East Indies the rate was about 15 *pièces* in 1803, and £8 in 1809. Freight rose in a ratio corresponding with the advance in insurance. According to Toulon, the freight and insurance on hemp rose during 1809-12 to twelve times the cost of the same thing in 1807, a normal year, as follows it was nearly fourteen times the normal: on wheat eleven times, and on timber ten times—all being surges from the Bahr. In 1809 so much as £50 was occasionally paid for the freight of a ton of hemp alone. The value of a ton in time of peace was only from £10 to £30; that price was now quadrupled.

Except in the Mediterranean, where throughout the war France retained a certain amount of coasting trade, French shipping was annihilated. After their brief recovery during the Peace of Amiens, the French Channel ports reverted to the lamentable condition in which the earlier war had plunged them; and at Home a large number of houses were uninhabited. Moreover, in 1804, speaks of the French people as "ruined by the entire destruction of their commerce": but this was an exaggeration, as France enjoyed internal prosperity and a considerable export trade by land. Between 1802 (a year of peace) and 1811, when the Continental System was at its height, French exports increased slightly, while British exports declined. On the other hand, the strain of France suffered immensely; the strain upon their population was severer than had been the strain on France in 1790-1800; and they had no compensation for their losses. Their growing transportation led eventually to the great explosion of national hatred which welcomed Napoleon.

The following figures, given by Captain Nicholls, indicate the intensity of the French attack upon British commerce, showing as they do the British merchantmen captured year after year by the French, and the French prisoners taken annually by the British:

	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814
British ships taken	520	560	480	530	650	680	871	618	478	616	673	342
French prisoners taken	30	35	30	30	53	40	35	67	30	34	15	31

The evidence of the insurance rates would seem to show that the peril was greatest in 1808, when two strong French fleets were at large on the Atlantic. In the closing years of the war with France, the Mediterranean conflict with the United States, described in a previous volume, complicates the calculations.

The losses of the French and their allies in the war were enormous. While the British navy did not lose a single vessel of the line in action or by capture, thirty-one French ships of the line were captured or destroyed by the British, while six more were captured by the Spanish insurgents; Spain lost twelve sail of the line, Holland three, Denmark nineteen, and Russia one. But the British losses from storms and disasters were numerous throughout the war, as was to be expected in a fleet which was constantly forced to keep at sea.

The renewal of war in 1815 led to a fresh blockade of the French coast; and, when the news reached the British authorities that Napoleon would probably endeavour to escape to America, the British cruisers in the Bay of Biscay were ordered to show the utmost vigilance. Napoleon, however, speedily gave up the attempt as hopeless, and surrendered himself to Captain Mallard of the *Bellerophon* on July 15. It was not inappropriate that the navy, which had frustrated two of the Emperor's greatest projects—the intended invasion of England and the attempted conquest of Spain—should also receive his final surrender. At the close of the war, the navy had reached a point of strength which has never before or since been surpassed or even equaled. In 1815 it counted 245 ships of the line, 537 frigates, and 681 small craft, a total of 1463 personnel; and, though all of these ships were not at full sea, they represented a force which was more than equivalent to the crews of all the other European Powers combined.

The service which the British navy rendered in this Titanic conflict both to England and to Europe can scarcely be overestimated. It saved England from invasion, and perhaps from conquest; it enabled her to continue her efforts unceasingly, and thus, after she had, in Pitt's famous words, "sweat herself by her exertions," to "save Europe by her example." British successes at sea proved to the world that the great conqueror was not invincible, and thus at a time when his prestige on land was undermined by failure. Consequently, throughout the struggle, Great Britain remained the one centre of hope and encouragement to the Continental Powers; her endurance and success bred in them something of her own dauntless and indomitable spirit, and Trafalgar was the really decisive battle of the Napoleonic War.

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE THIRD COALITION. I.

(1803-4.)

On January 2, 1803, a month after his coronation as Emperor, Napoleon wrote to George III proposing peace, as neither nation had anything to gain by war. There was a marked change in his tone from that of 1800, when he declared that Great Britain was no match for France, and that, if the English were the first to draw the sword, he would be the last to sheathe it. Whether he had brought about the rupture of the Peace of Amiens of set purpose, or had built overmuch on Andriani's assurance of the pacific temper of the British ministry and people, he had little reason to be satisfied with the result. Europe was too narrow a field for his activity; and his mind was incessantly revolving schemes of conquest and colonial expansion by sea or west, to which England was the great obstacle; but the removal of war with her had not furthered them. French trade had been driven off the sea; the French fleets were blockaded in their ports. Santa Lucia and other West Indian islands had again passed into British hands; San Domingo, for the reconquest of which such great efforts had been made, had secured its independence; and Louisiana, the new acquisition from which so much was hoped, had been sold to the United States.

England had kept her hold of Malta, and had become a focus of conspiracy against Napoleon's government and person. French troops had, indeed, occupied Hanover; but that was an affront to George III and an embarrassment to Prussia, rather than a blow to Great Britain. A superb army had been assembled round Breda, with wings at West and East, for the invasion of England and Ireland. That army numbered 170,000 men; and there were 200,000 men elsewhere (in France, Holland, Hanover, and Italy) to be provided for. The public expenditure of France rose to thirty millions sterling; and it became necessary to supplement direct by indirect taxes. The outbreak of war had caused a financial crisis, and public credit was so low that deficits could not be met by loans. The burden of taxation and conscription provoked much discontent in France; and Napoleon tried to shift this burden, so far as possible, on Italy, Switzerland and the Rhine lands. He had gained a reluctant ally in Spain, which, as we have already seen, declared

war against England on December 12, 1804. But Spain was already paying an annual subsidy to France, and was making naval preparations (and action from Porto) so it was an advantage to Great Britain to be able to treat her as an enemy. In England trade was prosperous and credit good. Supplies of more than £50,000,000 were voted in 1804, just at the end of the session the Speaker could say: "We leave now the good satisfaction to see that the permanent debt of the nation is rapidly diminishing, at the same time that the growing prosperity of the country has strengthened and multiplied all its resources." Pitt, "the pilot that weathered the storm," had been recalled to the helm, and had begun to form the Third Coalition.

Napoleon had good means for desiring peace; but, as usual, he desired it on his own terms. Those, as stated to the Legislative Body by Champagny on Jan. 1, 1805, were such as justified the British Government in regarding his overtures as a mere repetition of his manoeuvres of two years before, designed to exhibit Pitt as the obstacle to peace, the irreconcilable enemy of the French people and of the institutions they had chosen, and to strengthen the hands of Fox and his associates. The reply to Napoleon's overtures was that the King must communicate with the Continental Powers, to whom he was united in the most confidential manner, and particularly with the Emperor of Russia, before he could give a specific answer. It was suggested to the King (January 20) that he should send an envoy to Paris to state on behalf of both Governments the indispensable conditions of peace. At the same time Pitt included in his budget a sum of five millions for foreign subsidies.

Alexander had been mortified at the secondary part he had played in the settlement of the affairs of Germany after the Treaty of Lunéville. His wishes, and even the promises made to him, had been disregarded by Napoleon; and he had recalled his ambassador, Miot. The despatch of a French division to Turin made him uneasy; too, while secretly, a counter-stroke to the British retention of Malta, it was a step towards the execution of southern Italy and the prosecution of Napoleon's cherished designs in the East. In October, 1805, the Austrian Government was invited to make arrangements for joint action with Russia, but it shrunk from the prospect of war. At length, in November, 1805, it consented to sign a declaration—the word "treaty" was studiously avoided—by which the two Powers bound themselves to help one another in resisting any further French aggressions in Italy or Germany, or upon the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

Alexander was a compound of sentiment and self-seeking. Charm of manner and lofty aspirations veiled a steady pursuit of his own ends. The mention of the *Dun d'Argentan* (March 26, 1806) "fired a mine already loaded", the Tsar put his Court into mourning, and sent an indignant protest to Paris and to the German Diet. The French career was that the First Consul did not interfere with the internal affairs of

Russia, and would permit no Government to meddle with the internal affairs of France; and there was a significant reference to the assassination of the Emperor Paul. A complete rupture of diplomatic relations between the two countries followed.

The Russian Government had made overtures to Great Britain, as well as to Austria, in the autumn of 1803, with reference to French designs on Turkey; and the conditions of cooperation were discussed more actively after Pitt's return to office and the breach between Russia and France. Pitt was ready to lend money for the Continental Powers, but not for mere measures of self-defence. He desired a league, not against future aggression on the part of France, but for the restoration of the *status quo ante bellum*, and for the erection of solid barriers. In November, 1804, Count Novosiltsoff was sent to London to negotiate an alliance on such a basis. But the Russian Government had other things in view. Prince Adam Czartoryski, whom Alexander had lately made his Foreign Minister, was an ardent young Pole, who hoped to bring about the reunion of his country under the leadership of the Tsar, compensating Austria and Prussia on their western borders for the loss of their Polish provinces. He maintained that, if serious should arise for dealing with the Turkish possessions in Europe, Moldavia and Constantinople should fall to Russia, while the rest might be forced into separate States under a Russian protectorate. On the other hand, England must amend her maritime code, and must hand over Malta to Russia; France might be compensated for her surrenders in Europe by an enlargement of her East India colonies; and in case of war, the proposed French subsidy ought to be increased.

It is not surprising that, when such ideas as these prevailed at St Petersburg, the negotiation of an alliance proved difficult. A treaty was at length signed there on April 11, 1805, by which the two Powers agreed to form an European league for the restoration of peace and the balance of power. North Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy were to be liberated from French control. Piedmont was to be restored to the King of Sardinia, and enlarged. Holland, Switzerland, and Prussia were also to receive additional territory, with the object of preventing a solid barrier against future French incursions. The Allies disclaimed any intention of disturbing the form of government in France. Great Britain, besides employing her own forces by land and sea, engaged to pay an annual subsidy of £1,250,000 for every 100,000 men employed by the Continental Powers against France, provided that the total number should not be less than 400,000. Of these Russia was to furnish 115,000, besides reserve corps on her own frontiers. It was agreed that England should restore the colonies and settlements to the East and West Indies which she had taken during the war; but Pitt refused the Russian demands respecting Malta and the maritime code, and this delayed the ratification of the treaty for more than three months.

Napoleon clinched the Coalition when it seemed not unlikely to fall through. He had determined that the Italian (formerly Cisalpine) Republic should follow the example of the French Republic, and become a monarchy. Napoleon declined the crown for his brother Joseph, and so informed Foreign Powers, but Joseph declined to renounce his right of succession to the throne of France for a limited kingdom. Louis also declined, whereupon Napoleon decided to assume the crown himself. He announced his decision to the French Senate on March 17, 1805, adding that the arrangement was provisional, and that the crown would be separated on the advent of peace. By this concession he hoped to soothe not only Italy but Austria. He placed the iron crown of Lombardy on his own head at Milan on May 26, and chose his stepson, Eugene Buonaparte, as Viceroy.

An edict from the Court of Naples decreed to the new title "King of Italy," and drew from Napoleon one of his customary edicts, in which he threatened to drive Queen Maria Carolina out of the peninsula. On June 4 he received a delegation from the Ligurian Republic, asking to be annexed to France. He granted the prayer which he had himself prompted, and so added to his naval resources the port of Genoa, and some thousands of excellent sailors. Lucca was turned into a principality for his sister Eliza; and Parma and Piacenza were annexed shortly afterwards. By these steps, all Italy west of the Alps and north of Tuscany was brought under the direct rule of Napoleon; and little doubt was left at Vienna that he would soon demand Venice.

Austria had not recovered from the state of exhaustion in which she had been reduced by the wars of the Revolution. Her debt had risen to fifty millions sterling, while her annual revenue was under ten millions; and she had been driven to an irreparable paper currency. The loss of Venice would be a heavy blow to her financially, and would shut the door on her hopes of recovering lost ground in Italy. The Emperor Francis had at first shared the view of Archduke Charles that peace, retrenchment, and reform were the only way of salvation for the monarchy. He had made the Archduke War Minister in December, 1801, and had narrowed the functions of the Aulic Council for War. But the changes brought about by Charles did not find favour in high circles at Vienna; and there grew up a strong opposition to him. Champagny, the French Minister, wrote on July 26, 1803: "Archduke Charles, beloved by his own people, valued by all Germany, esteemed throughout Europe, is not loved in his own family. he is too big for them." The Emperor was conservative by instinct, mistrustful of himself, but not inclined to delegate power. He sought wisdom in a multitude of counsellors, and preferred the old system of government by boards to the new system of ministerial meeting in conference, which the Archduke had persuaded him to adopt.

Charles was deeply impressed with the defects of the army, and

wanted time to carry out his reforms. Both from a military and from a national point of view he was an advocate of peace at almost any price. He pointed out (in a memoir dated March 5, 1804) that France could draw upon a population of 40,000,000 for her armies, while Austria had only 10,000,000, and could not apply conscription to more than half of them. Her finances were unequal even to a peace establishment. War would mean bankruptcy, for the British subsidy would not cover more than a quarter of the expenditure. Past experience showed how little the Russians were to be depended on as allies; and, even if Russia furnished 100,000 men, this would not make Austria a match for France. France would be invited or perhaps invited; no help could be looked for from the secondary German States, and Great Britain would employ such troops as she could spare from home in enterprises against French and Dutch colonies. Instead of war, he urged alliance with France, which, being based on solid advantages for both sides, would be durable.

Coburg had made an attempt in this direction in 1801, when he succeeded Dreyer as Foreign Minister; but it met with no success. Napoleon leaned to Prussia and Russia; and each year had brought changes to the disadvantage of Austria. His endeavours, as soon as he became Emperor, to represent himself as the successor of Charlemagne, roused the fear that the House of Habsburg would lose the titular headship of Germany, and led Francis to adopt a new title for himself, "Roman Emperor Elect, Hereditary Emperor of Austria" (August 11, 1804). Both he and his minister gradually drifted towards the war party, made up of the Archduke's opponents. They came to the conclusion that war with the help of allies would be a loss and then peace with isolation. If they feared Napoleon, they also feared Alexander, and they were aware of things anxious that Russia should not come to an understanding with France or lose Austria were a party to it.

Charles was perhaps too prone to play the part of Jesuit. A man prepared to prophesy smooth things was found in General Mack. He was a stout fellow who had risen from the ranks, and had been chief of Coburg's staff in the campaign of 1793-4. He had unbounded confidence in himself; and not only the Emperor Francis, but British allies and the British Government, took him at his own valuation, though Napoleon spoke of him as a charlatan. He had commanded the Neapolitan army in 1798, and had been forced to capitulate; but the blame was laid on his troops. In spite of the strongest opposition on the part of the Archduke, Mack was made Quartermaster-General in the spring of 1805, and had the chief voice in the preparations for war. The Archduke of 1804 was retained in his old position, so, on the plea that the Archduke could not act as War Minister while commanding in the field.

Nevertheless he was waiting at Berlin for proposals to proceed to Paris

as the basis of the reply of England and Russia to the peace proposals made by Napoleon at the beginning of the year, when Alexander returned news of the conclusion of Gossau. The Tsar at once recalled his army, considering the annexation a gross insult at such a moment, and pressed the Austrian Government to decide whether it would join the Coalition. If it consented, he was ready to increase his own contingent to 150,000 men. If it refused, it must not look to him in future for support against France. On July 7, 1805, the Austrian Government sent an affirmative reply, and accepted formally at St. Petersburg on August 9. It undertook to furnish 855,000 men; but its army fell far short of that number. Sweden also joined the Coalition, and promised 15,000 field troops. Prussia declined to join, and aided Austria to unite with her in an attempt to mediate.

The French occupation of Hanover had given Prussia ample cause of quarrel. It was an infringement of the Treaty of Basel; it brought French troops into the midst of the Prussian dominions; and it was a serious blow to Prussian commerce, for it led the British to blockade the mouth of the Elbe. Napoleon was deaf to remonstrances on this subject, and he rejected the proposal that Prussia should guarantee the neutrality of Germany; that, as he told Londondal (November 27, 1805), would close the road from Strasbourg to Vienna, which he should have to take if he went to war with Austria. Nothing short of an alliance would satisfy him. At the Court of Berlin the general sentiment was strongly anti-French, but there was the old jealousy and distrust of Austria; and the arguments for keeping on good terms with France were pressed by men like Haugwitz and the Cabinet-Secretary Lombard, who had the ear of the King. Others were against taking either side, and maintained that so much might be won by wise and skilful diplomacy as by war, with less risk, and without any sacrifice of men or money.

This course commanded itself to Frederick William III, who was diffident, irresolute, and parsimonious. He declared that he would have no war unless he was himself attacked. Early in 1804 he appealed to the Tsar to know if he might count on him in case of need; and on May 24 declarations were exchanged at Berlin, providing for joint resistance to any fresh aggression by France east of the Weser. The signing of Sir George Hanbold, the British envoy at Hamburg (October 26, 1804), was a flagrant act of this description; and Hardenberg, who was by this time associated with Haugwitz as Foreign Minister, persuaded the King to send a reconnaissance to Paris. Its terms were milder than Hardenberg wished, and Frederick William wrote at the same time to Haugwitz, asking how the matter might be settled without war if Napoleon disregarded it. The Emperor had wanted Hanbold's papers rather than his person, and he made a merit of releasing him at the request of the King of France; but he said privately that he had had a bad quarter of an hour which he hoped to pay back with interest.



There was great excitement in Berlin at the unexpected efficacy of the King's intervention; and the relations of the two Powers seemed to be on a better footing than before. Napoleon was acknowledged without delay as Emperor of the French, and later as King of Italy; and Black Eagles were sent to Paris in exchange for the Golden Eagles of the newly-founded Legion of Honour. This brought friction with Gustavus IV. of Sweden, the Quakers of legitimacy, who returned his own Black Eagle to Berlin (that he might not be on the same roll with Bonaparte). He received a warning from the Prussian Government that troops would be marched into Swedish Pomerania if any steps were taken there which might affect the neutrality of northern Germany; but he signed treaties with Great Britain and Russia, and the Tsar sent a counter-threat to Berlin.

Swedish Pomerania was one of the border-lands which Prussian statesmen coveted, to round off their own fragmentary territory. But they hesitated much more after Hanover; and Napoleon was contented (as he told the Austrian ambassador in May, 1805) that he could at any time secure France by giving her a bone to gnaw. He had several intimations, especially after Hardenberg (who was himself a Hanoverian) became minister, that France would like to occupy Hanover, if only as temporary custodian. Towards the end of 1804, the Prussian Government sounded the Tsar on this point; but he strongly disapproved of an arrangement which would release 25,000 French troops for use elsewhere.

In the summer of 1805 General Wünnigerode paid a fruitless visit to Berlin, and then went to Vienna as the Tsar's military representative. He had conferences there with Mack and other Austrian officers, which ended in a protocol drawn up on July 15. The plan of operations was based upon the memoir already referred to, prepared by Archduke Charles in March, 1804, which (as Lord Malmesbury remarked) "presents rather the coloured detail of obstacles to any attempt at opening a campaign against the power of France, than a system of action and vigorous operations." The conclusion of the Archduke was that Austria, if successful, could hope to gain territory only in Italy; while, on the other hand, it was by way of Italy that the enemy could most easily reach Vienna. On that side, therefore, the Austrians should take the offensive in force; in the valley of the Danube they should occupy the line of the Löss, and wait for the Russians to join them.

In accordance with this general conception, it was settled at the end of August that the army of Italy should number 34,000 men, and be commanded by Archduke Charles; there should be 34,000 men in Tyrol and Vorarlberg; and 50,000 men should form the army of Germany, commanded nominally by the Emperor, or by the young Archduke Ferdinand of Modena in his absence, with Mack as chief of the staff. A Russian army of 55,000 men, under Kutusoff, was to cross the Galician frontier in the middle of August, and reach the line

by the middle of October, twenty days (as it was reckoned) before the French army could arrive there from Bologna. It was to be followed by two others under Bernadotte and Bouchard. A Russian force was also to be sent to Stralsund, to form part of an army of 50,000 men under Gustava, made up of Swedes, Danes, Hanoverians, and English, which was to recover Hanover and invade Holland; while an Anglo-Russian corps of 50,000 men, with 20,000 Neapolitans, was to drive the French out of southern Italy.

The closest secrecy was observed about the negotiations and the preparations for war, but the Austrians should be credited before the Russians could join them. But Napoleon was on the alert, and took note of the gradual increase of Austrian troops in Italy and Tyrol. He warned the Court of Vienna, in June, 1804, that his attention was not absorbed by his preparations against England; and his tone became threatening when the renunciation of his Imperial title was delayed. At the beginning of 1805 he demanded and received pacific assurances; at the same time he reinforced his army in Italy. He thought it unlikely that Austria would compromise herself when she had "nothing to hope for, and everything to lose"; and in any case he reckoned that she must show her hand three months before she would be ready for war.

In the meantime he hoped to carry out his project for the invasion of England, to which he clung with characteristic tenacity. The violations in this scheme and the events which hindered its execution have already been described. When, on July 25, Villeneuve, after his indecisive action with Collier, got into Vigo for repairs, Napoleon was beginning to change his mind about the lateness of Austria. On August 15 he told Talleyrand that he must know within a fortnight whether Austria meant peace or war, as the season was far advanced for a campaign. Late as it was, however, the Emperor Francis should understand that, if he decided for war, he would not spend Christmas in Vienna. The time had come to give Prussia her bow and to secure her help, in order either to paralyze the Coalition while Napoleon crossed the Channel, or to overpower it, if war should break out on the Continent. On August 5 the French ambassador at Berlin made a definite offer of Hanover, with a guarantee that the seizure of it should be no essential condition of peace between France and Great Britain. Frederick William had accepted, he hesitated, but seemed inclined to negotiate; and to hasten the negotiation and settle details of cooperation Napoleon sent Duroc to Berlin at the end of August.

The resources of England had been given up some days before. Some authorities have held that Napoleon never abandoned, or had long abandoned, the hope of crossing the Channel. The Prussian ambassador, Lučkewitz, and Archibute Charles, suspected at the time that the scheme was an excuse for keeping a large army on foot for use on the Continent, but the enormous expenditure incurred for the expedition, and the

incompleteness of the preparations for a Continental war, which he agreed that conclusion. Napoleon, however, was not the man to dwell exclusively on a single scheme. It was his custom, as he said, "*lorsqu'un projet se présente à mon esprit, je m'occupe de lui pendant six semaines, et les renseignements de mes officiers, et les conversations de mes amis, me font connaître les avantages et les inconvénients de ce projet; et je suis alors en mesure de le proposer ou de le rejeter.*" The many disappointments he had met with, and the remonstrances of his naval officers, could hardly fail to cause him some misgivings about his project; and he had foreseen, for some months, that the action of Austria and Russia might oblige him to postpone it. No doubt it was with a sense of relief that he now turned his back on the sea, and entered upon land operations against troops which he had so often beaten. At any rate he could afford to wait no longer. He directed Talleyrand to prepare a circular showing how Austria had forced him into war; and on August 25 his army began its march from the Channel coast to the valley of the Danube.

The "Grand Army," as it now became, consisted of seven army-corps, six divisions of heavy cavalry or dragons, and a division of the Imperial guard, numbering altogether 180,000 men. The 1st corps, under Bernadotte, was in Belgium; the 2d, under Massena, in Holland; and the 3d, under Napoleon, at Brissarolles. The 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th corps, commanded respectively by Davout, Soult, Lannes, and Ney, were in the neighbourhood of Besençon. Murat acted as the Emperor's lieutenant, and had general command of the cavalry. It was the best army that Napoleon ever led. Nearly half the men had seen some war service; and a quarter of them had served throughout the wars of the Revolution. Four years of continual peace and the prolonged occupation at Besençon had given opportunity to make good all defects; and the officers of corps and divisions had learnt to work together. The generals, rich in experience, were in their prime, on an average barely over forty years of age. But the captains and subalterns were not much younger; and, though they knew their business, most of them had lost the spring of youth, and were confirmed grumblers.

Owing to the sudden change of plan, there was a great deficiency of supplies and transport; and this was aggravated by the regularity with which the army moved. Cloaks and shoes were ordered at the last moment; and some of the dragoons were without horses. The proportion of field-guns was small—less than two to a thousand men. Magazines were burned at Strasbourg and Mainz, and subsequently at Ulm and Würzburg, but the army practically lived upon the country as soon as it left France. "Pillage became authorised," says the Duc de Feltre, "and the districts through which we passed suffered cruelly; yet we were none the less finished throughout the campaign." This developed the habit of marauding and relaxed discipline.

To gain time, Napoleon told Talleyrand to change his tone: "*Il ne faut plus d'excuses, il faut de la pusillanimité.*" But it was too late. On September 3 the Court of Vienna rejected the French ultimatum; and, on the 8th, the Austrian troops crossed the Inn. The Elector of

Bavaria was called upon to unite his forces with those of Austria, but he had already thrown in his lot with France. Leaving Munich, he retired southward with his troops (17,000 men) to Würzburg and Bamberg, to await the arrival of the French. Apart from hereditary antagonisms to the House of Habsburg, the personal sympathies of Maximilian Joseph were with France, as were those of his minister, Metternich. By the act of mediation which followed on the Peace of Lunéville, Bavaria had gained a quarter of a million in population, with a fertile and very compact territory; and the Elector hoped for further gains. He would have preferred neutrality, but Napoleon would not bear it; and on August 26 he signed a treaty of alliance with France. Hope and fear led other South-German States—Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt—to take the same course. The German people, to whom revolutionary France had brought more benefit than injury, made no protest.

The Austrian army advanced to the Elbe, and by the end of September there were about 40,000 men between the Lock, the Danube, and the Lake of Constance. This forward position had been recommended by Archduke Charles, in order to cover Tyrol and watch the valley through the Black Forest; but he now supported Archduke Ferdinand, who urged that Napoleon would be at Munich with 100,000 men before the Russians reached the Inn, and that only flying columns should be sent into Bavaria. Mack, however, persuaded the Emperor that it was impossible for Napoleon to bring more than 70,000 men across the Elbe.

On September 23 Napoleon explained to the Senate his reasons for war, and obtained an unconditional vote authorizing him to call out all the conscripts of 1800 as well as the reserve conscripts of previous years. This yielded him 100,000 men, of whom three-fourths were actually under arms before the end of the year. On the 15th he arrived at Strasbourg, and Murat crossed the Rhine there with the cavalry and Lannes' corps. This confirmed Mack in his belief that the French would approach the Danube, as in former wars, either through the Black Forest, or by stirring its southern border. But Napoleon intended to reach the Inn before the Russians, and to thrust himself between them and the Austrians, and this could only be done from the north.

On the 27th May passed the Rhine near Coblenz and pushed on to Stuttgart, where he was joined by Lannes and Murat, when their demonstration had served its purpose. Soult and Dornst crossed lower down, at Speyer and Mannheim, and took up the line of the Neckar to the north of May. Bernadotte marched from Göttingen to Würzburg, where he found part of the Bavarian army, and was joined on the 30th by Marmont. By the beginning of October more than 100,000 French and Bavarians were assembled on the Neckar and the Main. Angereau's corps, 14,000 strong, was on its way from Brittany; and contingents amounting to 18,000 men were being drawn from Baden, Württemberg,

and Hain-Damstadt. In the north of Italy Masséna had nearly 80,000 men, while Saint-Cyr had 80,000 in the south.

Taking a south-westerly course and moving with a wide front, the Grand Army reached the Danube on October 8. It crossed at various points near Donauwörth and Ingolstadt, driving before it the weak corps of Kienmayer, the only Austrian troops east of the Lech. Ney was left to the north of the Danube, to bar the roads leading from Ulm towards Bohemia. Bernadotte marched on Munich with his own corps and the Bavarians, while the rest of the army converged upon Augsburg, which was occupied by Oct. 10. The troops had marched two hundred miles in a fortnight, in terrible weather and with scanty food. Napoleon had effected his object, but for some days he was not aware of the full measure of his success. He thought it probable that the Austrian army, whose strength he put at 80,000 or perhaps 100,000 men, had retreated northward into Tyrol, or had escaped eastward by striking the base of the Alps. Assuming that only a small portion would be left to Ulm, he ordered Ney to take it. Dupont's division thereupon advanced; but at Hahbach, four miles north of Ulm, it encountered superior forces (October 11), and was obliged to retreat, leaving the northern roads open to the enemy.

If what has been aptly called "the dog of war" led Napoleon astray, much more was this the case with his antagonist. Archibute Ferdinand received instructions that, in case of any difference of opinion, he was to be guided by Mack, on whom rests, therefore, the whole responsibility. Mack was concentrating his troops at Ulm, when he learned that the French were on the Danube, fifty miles or more to the east of him. He began a movement on Augsburg; but his leading division came upon Lannes' corps at Wertingen, and was nearly destroyed (October 8). Checked in this direction, and refusing to retreat as Tyrol, he determined to strike northward, and cut the French communications. This plan was soon dropped, and then again taken up, and on the 19th one corps (Wurmser's) advanced halfway to Nördlingen. But by this time Napoleon had fully grasped the situation; Soult, Marmont, and Lannes were hastening to enclose Ulm on the southern side. When the heads of their columns were approaching the Ilse, a report reached Mack that British troops had landed at Wertingen, and that there was a revolution in France. He jumped to the conclusion that the French army was in full retreat, cancelled his previous instructions, and issued orders for pursuit. His dream, as he afterwards called it, was soon dispelled. By the 20th the investment of Ulm was complete. The Archibute had ridden northward with a few squadrons; but Mack remained at Ulm with 80,000 men. It was not a place that could be defended against a serious attack, and it was short of supplies.

On October 17 Mack agreed to capitulate, unless he should be relieved within eight days. Two days afterwards he consented to an armistice.

of the terms, the surrender should take effect immediately, but the corps of Ney should remain at Ulm till the 25th. The point about which Mack showed most concern was that Napoleon should not think ill of his generalship. Meanwhile Moreau was in hot pursuit of the Austrians who had gone northward. Wurmser's corps was overtaken and surrendered; but the Archduke, with about 2000 cavalry, escaped into Bohemia. The corps of Jellachich, which had been sent to reinforce Mack, made its way back to Yensberg much reduced. The total number of prisoners secured by the French was about 80,000.

Napoleon waited to see the troops at Ulm lay down their arms. On October 31, the day on which his naval power was shattered at Trafalgar, he left Ulm for Augsburg, after leaving his soldiers to deal with the Russians as they had dealt with the Austrians, and to settle the question whether the French industry was the second or the first in Europe. He had still no easy task before him. Kutsoff had reached Brunnau with 40,000 Russians, and was joined there by 15,000 Austrians. In a few weeks another Russian army would come up; and Archduke Charles might bring his troops from Italy to help in beating the road to France, or might descend on the flank or rear of the French army as it moved down the valley of the Danube.

Prussia, too, had changed her attitude. Hardenberg had been in favour of accepting Russia with the conditions attached to the truce. He disliked the system of neutrality which had been so long adhered to, and believed that a more spirited and less drifting policy was better for Prussia. Her enlargement and consolidation were his persistent aim, and he saw more prospect of effecting them by an alliance with France than by union with the eastern Powers. He was supported by the Duke of Brunswick; but Haugwitz advocated an armed neutrality. That was the course which the King decided on; and Doro (who arrived shortly afterwards) could not move him. He would give no facilities for the movement of French troops across neutral German States. Doro reported, however, that the Prussian army was quite ready to take the field; and Napoleon, while beginning to feel some distrust of the Prussian Government, felt more contempt for it. He blamed Bernadotte for deviating from the direct route from Göttingen to Würzburg on account of scruples about neutral territory, and told him to pass through Ansbach on his further march to Legnitzsch.

The news of this effort reached Frederick William at a critical moment. The Tsar had been pressing him to join the Coalition, or at any rate to allow the Russian troops to cross Silesia. He had refused, and, when he was told that the Russians would force their way, he had put his army on a war establishment. Alexander was unwilling to carry out his threat; and the march of the Russians was delayed for some weeks. He sent Dolgorouki to Berlin with a fresh appeal, but

on October 8 the King reaffirmed his unalterable resolution to decline against any Power which should violate his territory. He learned immediately afterwards that the French had passed through Ansbach three days before. His indignation was extreme, and was shared by his army and people, which had long felt sore at the mean part which Prussia had come to play in Europe. The desired compensation was at once given to the Russian troops. On October 25 Alexander was cordially received at Potsdam; the sovereign renewed the friendship which they had formed at Moscow in 1807, and even before the treaty of Bucharest the Great to be faithful to each other. A convention was signed on November 8, by which Prussia undertook to present to Napoleon embassies of peace substantially the same as those laid down in the Anglo-Russian treaty, except as regards Piedmont and the Netherlands. The King promised, if these proposals were rejected, to put 150,000 men into the field in order to enforce them; and a plan of operations was settled. Four weeks were to be allowed for negotiation with France, to give time for military preparations.

France was to obtain a better frontier, either by new acquisitions or by exchange; and the Tsar promised his good offices in bringing about the reunion of Hanover. He sent Oubril to London with this object; but Pitt, while willing to pay a subsidy, declared that, "as for the exchange of Hanover, no minister would be imprudent enough to make such a proposal to the King, and great care will be taken always to conceal it from him." The British Government had been urging for some time past that the influence of France over Prussia should be met "by ending temptation with means, and by acting at the same time upon the fear and upon the capacity of the Prussian Government." They proposed to extend its possessions west of the Rhine up to a line drawn from Maastricht to Luxembourg, so that it might form part of the French barrier. This proposal was now renewed as an alternative to the reunion of Hanover; but it was less attractive to Prussia, and was not supported favourably by Austria or Russia. It was so often, too, of part of the bear's skin before the bear was dead.

The offer of Ansbach is an example of that recklessness on Napoleon's part which made Simon Wiesnawski say of him, "*des idées les plus belles d'un vrai soldat qu'il possède en perfection, il s'en va, sans le dire aux autres*." But, if he constantly added new enemies to his, no one ever knew better how to deal with them in succession, and to make up for opposing odds by celerity and precision of stroke. By a rapid advance on Vienna he hoped to defeat Kutusoff before he was reinforced, and to force France to make peace, as he had done in 1806. He sent Nap with the Bavarians into Tyrol, and ordered Angereau to follow with his corps as soon as it arrived. He directed Bernadotte and Marmont on Salzburg, where they would cover his own flank, and would be able to turn the left of Kutusoff if he should try

to hold the two of the two. But Kutsoff made no such attempt. In spite of Austrian reinforcements, he fell back from one Tze to another as the French approached, and fought only war-gamed actions.

On November 5 Napoleon was at Lint. There he received proposals for an armistice from France: but, while ready to treat for peace, he refused to stop the march of his columns. Archduke Ferdinand had gathered about 10000 men in Bohemia, and a Russian force was rumored to be there also; so Napoleon formed a new corps under Mortier, made up of divisions from other corps, which was to march down the left bank of the Danube and push out reinforcements. This made Kutsoff uneasy, for he thought the object was to cut him off from the army which was crossing Elba. Parting company with the Austrians, he crossed the Danube at Mautern, fell upon the leading division of Mortier's corps, and nearly destroyed it. He then marched towards Olmutz, followed by Bernadotte. The Austrian corps which had been negotiating with him turned southward into the mountains, to keep the road over the Semmering open for the army of Italy, but was so roughly handled by Davout and Marmont, that only fragments of it found their way to Presburg.

Napoleon entered Vienna, which was undefended, on November 12, and took up his residence at Schönbrunn. He at once organized an administration of the archduchy, and imposed a war contribution of four millions sterling. By a *mar de guerre*, possession was gained of the bridge over the Danube, which was to prove a formidable obstacle in 1809. Maret was sent on with the cavalry and with the corps of Lannes and Soult to intercept Kutsoff. He ought to have succeeded, but he allowed himself to be tricked to turn by the Russian general, who professed that he was authorized to treat for the retirement of the Russian armies into Poland, and so gained time to reach Znaim. Bagration's corps had to be left behind in presence of the French; but it succeeded in regaining the army, after losing a third of its men in a fight against great odds at Hollabrunn. By November 13 Kutsoff had effected his junction with Bockendorff's army between Brünn and Olmutz.

While the Austrian defense in the valley of the Danube had so completely collapsed, the vigorous offensive, which, according to the plan of campaign, was to be taken in Italy, had come to nothing. When Archduke Charles took command of the army of Italy on September 26, he found his divisions under strength and short of equipment and transport. He was soon called upon to send assistance to the army of Germany. He was a man of more ability than courage, credulous rather than enterprising, and subject to serious convictions. His disapproval of the war and foreboding of disaster perhaps quenched his activity. At any rate he accepted the proposal of Marmont that six days' notice should be given before hostilities began, and under this convention the



two armies remained passive till the middle of October. By that time the Archduke had 50,000 men under his command, including 15,000 men in southern Tyrol. Masséna had only 35,000, but Saint-Cyr was bringing 10,000 from northern Italy. By dint of threats, Napoleon had forced a treaty of neutrality upon the Neapolitan Government, which was ratified on October 8.

In spite of his inferiority in numbers, Masséna demanded the convention and took the offensive. On November 10 he gained possession of the Carol Verdtio bridge at Verona, which enabled him to pass the Adige. On the 15th he attacked the Austrian army in its extended position behind Caldiero. Three days' obstinate fighting ended in the repulse of the French; but the Archduke did not follow up his success. He had heard of the disaster at Ulm, and had already suggested that the Austrian forces should evacuate Italy and Tyrol. He had sent off some of his guns and stores, and now seized the opportunity to begin his retreat. Masséna followed and harassed his rear-guard, but did not seriously interfere with him.

On November 8 the Archduke reached the Tagliamento, and halted there some days to give his brother John time to bring away the troops in Tyrol. Some of the corps there were cut off; Jellachich surrendered to Angereau, and Roban, after an adventurous march which brought him almost to Venice, surrendered to Saint-Cyr. With the remainder, John made his way by Villach to Marburg, where he was joined on the 25th by the army of Italy. Knowing that Napoleon had gone to meet the Russians in Moravia, Charles had thoughts of leaving the hemisphere and recovering Thion. The task should not have been too much for 50,000 men. He decided, however, to march round by Hungary, where he would meet with no opposition; and he had reached Kisménd when he heard, on December 2, of the battle of Austerlitz.

Napoleon had joined Murat at Brinn on November 23. He had hoped to dictate peace at Vienna; but Francis, though he continued to negotiate, could not be brought to cede Venetia and Tyrol. In spite of his successes, or rather by reason of them, Napoleon's position grew critical. He was five hundred miles from the French frontier. Winter was approaching, and his soldiers were longing to get home. The conscription was causing great discontent in France; there were plots and a financial crisis in Paris. The corps of the Grand Army were scattered, leaving a huge horse-shoe round Vienna. Bernadotte was at Lissa, watching the Archduke Ferdinand; Dornot had his headquarters at Presburg, to hold Hungary in check; Marmont was guarding the passes of Styria; Ney, having done his work in Tyrol, had moved on into Carinthia; while Angereau had been sent north into Silesia. Napoleon's divisions garrisoned Vienna, Masséna, who was expected to be at Genua, had halted at the Venetian frontier. Napoleon had only about 40,000 men with him at Brinn; while at Olmutz nearly 50,000

Russians and Austrians were assembled towards the end of the month, with the two Emperors at their head. If he attacked them, he could only hope to win a costly and barren victory, a prelude to a winter campaign. In a few days they would be reinforced by another Russian corps, that of *Berw*. By the middle of December their numbers would be more than doubled by the arrival of *Dontopoff's* army and that of *Archduke Charles*, while the Prussians would also come into the field. The British ministers were calculating that over three three-quarters of a million of men would be available for the next campaign.

While giving his troops a few days of much-needed rest, Napoleon tried to break up the Coalition by means of diplomacy. Talleyrand urged him to make a friend of Austria, and to compensate her at the expense of Turkey for the marches he required of her in Germany and Italy. As a powerful Danubian State, she would be a bulwark against Russian encroachments; and her interests would be bound up with those of France. But Napoleon hesitated after an understanding with the Tsar. The news of *Trafalgar* had lately reached him, and, in the indirect war against England to which he was now reduced, the war of blockade, he looked upon Russia as his best ally. *Stolton* and *Gyulski*, who came to his headquarters to reopen negotiations on behalf of the Emperor Francis, were sent on to Vienna, to be kept in play by Talleyrand. *Harigetta*, the bearer of the Prussian ultimatum designed as an offer of mediation, was detained two days at Lützen that he might not meet *Stolton*. *Harigetta* had a short interview with Napoleon, in which he was careful not to commit himself, and he, too, was sent on to Vienna. There he was profuse in his assurances to Talleyrand that the King was bound to nothing more than the tender of his good offices. Meanwhile Napoleon wrote to the Tsar, proposing a personal interview. Alexander declined, but sent his aide-de-camp, *Dolgorouki*, who was met by Napoleon at the French outposts on November 30. In reply to a suggestion that Russia should assist Malakoff instead of quarrelling with France, *Dolgorouki* said that the Tsar's policy was quite disinterested, and he stated the conditions which the Allies insisted on. Then (as Napoleon wrote that day to Talleyrand) included the withdrawal of the French from Belgium, which was to be ceded to Holland. "What, Brussels too!" said Napoleon, "not even if you were on the heights of Montmartre."

By this time, however, another way of escape from his embarrassments was opening for Napoleon. The allied army began to advance on Braun *Caenortzsch* advised Alexander to leave the army to Kutusoff, whose command was only nominal while the two sovereigns were with him. But Alexander had cooled towards his favourite, who was anti-Prussian, and had powerful enemies in the Old-Russian party. He had a willing ear to courtiers like *Dolgorouki*, who assured him that his presence and counsel would secure victory for his troops and glory for himself. He had chosen an Austrian, Colonel *Weyrother*, a man of the Mach type,

as chief of the staff, and was persuaded by him that Napoleon's movement instinctively showed he left himself no match for the Russians, and that he might be cut off from Vienna. A move in some direction was imperative, as supplies were running short at Olmütz, as it was decided to advance.

On November 23 the French outposts at Wundau were driven in. Napoleon at once protested the design of the Allies, and did his best to encourage them in its prosecution. He drew his troops back, and chose a position between Bräun and Austerlitz, which seemed to lend itself to that turning movement at which Weyrother was aiming. He determined that this should be an ordinary battle, but should finish the war with a clap of thunder. The plateau of Pratzen offered such strong ground that the enemy might be deterred from attacking him there, so he left it to them, and massed his troops, so far as possible, in the hollow behind it. He stretched a hill on the Olmütz road, and seemed to be making preparations for a rear-guard action to cover his retreat. He called up Bernadotte from Igla, and one of Durova's divisions from the Danube, so that by the day of battle he had 85,000 men at his disposal. The literary statements of the Allies gave him ample time.

The French position extended about seven miles along the Gidlbach, from the Olmütz road southwest to Telnitz. The northern half of it was occupied by a single division (Lagrange's) of Soult's corps; but a few miles to the west lay French divisions of Durova's corps, which reached Edgerys Abbey on the evening of December 1, after marching seventy miles in forty-four hours. In the northern half of the position, Lannes' corps was astride of the Olmütz road. Murat's cavalry was to his right; and to the right of Maut were Bernadotte's corps and two divisions of Soult's corps. The Imperial Guard and Oudinot's grenadiers were in reserve behind Bernadotte. Napoleon massed his troops here for a counter-stroke against the enemy's centre, when their left should be engaged in turning the French right. His confidence was such that, on the eve of the battle, he told his soldiers what would happen.

Early on the morning of December 2—the first anniversary of Napoleon's coronation—three columns of Russians under Bunkowden, with an advanced guard of Austrians, more than 80,000 men in all, descended from the plateau of Pratzen upon Telnitz and Sokolnitz. They expected to meet with little resistance there, and, shaking northward they were to join hands with a fourth column of 16,000 men, under Kollowrat, which was directed upon the centre of the French position. On the right, the corps of Bagration and some 16,000 cavalry under Lichnowsky advanced against Lannes and Maut, mainly as a demonstration. The Russian Guards remained in reserve.

Napoleon did not wait for these attacks to develop. As soon as "the sun of Austerlitz," looking through the mists, showed him that the plateau of Pratzen was comparatively bare of troops, he ordered his left and centre to advance. Soult's divisions (Saint-Hilaire and Vandamme)

encountered Kollowrat's columns at the village of Pratzen, drove it back, and reached the plateau, cutting the allied army in two. Bernadotte and Lannes also drove back the enemy in their front. There were some brilliant cavalry charges, which added to the advantage of the French; and, after four or five hours' hard fighting, the battle was won. The Austro-Russian right and centre retreated in disorder as Austerlitz, the two Emperors with them. Meanwhile Bucharof's columns had been making slow progress against the obstinate resistance of Lagrèze and Friest. Before they realised what had taken place on the plateau, their direct line of retreat was cut off. Their only way of escape was by the dyke which separated the lake of Mauer and Satschan; and on this the French guns concentrated their fire. Many were drowned in trying to cross the thin ice of the lake. It is uncertain how large a detachment should be made from the 69,000 of the Thirtieth Bulletin, or even from the 1000 of Thiers; but, at all events, 80 guns were afterwards recovered from Lake Satschan. Most of Bucharof's horse had done their worst. The total loss of the Allies was about 25,000 men and 100 guns; that of the French was about 7000.

But the losses were no adequate measure of the victory. It was Napoleon's *chef d'œuvre*, the battle of which he was most proud, and it completely demoralised the best army. "There were no longer remnants of army corps," says Curtzevski, "there were only disorderly bands of marauders." Austrians and Russians blamed one another for their defeat. They retreated in a south-westerly direction to Gding, where they crossed the Meuse into Hungary. They were not closely pursued, for Murat by mistake took the road to Olmutz. Alexander was deeply depressed, and listened to those who told him he had done enough for others, and must now think of himself. With his concurrence Francis asked for an interview with Napoleon, which took place on the 11th. An armistice was granted, on condition that the Russians should evacuate Austrian territory within a month, and that no other troops (except the Prussians) should enter it. Napoleon is said to have offered to leave Austria intact, if Russia would join in a treaty of peace excluding British trade from the Continent. Alexander would not consent, but he told Francis not to reckon any longer on the Russian army, and he sent word to the King of Prussia that he hoped he would find means of coming to an arrangement with France. At the same time he placed the corps of Tilly and Bönaparte, which were in northern Germany, at the disposal of Frederick William.

Negotiations for peace between France and Austria were begun at Nijmegen, and completed at Presburg (December 26). No representatives of other Powers, except Russia, were allowed to take part in them. Austria recognised all the changes already made by France in Italy, and ceded Venice (including Istria and Dalmatia, but not Trieste) to the King of Italy, subject to the promises already made by Napoleon.

that the crowns of France and Italy should be separated at the general peace. The Emperor Francis recovered all feudal rights over Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden. He ceded Tyrol and Vorarlberg with several smaller districts to Bavaria, while his possessions in Saxony were divided between Baden and Württemberg. The Electors of Bavaria and Württemberg were recognized as kings, and so, by the treaty of 1805, Napoleon bestowed a crown on the daughter of George III. Bavaria was authorized to annex the free city of Augsburg, and Austria to annex Salzburg, the ex-Grand-Duke of Tuscany receiving Warburg in exchange for it. On the whole, the Emperor Francis lost nearly three millions of subjects and one-sixth of his revenues. He agreed to pay forty millions of francs in lieu of the unpaid portion of the war contribution imposed on his hereditary States. On the advice of Archduke Charles, he replaced Colloredt by Stadion, in order to appease Napoleon. The Archduke had an interview with Napoleon on December 27, but was unable to obtain any mitigation of the terms. The treaty was ratified on January 1, 1806.

The Austrian negotiators had been placed at great disadvantage by the signature of a treaty between France and Prussia a few days before Hapsburg had held back his ultimatum till he could learn the result of the battle which was imminent; and after Austria he suppressed it. Talleyrand wrote on that day, "He seems to have meant to avoid events rather than with any other object." On December 14 he was received by the Emperor at Schönbrunn. Napoleon had no exact knowledge of the Prussian agreement, but he had learnt something of it, especially from Dolgorouki, and he poured out threats and reproaches. Later in the day he met for Hapsburg again, and told him that Austria was ready to become his ally and was asking for Hanover for one of the Archdukes, but he would prefer alliance with Prussia. Hapsburg suggested a triple alliance, to include Russia. Napoleon told he asked for nothing better, but that could be a work of time, and he could not wait. "Napoleon's art of diplomacy," says Seeley, "was very similar to his fashion of making war. It was a regular system of coaxing and seducing, made more effective by extreme rapidity." It prevailed with Hapsburg, who, on December 18, signed at Vienna the treaty dictated to him. The terms of this treaty were that there should be an alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and Prussia. The latter should cede Clèves to a Prince of the Empire, to be designated by Napoleon (it was to be Murat), Newbstadt to Prussia, and Ansbach to Bavaria, receiving in exchange Hanover and a restoration of the Rhenish boundary. Prussia was to guarantee the changes made in Germany and Italy.

Having disposed of his principal antagonists, Napoleon turned his attention to the minor operations in the north and south, which he had hitherto disregarded. Aguirre was sent northward, and Massena was directed to march on Naples with 80,000 men, accompanied by Joseph as the Emperor's representative. Napoleon had refused to admit any stipulations on behalf of the Neapolitan Bourbons into the Treaty of Presburg;

and, on the very day on which that treaty was signed, he declared his intention to "lead from the throne that criminal woman who has so shamelessly violated everything that is sacred among men" (Bolleto 27). The Court of Naples had delivered itself into his hands. It had no longer retained its treaty of neutrality with France; thus it assured the Russian monarch that this convention, extorted by force, was not binding, and called on the Allies to furnish the assistance they had promised. Towards the end of November, 1805, 20,000 Russians from Corfu and 1500 British troops from Malta disembarked in the Bay of Naples. They were joined by a few thousand Neapolitans, and by the middle of December they reached the northern frontier of the kingdom. When news came that the Allies had been defeated at Austerlitz, and that a strong French army was marching on Naples, it was at first decided to retreat into Calabria; but the Russian general Leyp, who was in chief command, received orders from the Tsar to bring his troops away, and, in spite of the bitter reproaches of the Queen, they reembarked for Corfu in the middle of January, while the British forces sailed for Messina. The King and his court retired to Palermo.

The army which was to secure Hanover and invade Holland, under the leadership of the King of Sweden, proved equally ineffective. About 20,000 Russians and Swedes assembled at Stralsund in October, and after some delay (owing to differences between Gustavus and the Prussian Government) marched into Hanover. There they were to be joined by 30,000 British and Hanoverian troops under Lord Cathcart; but some of the British ships were delayed by adverse winds till the end of December. The Allies had done nothing but sit down before Hameln, where there was a small French garrison, when the victory of Austerlitz and the changed attitude of France caused the army to break up. The British force reembarked at Bremen in February, 1806; and the Swedes and Russians retired to Stralsund.

Lord Harrowby had gone to Berlin in the middle of November, 1805, to settle the terms of alliance between Great Britain and France. He was authorised to promise subsidies for 150,000 men; and, if France hesitated to accede to the Anglo-Russian alliance, he might agree to some more limited engagement, such as the delivery of Holland and north Germany. On Dec. 22 Hardenberg told him that, owing to the two months' delay, the treaty must be by far the prompt, but asked for a loan of £1,000,000. He also stated that, to prevent a fresh occupation of Hanover by the French, France intended to occupy it. The Russian troops there had been placed at the disposal of the King of Prussia, and he proposed that the British and Swedish troops should receive orders to refuse behind the Prussians, but support them if they were attacked. This proposal, to which Pitt was not indisposed to agree, aggravated the bad faith which acceptance of the Treaty of Vienna would involve. The terms of that treaty were not known at Berlin till Haugwitz arrived

them on the 22th; and, even then, they were not disclosed to the British and Russian ministers. A State Council was held on January 3, 1802, to consider the terms. Hardenberg opposed the ratification of the treaty. Bismarck was in favour of it; Haugwitz and the Duke of Brunswick recommended that it should be ratified with certain modifications. This last was the course which the King adopted. He had reported, some before Austria, of having committed himself to the Coalition, and is said to have given Haugwitz private instructions to prevent a breach with France in any circumstances. The modifications made were as follows. The alliance must be defensive only; Hanover should not be annexed, but occupied provisionally; Hanover and Bremen should be included in the transfer to France, but Aachen, the patronage of the House of Hohenzollern, should not be given up. LaFayette, the French Minister, exchanged ratifications of the treaty as modified, but subject to the Emperor's approval, and on January 14 Haugwitz set out for Paris to obtain it.

Hanover had left Berlin a few days before, as the Anglo-Prussian treaty had fallen through. At his farewell audience, the King told him that he was endeavouring to make an arrangement by which he hoped to preserve the tranquillity of north Germany until a definitive peace, and trusted he should be supported in the event of failure. Of this definite Hanover heard nothing. His return was anxiously looked for by Pitt, who was then on his death-bed. He died on January 23; and the Coalition, already dismembered, lost its soul. The events of December hastened Pitt's end, but the "Austrian look" was already in his face before that battle was fought, when he could still say, "England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example." An impetuous sovereign and a shrewdest Opposition had courted a coalition never robust. It added to the European significance of his death that none of his colleagues could take his place; in the country which was formed Pitt was the principal figure.

Murray has described Pitt as a good peace minister, but "unequal to surprising and terrible emergencies," and has contrasted him with Chatham. But the difference in their performance as war ministers was in the circumstances rather than in the men. The former had the good fortune to have Frederick as ally, the son had Napoleon as antagonist. Pitt's spirit was as lofty and steadfast as Chatham's; and, if he was less inspiring, he was a better administrator, far more competent to deal with the financial problems on which the continuance of the struggle depended. Pitt suffers most by comparison in his excessive deference to the King, who was jealous of ministerial interference in military matters. But it should be remembered that, while Chatham reaped the benefit of the breach between George II and the Duke of Cumberland, caused by the Convention of Klosterzeven, Pitt's hands were tied by the state of George III's health, and by the character of the war, a war of established authority against revolution.

## CHAPTER X.

## THE THIRD COALITION. II.

On his way to Paris from Vienna, Napoleon stopped at Munich for the wedding of his step-son, Eugene Bonaparte, with the Princess Augusta, daughter of King Maximilian I of Bavaria (Jan. 14, 1806). The Hereditary Prince Charles of Baden, who was to have married the princess, became the husband of Josephine's niece, Stephanie. Napoleon had extorted a reluctant consent to these marriages from the anti-German Princes, as he wished to bind them more closely to him; and he did not hesitate to remind them that it was not for their own sakes, but as part of the French system, that they had received new lands and titles. A marriage was also arranged between his youngest brother, Jerome, and the only daughter of Frederick, King of Württemberg. But Jerome was already married; the Pope had scruples about granting a divorce; and the marriage was deferred for eighteen months.

Harigwitz arrived at Paris a few days after Napoleon, to obtain his assent to the Berlin version of the Treaty of Vienna. The moment was ill chosen. The change of ministry in England had opened fresh prospects to the Emperor, and he was glad that the Prussian Court—"very tame and very stupid," as he described it to Joseph—had not ratified the treaty as it stood. He wrote to Talleyrand (February 4). "If Mr Fox is really at the Foreign Office, we cannot cede Hanover to Prussia, except as part of a general arrangement which will secure us against the fear of a continuation of hostilities." Talleyrand was to take care, therefore, in dealing with Harigwitz, to leave Napoleon free either to make peace with England, or to conclude a new treaty with Prussia on a broader basis. No immediate overtures came from Fox; so the latter course was chosen. The overtures asked for by the Prussian Government were brushed aside. When Harigwitz urged that Ansbach was the cradle of the Hohenzollerns, he was told that there is no need of a cradle when one is grown up. A new treaty was signed at Paris on February 15, 1806, in substitution for the Treaty of Vienna. Prussia was to annex and occupy Hanover at once, and to close the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems to British commerce. The alliance between Prussia and France was no longer



described as "alliance," but they guaranteed each other's territory, and the Prussian guarantee extended to the changes which might be made at Naples, to the newly-formed States of Germany, and to the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The two Powers were to make common cause in any war which would affect these guarantees. In other respects the Vienna stipulations were renewed, except that the restoration of the Rhenish boundary was cancelled.

The new treaty was more serious and more distasteful to Frederick William than the old one, but it was accepted and ratified at Berlin on February 24. A few months weeks from Talleyrand, while Napoleon was at Munich, had made the Prussian Government so conscious of its want to the changes which it desired, that the greater part of the army had been placed on a peace footing at the end of January. On the French side everything was ready for war, and there was practically no alternative to acceptance. However was already occupied by Prussian troops; and at the end of March it was formally accepted, and its harbours were closed to British vessels. "It is the lowest of all degradations," said Himmelfarb von Biele, "to stand at another man's bidding." Fox denounced the conduct of France as "a compound of everything that is contemptible in servility with everything that is odious in rapacity." The British Minister was recalled from Berlin; the Prussian harbours were blockaded; and some hundreds of Prussian ships were seized. The King of Sweden joined in the work of blockade, and held Lauenburg on behalf of George III. His troops were driven out, but the Prussians refused to permit him land because of the Tsar.

What Alexander would say, to the new treaty was the question which most disturbed Frederick William. He had sent the Duke of Brunswick to St. Petersburg in January to explain his occupation of Hanover, and to give assurances that he would not help France against Russia in any war on the Eastern Question. He had no sooner ratified the Treaty of Paris, which bound him to do so, than he made a fresh appeal to the Tsar, who had no wish to drive France into the arms of France, and lent a friendly ear to the explanations offered. Alexander proposed an exchange of secret declarations; France should bind herself not to take part in any attack on Russia, and to obtain the occupation of Germany by the French troops within three months; while Russia undertook to come to the aid of France if France should attack her. The King jumped at this proposal, and a secret declaration was drawn up by Hardenberg and sent to St. Petersburg.

A dual ministry was the appropriate instrument of the double faced policy of France at that time. Hardenberg had been denounced in the *Moniteur* as a traitor to English pay; and the French envoy, Lalor, was forbidden to have any dealings with him. In April it was found advisable that he should ostensibly hand over the charge of foreign affairs to Haugwitz, and retire to his estates. But, while Haugwitz

transacted all business with France, Hardenberg continued to act as the King's adviser in the secret dealings with Russia, communicating with him through the Queen. Queen Louise, already beloved for her charm and goodness, now began to display the patriotism and courage which have made her memorable. She used her influence on the side of the growing party which was indignant at Prussian subservience to France, and at the head of which was Prince Louis Ferdinand, "the Prussian Achilles," a nephew of the great Frederick.

Meanwhile Napoleon was building up his system. In northern Italy the French troops met with little resistance. They entered Naples on February 12, 1806, and Joseph Bonaparte organized an administration. At the end of March he was declared King of the Two Sicilies, without forfeiture of his rights in France. Gaeta held out, and the peasants of Calabria rose in insurrection on behalf of Ferdinand, but the rest of the country submitted. Veneto, Dalmia, and Dalmatia were annexed to the kingdom of Italy, which was required to make some small sacrifices for the benefit of Napoleon's return, Elba and Pindus. Two months afterwards he made his brother Louis King of Holland (June 5). He had paved the way for this substitution of a republican government more than two centuries old by appointing a Grand Pensionary, Schimmelpenninck, in March, 1805. All power had been concentrated in the hands of this official, who came to be regarded by the Dutch as a French puppet, charged to extort money from them. The change, therefore, was not unexpected in Holland. Caroline Bonaparte and her husband, Murat, were established as the grand-duchy of Berg, formed out of the duchy of that name ceded by Bavaria in exchange for Ansbach and the eastern part of the duchy of Cleve.

While providing for the members of his family, Napoleon risked on making use of them as instruments of his policy. "I recognize no relatives but those who serve me," he said; and he discarded the resistant Louise. The other brothers, though more subservient, were not content with the status of satellites, and did not perceive the width of the chasm between Napoleon and themselves. On his part harsh language went along with much indulgence. It was his habit to snarl and scold. In May, 1807, he wrote to Joseph, "I am not ill pleased with Louis"; yet, a few weeks before, he had been telling Louis that he should regard him as his inveterate enemy if he did not cancel a decree mortabinding nobility in Holland. Louis was a conscientious man, with bad health and low spirits. He identified himself with his subjects, and tried to protect them from his brother's rapacity. The differences began almost at once, which ended in his abdication in 1810.

Napoleon proceeded to reward his principal officers in such a way as to bind up their fortunes with his. He was well aware (as Pasquier says) that nothing lasted long, and sought props for his throne from old and new French allies. He made Berthier Prince of Neuchâtel. He

created (1806) titular duchies in the newly acquired countries—two in Venetia, four in Naples, four in Lucca, Parma, and Piacenza—and conferred them on marshals and ministers. The new duchies were not allowed to interfere in administration, but they received one-fiftieth of the revenue of their duchies for their personal use. Bonaparte and Paolo Corvo, papal ambassador in the Kingdom of Naples, were bestowed as principalities on Talleyrand and Bernadotte. Counts and barons of the new Empire were also to be created, and, to provide funds for endowing them, Napoleon appropriated domain-land in Italy to the value of 84,000,000 francs, and imposed a fiscal charge on the public revenues. Jacobins might shake their heads, but he knew that a few years of equality had not eradicated the love of honour and distinction, and he hoped to rally the old aristocracy to the new Empire.

In the spring of 1806 Napoleon addressed himself to the reorganisation of Germany, which had been long in his mind, but had been only partially accomplished after Lüneville. The territory which Austria had been obliged to cede had been assigned to other German Princes and to the Kingdom of Italy; it had not been added to France. Her profit was to be found in the collection of the shew of Rastatt and Munster, the destruction of Germany as an unit. Napoleon's plan was to dissolve the Empire, and to form a Confederation of the Rhine, from which the two great Powers, Austria and Prussia, should be excluded. The principal States in this new Confederation owed much to him, and would be obliged to lean on him for support. The smaller Princes, who had habitually looked to Austria, were to be swept away with some few exceptions. The treaty constituting the Confederation was drawn up by Talleyrand, and was ratified at Saint-Cloud on July 19.

The affairs of the Confederation were to be managed by a Diet at Frankfurt, consisting of a College of Kings and a College of Princes. The former was composed of the Kings of Bavaria and Württemberg, with the Grand Dukes of Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Berg. Its president was Dilling, formerly Archbishop of Mainz, now of Bamberg, and Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, who was established with a treasury of his own at Frankfurt, and received the title of Prince-Primate. A well-meaning but weak man, he dreamed of a western Germany, the ally but not the vassal of the Emperor of the West. As Archbishop of Mainz he had been useful in the negotiations of 1801, and was the only ecclesiastical elector who survived them, and he now again proved himself a serviceable tool. The seven members of the Confederation, nine in number, formed the College of Princes under the presidency of the Duke of Nassau. Rectifications of frontier were arranged between the several members, and they renounced all claims to one another's territory. The negotiations of 1805 were followed up by wholesale mediation. The dukes, counts, and knights who were not admitted to membership lost their sovereign rights, and were

abandoned as the States were merged, but they retained their other feudal rights and their patronages. Ratibon and the free city of Nuremberg fell to Bavaria, as Augsburg had fallen already. Provision was made for the admission of other German Princes outside the boundaries of the Confederation. Napoleon was declared Protector, and an alliance was made between the Confederation and the French Empire, binding each to help the other in any Continental war. The contingents of the several States were fixed, the total amounting to 65,000 men, about eight per thousand of their population.

On August 1, 1806, the representatives of the several States assembled at Rastatt, their separation from the German Empire, and the French army declared that Napoleon no longer recognised its existence. Five days afterwards Francis II. resigned the Imperial dignity, and became Francis I., Emperor of Austria. Thus, after an existence of more than a thousand years, the Holy Roman Empire came to an untimely end.

Napoleon had thought it well to keep his army in Germany till these changes were accepted, and he had been furnished with a pretext for so doing. The harbour of Cattaro was ceded to him as part of Dalmatia, and he attached particular value to it as an inlet to the Balkan peninsula. He meant to get possession of Montenegro, come to an understanding with Ali Pasha of Janina, and so gain influence over the Serbs and overbore the policy of Russia. The Russians and Montenegrins were alarmed at the prospect of French troops at Cattaro; and, before their arrival, the Austrian officer who was in command there was persuaded to hand over the place to a Russian force from Galla. The French army was on the point of evacuating Austria when this news reached Napoleon. He sent orders at once that the troops should halt, and that Russians should be encouraged. He informed the Court of Vienna that hostilities could be renewed if it failed to put him in possession of Cattaro; if the Russians refused to give it up, Austrian troops must join with French troops in besieging it. Francis appealed to the Law, but Cattaro was not given up; and Napoleon had to content himself with seizing Ragusa. The Grand Army remained in Germany, living in cantonments at the expense of the country, and distributed from Frankfurt to the river Inn. Reinforcements had raised it to 170,000 men, and it could be readily assembled for a march either on Vienna or Berlin.

Shortly after Fox's accession to office, a Frenchman came to him with a scheme for the assassination of Napoleon. Fox caused the man to be detained, and sent information of the design to Talleyrand. Napoleon accepted this as the creature which he had been looking for. Talleyrand sent a courteous acknowledgment, and, in a separate letter of the same date (March 5), called attention to the Emperor's recent declaration to the Legislative Body, that he was ready to negotiate with England on the basis of the Treaty of Amiens. Fox replied that the King was equally desirous of a durable peace, but could only trust in concert with

Russia. It was Napoleon's rule to deal with his adherents one at a time, and he would have nothing to do with joint negotiations. Neither side would give way; and there was a deadlock for some months. The Russian Government was legally informed of what had taken place, but it had some misgivings. Its ambassador in London, Baron Wessenoot, wrote on March 21, "Fox wishes for peace at any price, and would abandon all his allies to obtain it." Oubell was sent to Paris, nominally to make arrangements about prisoners, but really to discuss the question of Cattaro, and to look after Russian interests generally.

Some British subjects who had been detained in France since the capture of the Peace of Amiens were released about this time, and among them was Lord Yarmouth (afterwards Marquis of Hartford), a personal friend of Fox. Talleyrand persuaded him, in June, to be the bearer of fresh propositions to England. "Russia should make no difficulty", and on other points Napoleon, as Yarmouth understood, was ready to negotiate on the basis of *ab initio*. England might keep what she had—Malta, the Cape, even Sicily. Holland and Switzerland should be independent, if the Emperor were not on other points. As for Russia, Talleyrand said that she was disposed to treat directly with France. Yarmouth brought back a letter from Fox, consenting to a preliminary discussion, while still maintaining that Russia must be a party to any treaty. By that time Talleyrand had changed his ground, and insisted on the surrender of Sicily as a *non possumus*, and Yarmouth was told not to produce his power till that demand was withdrawn (June 22).

To become master of the Mediterranean was the chief aim of Napoleon's policy, as he told Joseph; and he pressed him to get possession of Sicily without delay. He was confident that 8000 French troops could force a landing and expel the English from the island (June 6). But the course of things in Italy did not bear out this view. A British force from Sicily, under Sir John Stuart, landed on the coast of Calabria; and on July 4 it defeated a French division under Reynier at Maida, the numbers on each side being about 5000. As Paul Louis Courcier (then serving as an artillery officer in southern Italy) wrote— "With our good troops, and with equal numbers, to be defeated and broken up in a few minutes—such a thing has not been seen since the Revolution." The victory stimulated the Calabrian insurgents, but it was not followed up; and the surrender of Gaeta (July 14) made it necessary for the British to return to Sicily.

Oubell reached Paris on July 6. Napoleon had caused him to be delayed on the road in the hope of coming to terms with England before his arrival. This hope was disappointed, and the British and Russian surveys took course together; but Talleyrand soon found that Oubell was willing to keep secrets from his colleagues, and was more yielding. Oubell was told that the retention of Cattaro would bring war upon Austria; and he knew that Alexander was personally anxious to prevent

work a result, and was desirous of peace. By July 26 he was induced to sign a treaty, with which he at once set out for St. Petersburg. Russia was to hand over Cattaro, and recognise Dalmatia as part of the Kingdom of Italy. France would recognise the independence of Naples and of the Ionian Islands, and would withdraw her troops from Germany within three months. The two Powers guaranteed the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire, they were to bring about peace between France and Sweden, and to induce the King of Spain to cede the Baluarte Islands to Ferdinand's eldest son. On that condition the Tsar would recognise Joseph as King of the Two Sicilies. He would also use his good offices to bring about a truceless peace.

Napoleon had settled his point as to separate negotiations, and he hoped now to be able to turn the hand of the British envoy. If the second treaty were signed, he could count on the satisfaction of both. Yarnmouth was persuaded to produce his powers, and to discuss matters orally with Clarke, the French plenipotentiary. He "cautiously forbore giving any written paper, or admitting even the possibility of any other basis than that of *uti possidetis*"; but he ascertained the French demands, and transmitted a draft treaty to London (printed as the *Correspondence de Napoleon I.*). Coburn's treaty, however, had leaked out, and had caused indignation there, both by its terms and by the manner in which it had been brought about. To fill in with Russian views, Fox had, it is true, entertained the idea that Sicily might be exchanged for Dalmatia, Istria, and part of Venetia, but not for the Baluarte Islands; and such exchange was not to be forced upon Ferdinand. The Government thought Yarnmouth had gone rather far; but they assisted Lord Lansdowne with him as joint negotiator in August, and soon afterwards recalled him. Lansdowne at once took his stand on the *uti possidetis*, except as regards Hanover; while Clarke declared it could never have entered the Emperor's mind to take that principle as a basis. Even Fox had come by this time to despair of peace. He wrote to his nephew, Lord Holland, "It is not Sicily, but the shocking incoherence in which they act, that shows us they are playing a false game." But Fox was too ill to pay much attention to affairs; he died on September 13. His successor at the Foreign Office was Lord Harwich afterwards Earl Grey. The negotiations dragged on for two months, each side hoping that the course of events would turn to its advantage, and changing its tone accordingly; but there was no approach to agreement.

The draft treaty prepared at the end of July had included provisions for the restoration of Hanover to George III, and for the indemnification of Prussia for her cession of Cleves, Aachen, and Maastricht by other lands (Ansbach, Fulda, etc.) with an equivalent population. The Prussian eagle had turned vulture, Napoleon once said; and he thought little of making her disgorge her prey. Yarnmouth had let Lansdowne know that Hanover had been offered to England; and the news reached Berlin

on August 6, when Napoleon was claiming credit there for refusing to risk Prussia in order to make peace with England. The indignation which it caused was heightened by other circumstances. Most had lately jotted the Prussians out of the districts of Essen, Werdau, and Elber, which he claimed as part of the duchy of Cleves. There were rumors of other claims, and of the transfer of the Polish provinces to Russia, and of Pomerania to Sweden. When the treaty creating the Confederation of the Rhine was communicated to the Court of Berlin, the King of Prussia was invited to form a Northern Confederation and to style himself Emperor. He made proposals to Saxony, Hanover-Cassel, Mecklenburg, and the Hesse Towns; but the answers were unfavorable, and it was soon found that they were prompted from Paris. As there were no signs of organized opposition to the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon resolved to disengage that of the North. All these things convinced Frederick William that the Emperor meant to force war on him, or to render him incapable of resistance. He appealed to the Diet, and decided (August 9) to mobilize part of his army, not with the intention of declaring war, but to guard Prussian interests. It was important to gain time; and, as Luchowicz had accused Napoleon's displeasure, a new ambassador, Knobelsdorff, replaced him at Paris.

Towards the end of August an incident occurred which stirred all Germany. A pamphlet had been circulated, entitled "Germany in her deep humiliation (*Deutschland in seiner tiefen Erniedrigung*)". It was a double yet moderate appeal to Saxony and Prussia to save the German Empire on the brink of the abyss. It is said to have been written by an Ansbach official, but it bore no name of author or publisher. Paine, a bookseller of Nuremberg, had helped to circulate it, and, by Napoleon's direction, he was tried by a military Court and shot (August 13). At Berlin the popular excitement became uncontrollable. A circumstance was presented to the King early in September, calling upon him to dismiss Haugwitz and the Cabinet Secretaries, Beyers and Lombard, who were detested both at home and abroad. It was signed by Louis Ferdinand and other princes, by two generals and by Poles. The King refused, but he and his ministers were carried away by the war party, now strengthened by the news that Alexander had refused to ratify Oubli's treaty.

There had been a change of ministry at St. Petersburg. Countessdall had resigned on June 11, and was succeeded by Baron Rothenberg, a Livonian, whose sympathies were with Prussia. Oubli was declared to have gone beyond his power, and was dismissed. The Russian Government demanded that France should give up Belgium, guarantee Sicily to Ferdinand, and find some compensation for the King of Sardinia; and the British Government joined in these demands. Napoleon learnt the Diet's refusal on September 3. He had hitherto looked upon the stir in Prussia as mere effervescence, which might be left to subside. It now

became more strict; and on the 5th he sent Bärthel instructions to make arrangements for concentrating the army near Bamberg, if necessary, and to reconnoitre the roads to Berlin. He wrote to Frederick William, warning him to discontinue his military preparations (September 14). The French envoys at Berlin, Dresden, and Cassel were directed to intimate that neither Saxony nor Hesse must arm, and that the entry of Prussian troops into Saxony would be regarded as a declaration of war. But Prussian troops from Silesia had already entered Saxony; on the 10th they crossed the Elbe near Dessau, and the Saxon troops were ordered to join them. The Elector of Hesse temporised, and eventually declared himself neutral.

Convinced that war was inevitable, the King left Berlin on the 13th for the head-quarters of his army at Neuenburg; and on the 15th he sent an ultimatum to Paris, demanding the immediate withdrawal of the French armies beyond the Rhine, and the Emperor's acquiescence in a Confederation of the North, to include all the States which did not belong to the Confederation of the Rhine. Napoleon had left Paris the day before, and the ultimatum was delivered to him at Bamberg on October 7, when the term allowed for reply to it had almost run out, and when the French troops were in fact passing the frontier of Hesse. It was accompanied by a letter from Frederick William to Napoleon, which the latter described as "a very pamphlet," showing how Prussia had cropped to France, and how ill she was required.

The total number of men on which the Prussian Government reckoned was a quarter of a million, including Saxons and Hessians; but not half that number was actually available to meet the French. The Duke of Brunswick was named commander-in-chief; but his command was only nominal, as the King was present. Prussian tradition made this necessary, though Frederick William hated war and complained that he had no gifts for it. Brunswick had distinguished himself in the Seven Years' War upon his uncle Ferdinand, and had been described by Frederick the Great as "*un homme dont l'opini6n vaut dieu en jeunesse & mûrité un bric6l, l'ardeur & le z6le.*" He had many fine qualities, but he was more than seventy years of age, and wanting in decision. He was anxious about his duty, and held Napoleon in awe. A French officer who had been sent to Dresden reported at the end of September: "The Duke of Brunswick does not wish for war; he is afraid of compromising his reputation, he is timid, slow, and irresolute."

The Prussian officers generally were far from sharing the apprehensions of their commander. They believed that the French were, after all, "the men of Bamberg," and were no match for Prussian troops in open country. They were justly proud of the drill and discipline of their men, and had full confidence in the Hesse tactics with which Frederick had won his victories. These tactics, combined with a proper use of light infantry, afterwards served Wellington well enough in the Peninsula.



and at Waterloo. But the Prussian army was at a disadvantage in many ways. It had seen no war service for ten years. It was the King's army, not the army of the nation, and had no reserves behind it. It has always been a heavy burden on the country, and of late years the burden had been less patiently borne: civil interests had prevailed, an military reforms had been rejected if they involved waste expenditure. The soldiers, says Clausewitz, were highly polished, but they were the worst in Europe. The officers were old; and avarice and jealousy were rife among them. Some believed in Prince Hohenlohe, others in Büchel, both of whom possessed abundant self-confidence, and were comparatively young, Hohenlohe being sixty and Büchel fifty-two.

Braunschweig had prepared that the available forces should be available at Saumburg to form one army under his command. But he was overruled. It was decided that, on the left of the main army, there should be another army under Hohenlohe to cover Dresden, and on the right: separate corps under Büchel to protect Cassel. The greater part of Hohenlohe's army was afterwards brought over to the west of the Saale to take part in an advance through the Thuringian Forest, by which it was hoped to surprise the French army in its cantonments and to cut it in two. But this offensive movement had to wait for the execution of the term named in the Prussian ultimatum, and before that date (October 8) it was abandoned. The Prussian armies lay between Elbe and Auer, with a few thousand men east of the Saale, guarding the point where that river was crossed by the roads to Leipzig and Dresden. The initiative was left to the French.

It was the intention of Napoleon to march straight on Berlin from the river Main, while threatening attack from the lower Rhine by way of Münster. He expected that the Prussians would remain on the defensive behind the Elbe waiting for the Russians, and was surprised to find them advancing to meet him. This gave him an opportunity of repeating the manoeuvre of Ulm. His plan, as he explained it to his brother Louis at the end of September, was to mass all his forces on his extreme right leaving the country between Hamburg and the Rhine bare of troops. If the enemy should try to turn his left and cut his communications, he would throw them back upon the Rhine, which was guarded by a corps under Mörner at Mainz, and by Dutch troops under Louis at Wesel. If he were himself defeated, he should fall back on the Danube; but he had not much fear of defeat. The deployment of his forces would be so imposing and so rapid that the Prussians would probably hurry back to defend their capital.

By the evening of October 7 the Grand Army, numbering 160,000 men, was assembled on three main roads leading northward, with a front of about thirty miles. The 4th corps (Bohd) was at Barmuth on the right, with the 5th corps (Nag) a day's march behind it. The 1st corps (Bernadotte) and the bulk of the reserve cavalry under Murat were

in the centre, about Krasach, with the 1st corps (Ducrot) and the Guard behind them. On the left was the 3d corps (Lamotte), a few miles south of Coburg, with the 7th (Augustine) at its rear. The south-German States had loans called on for contingents, which amounted to 50,000 men; but they were left at first to guard the communications and to watch Austria, about whose course of action Napoleon was uneasy. He had been reassured to some extent by Archduke Ferdinand at Würzburg; and he told his ambassador at Vienna to throw out hints of his inclination towards an Austrian alliance.

The general advance of the French army began on the 9th, and the Prussian detachments on the upper Saale fell back before it. On the 9th Bernadotte's leading troops overtook Thümmel's division at Eisleben and drove it in disorder to Mittel-Pfortitz, where there was another division of Hohenzollern's army. To support these outlying troops Hohenzollern gave orders that the rest of his army should cross the Saale but it was too late, and he was obliged to bring the two divisions one to the left bank of the Saale, leaving the roads to Dresden and Berlin open. In consequence of Hohenzollern's first order, Prince Louis, who commanded his advanced guard, marched to Saalfeld, and there encountered the head of Lamotte's corps (October 10). He was killed in a lively engagement, in which six French squadrons proved more than a match for eight Prussian squadrons; and his division was routed.

Having satisfied himself that there was no large body of the enemy in his front or on his right, Napoleon drew the heads of his columns together and turned them towards the west. By the evening of the 10th the leading troops of three corps were on the Saale—Ducrot at Naumburg, Lamotte at Jena, Augustine at Eisleben. "If the enemy is at Erfurt," the Emperor wrote next morning, "my plan is to march my army on Weimar, and attack on the 15th." He wished to give time for his heavy guns to come up, but the enemy must not be allowed to escape, and the battle planned for the 16th was fought on the 14th.

There was much perturbation at the Prussian head quarters when it became known that the French were at Naumburg, between the King and his capital, and in possession of the Prussian magazines. Schumacher, afterwards the organizer of the Prussian military system, was Bismarck's chief of the staff. He urged that they should hold to their plan, and, if not attacked themselves, cross the Saale and fall upon the enemy's flank and rear. Bismarck thought it better to retreat hurriedly, to meet the reinforcements which were on their way from Magdeburg under Duke Eugene of Württemberg; and his opinion prevailed. The King with the main army, 50,000 men, marched to Auerstedt on the 14th. Büchel's corps (10,000) was to follow. Hohenzollern, who had about 40,000 men, was to remain in his position near Jena for a day or two to cover the retreat, but was to act strictly on the defensive. Detachments amounting to more than 15,000 men had been sent through the

Thuringian Forest to strike at the French communications, and were too far off to be needed in time.

The Saale was fordable at several points near Jena, but the high and steep banks made it a difficult river to cross. Open and level ground, however, was best suited to Prussian tactics; and Hohenlohe, instead of attempting to defend the town, drew back his left (Darmstadt's division) to the highest part of the plateau north of it. On the afternoon of the 14th Langer's corps not only occupied Jena, but established itself on the Landgrabenberg, a corner of the plateau; and Napoleon himself bivouacked there that night with the Guard. Hohenlohe was restrained by his instructions from attacking the French, crowded as they were in a narrow space, with steep slopes behind them. He supposed that Napoleon had gone northward to Naumburg with the greater part of the French army, and did not expect to be seriously attacked himself on the 14th. Napoleon, on the other hand, believed himself to be in presence of the main strength of the Prussians, and was not aware that Bunsen's army had retreated. He had 55,000 men available on the morning of the 14th, and 35,000 by midday; and he had sent orders that Davout should march from Naumburg, and Bernadotte from Donauw., to fall upon the left flank of the Prussians in the course of the afternoon.

With such odds against him, the utmost Hohenlohe could do was to hold his ground for a few hours and then follow the main army. For this it was essential that he should have his troops well in hand; but the Prussian divisions, including Büchel's, were scattered over twelve miles of country, and were beaten in succession. A thick mist hampered movements on both sides for some hours, but served Napoleon's purpose, as it gave time for the troops in the rear to come up. By 10 a. m., when it cleared off, the French had gained possession of Völschelsberg, the key of the plateau. Hohenlohe tried to recover it, but his tactics were not those of Frederick, who made use of columns for storming a village. Twenty Prussian battalions in two lines advanced as *débâtes*; but, instead of pushing home their attack, they halted and engaged in desultory fire against the better-disciplined French skirmishers. Their endurance was at length exhausted, and they were falling back in confusion, when Büchel's corps tardily arrived from Weimar. In half-an-hour it was also put to flight; and by 6 p.m. March was in Weimar.

Napoleon's victory at Jena was supplemented, and, as a tactical achievement, surpassed, by Davout's victory at Auerstedt. Following his instructions, Davout set out for Apolda at 4 a.m.; and, on reaching Hainichen, his leading division met the advanced guard of Bunsen's army on its way to Pörsdorf, where it was to join the Ustutrit. Having gained possession of Hainichen, Davout forced his troops to fight and left of it as they came up. He had only 25,000 men; in infantry he was outnumbered by three to two, in cavalry by six to one, in guns by five to one. Yet he held his ground for five hours against repeated

attacks, in one of which Bernadotte was mortally wounded. Soon after midday the French found themselves able to take the offensive, and by half-past two Frederick William decided to retreat on Weimar and rejoin Hohenlohe. This decision turned a repulse into a rout. The retreating troops had to change direction in order to avoid French corps, and they were learned what had happened at Jena. With the exception of a few battalions, the whole Prussian army dissolved, many of the men throwing away their arms.

The battle of Austerlitz showed how largely the French success was due to the fighting qualities of the officers and men, apart from the leadership of the Emperor. Napoleon was incensed when he received Davout's report. "Your Marshal was double," he said roughly to the aide-de-camp who brought it; and though he gave much praise afterwards to the Marshal and his corps, he took care that the battle should figure in his bulletin as a mere episode of the battle of Jena. If great credit was due to Davout, blame might now be attached to the strategy which left him to fight against such odds. This caused Napoleon to be the more severe to Bernadotte, who was at Naumburg on the night of the 18th, and might have accompanied Davout. In the orders for the 18th, which reached Davout at 8 a.m., it was stated: "If Marshal Bernadotte should be with you, you might march together, but the Emperor hopes that he will be in the position which he has indicated to him at Dornburg." Bernadotte, on being shown these orders, decided to march to Dornburg, and cross the Saale there, though he knew there was a difficult delta. He heard heavy firing to south and to north of him, but he held on his way, and reached Apolda at 5 p.m., having played no part in either battle.

The streams of Prussian fugitives from Jena and Austerlitz flowed westward. Some of them made for Erfurt, where 10,000 men capitulated on the following night, including Marshal Mollendorf and the Prince of Orange. The main body turned towards the Harz country, to reach Magdeburg by a circuit. The King gave the chief command to Hohenlohe, and hurried on to Kötzen, where he was joined by the Queen, who had been with the army, but had fortunately left on the eve of the battle. By the 20th the wreck of the army was at Magdeburg; but Hohenlohe saw no hope of making a stand behind the Elbe, and decided to retire to Stettin. Scott's corps, which had been marching sixteen miles a day for a fortnight, was a day's march behind him; and Ney was following Scott. Fifty miles to the west was the Duke of Weimar, with the Saxon which had been sent against the French communications.

While the Prussians and the corps pursuing them were descending on us, Napoleon moved by the chord upon Berlin with the rest of his army. Bernadotte was sent towards Halle to intercept any defeated troops drifting in that direction; on October 17 he fell upon the corps commanded by Duke Eugene of Württemberg, which was encamped there,

and drove it in disorder across the Elbe. On the 25th Dessau received the bridge at Wittenberg, and on the 26th her corps marched through Berlin, as a reward for its behaviour at Anstett. Lauenau had occupied Potsdam, and frightened the governor of Spandau estate into surrender.

During these movements of the troops, Napoleon found time to deal with many other things. He had written a letter to the King of Prussia, proposing peace, two days before the battle of Jena, probably with the object of gaining time for his own consolidation. To this letter the King replied from his last halting-place after the battle, asking for an armistice to allow of negotiations. The armistice was refused; but the King was invited to make propositions. Luchowicz had an interview with Durn on the Elbe near Wittenberg, but he found Napoleon's conditions too hard for acceptance. Prussia was to cede all her possessions west of the Elbe, except Magdeburg, to restore her place of education with other German States, to renew her pledge of alliance against Russia, and to pay an indemnity of 150,000,000 francs.

The Emperor did not wait for a settlement while the tale of his success was in full flow. He went to Weimar the day after the battle of Jena, and was received by the Duchess. It suited him to express admiration for her spirit, and to overlook the part played by her husband, who was related to the Tsar. At the same time he was detaching feelings which blamed the Queen of Prussia to Arnstadt, Helm, and Lady Hamilton. "In politics magnanimity is the mark of a conqueror," he once said; but the pattern of his conduct towards Queen Louise, which drew circumstances from Josephine, only served to make her to the German people. The Duke of Brunswick, blinded at Anstett, was driven from his capital, to die at Altona a few weeks afterwards. He and the Prince of Orange were deprived of their duchies by a decree issued at Wittenberg on October 18, which also directed that possession should be taken of all Prussian territory between the Rhine and the Elbe.

The Elector of Hesse was the next victim. He had declared himself neutral, but he had mobilised 30,000 men, and his chief son had been at the Prussian head-quarters. Napoleon wanted his land for the kingdom of Westphalia, which he was already planning; and he was resolved to get rid of a prince who had hitherto played off France against Prussia, and had tried "to fish from both banks." Mortier was ordered to march on Cassel from Frankfurt, and Louis from Weid. On October 28, when Mortier was within a day's march, the Elector was called upon to surrender, and to hand over his fortress and war material. He fled to Denmark, and tried to negotiate, but on November 4 his deposition was announced, much to the satisfaction of his people.

Very different was the treatment awarded to another Elector, Frederick Augustus of Saxony. Not only had he mobilised his troops, but they had fought side by side with the Prussians at Jena. They

had, however, been unwilling allies, and were dissatisfied with their treatment. Saxony stood to France much as Russia to Austria, and might equally be made to serve Napoleon's purposes. He had issued a proclamation to the Saxon people on October 10, announcing that he had come to deliver them from Prussian domination. At Weimar he made a similar address to the Saxon officers who had been taken prisoners, and allowed them and their men to go home, on taking an oath never to bear arms against him in future. This led the Saxon division to separate itself from the Prussians. It marched into Saxon territory, and asked for an armistice, which was granted on condition that the Elector recalled his troops and remained at Dresden. To this he acceded on the 18th. The King of France, who was treating for peace without any regard to his ally, could not complain if that ally took the same course.

Saxony, however, did not escape all the penalties of her partnership with France. Dresden was occupied by Bavarian troops, which, with other south-German contingents had been formed into a corps under Jomini, and had followed the Grand Army. The Saxon war-material and cavalry horses were appropriated to French use, and the country was temporarily placed under French administration. War contributions amounting to 160,000,000 francs had been imposed on the several States of northern Germany on the day after Jena; and of this total 25,000,000 fell on Saxony. On December 11 a treaty was signed at Paris by which Saxony joined the Confederation of the Rhine, and was bound to furnish a contingent of 50,000 men, though only 6000 were wanted for the campaign then in progress. The Elector received the title of King. Weimar and the other small Saxon States were admitted to the Confederation two days afterwards.

On October 10, when the French entered Berlin, Hohenlohe was at Bayreuth, forty miles N.W. of it; and his rear-guard, under Blücher, was a day's march behind him. Napoleon sent Marsi northward, followed by the corps of Lannes and Bernadotte, to intercept Hohenlohe. They surrounded him at Zehlendorf; but, by shifting to his left, he succeeded in reaching Prenzlau on the 20th before Marsi, and might have reached Stettin. Through the bluntness of his chief staff officer, Manteuffel, who had been a bad adviser to him throughout, Hohenlohe was led to believe that he was surrounded by overwhelming forces. The troops with him at Prenzlau, numbering 10,000 men, laid down their arms; and other surrenders soon followed. Stettin capitulated on the 25th. It was a respectable fortress with a garrison of 5000 men, but its governor was over eighty years of age; and the prevailing demoralization made him yield to the summons of Lantze, who had ridden forward with a brigade of Hunsen to reconnoitre it.

Blücher, on learning of Hohenlohe's surrender, turned round, and marched westward by Stettin. He had about 10,000 men, a number

which was doubled on the 30th by junction with the corps hitherto commanded by the Duke of Wismar. The Duke had given up the command on receiving the King's ascent to his retirement from the Prussian service, which Napoleon had made the condition of his reviving his duties. Blucher, closely followed by Bernadotte and Soult, and by Moltke, found himself unable to open the Elbe, and was driven to take refuge in the free city of Lübeck. He was refused permission to cross the Danish frontier, so that he could retreat no further. The French attacked his positions on November 3, drove his troops back into the town, entered it along with them, and sacked it. Blucher had no alternative but to surrender next day. On the 8th Magdeburg capitulated to Nay. It had 55,000 men within its walls, including various garrisons whose ages averaged 45 years, while Nay had only 12,000 men.

Blucher had hoped that, by driving nearly 80,000 French troops a week's march to the west, he would enable preparations to be made for defending the line of the Oder, but in this he was disappointed. There was not 30,000 men available behind that river. Kistner followed the example of Böttin. It surrendered to Duvet at the first threat of bombardment (November 1), though it was well armed and garrisoned and abundantly provisioned. The garrison sent boats to bring in the French troops, as the bridge had been burnt. The King and Queen had left it a week before, and had gone to Grossenhain on the Vistula. In the middle of November they felt themselves much over there, and retired towards Königsberg.

Napoleon had told Louis (September 15) that the struggle with France would not last long, and that success was certain, though he denied that it was perhaps the beginning of a new Coalition. Within a week of the outbreak of war the Prussian armies were in full flight; and by the end of the month they were practically annihilated. The world was astonished at such a catastrophe to a State which had been a military model for half a century; but clear-sighted observers had predicted it. Mirabeau had said: "The Prussian monarchy is so constituted that it could not bear up under any calamity, not even under that which arose some months or later, an incompetent government." Catherine II had described it as built upon the sand; and Goltz had said that the Prussian military system must fall to pieces under a weak king. A succession of able and masterful rulers had reared the monster to a rank to which its real strength did not suffice it; and only such men could maintain it there. In alliance with other Powers it could have done much; it might have turned the scale in 1805. It alone isolated, and found itself driven to fight single-handed against a Power for which it was no match.

Alexander had assured Frederick William that he would do his utmost to help him, and the King had asked (in September) for 60,000 men. Neither of them had supposed that the help would be so quickly

needed, and that the Russians would become principals instead of auxiliaries. Two months had been allowed for them to come into the field. The Tsar had let himself be drawn by the secret diplomacy of Schadow into a quarrel with Turkey; and on October 16 a Russian army of 80,000 men had been ordered to occupy the Danubian principalities. Napoleon was bound to take advantage of such an opportunity. He could not afford to give his enemies a respite of several months, and to forfeit the resources he might draw from Poland, though it was a terrible country for a winter campaign. The roads were not metalled, and turned to sloughs in bad weather; and the whole country became a swamp. There was nothing to arrest his advance to the Vistula; but he was in some doubt about the movements of the Russians, and waited to bring his army together again before he encountered them. Darius was told to advance cautiously to Poznań, and thence towards Weymar. He was to treat the Poles with great consideration, and encourage them to rise, but not to commit himself in writing. He was supported on his right by the south-German contingents under Jerome, which had moved on from Saxony into Silesia, and were employed in the reduction of Glogau, Breslau, and other fortresses, which made but a poor defence. Lützen was directed from Stettin upon Thorn; and Angereau followed in support of him. The Emperor himself remained at Berlin.

He had entered it in state on October 17, after spending two days at Potsdam, where he had visited the tomb of Frederick the Great, and deposited it of his sword and other memorials for the benefit of the revolution. The fragments of the columns which commemorated Rastadt had already been sent off to Paris. "I always admired Frederick II," he afterwards said, "but I admire him twice as much since I have seen what kind of men they were with which he scolded Austrians, French, and Russians." The population of Berlin received Napoleon, if not with enthusiasm (as the journals declared), at any rate with courtesy and apparent friendliness. The night before, at the opera (as is stated in Baron Percy's *Journals*) "no one seemed to be thinking about his country, or pitying the Court, or troubling himself about the future; they were applauding the singing of Iphigenia, and still more the ballets, which were charming." Prince Hatzfeldt, the acting-governor of Berlin, had forbidden the removal of arms from the arsenal, and the destruction of bridges, but the city should suffer for it; yet, on account of a letter written before the French arrived, Napoleon threatened to bring him before a court-martial and have him shot as a spy. He eventually spared the Prince at the entreaties of his wife, and took credit for clemency in so doing.

Negotiations for peace were resumed at Berlin. Frederick William sent General Zastrow as Lœwenhorst's colleague; but no statement of the French terms could be obtained. On November 6 the King held a council at Grossensee, and decided to accept the terms. But the stream of disaster which brought Prussia to this decision had already made



Napoleon reject of them. Magdeburg was not in his hands, and he meant to keep it. The villages of Posen, and the west of spirits shown in every quarter, made him hold her cheap, whether as an ally or as an enemy. The alliance which he really desired, now as in 1805, was with Russia; and, if he continued at war with France, he might use her as a lever to bring this about. He refused to grant an armistice, except on condition that his troops should occupy the country between the Oder and the Vistula, that Thorn, Gnesen, and Danzig, fortresses on the latter river, together with other places, should be handed over to him; and that the Russian troops should be sent home. Even to these terms the Prussian envoys agreed; and a convention was signed at Chastellenburg on November 16. The King, however, refused to ratify it. A despatch from St. Petersburg had informed him that, if he stood fast to the alliance, the Tsar would recall his troops from Turkey and even to his assistance with 140,000 men; but, if he made peace, Alexander would take his own course without regard to him. This led the King to follow the advice of Stein at a council held at Osterode (Nov. 21), and to reject that of Haugwitz and others, who were in favour of satisfaction. Haugwitz retired; and the portfolio of Foreign Affairs was offered to Stein. He declined it, and suggested Hardenberg; but the King would not shut the door on peace by choosing a man so distant from Napoleon, and he appointed Zastrow. Lombard had been disgraced, but the other Cabinet-Councillors, Beyme, still held his post; and Stein, once more urged, with the support of Roeder and Hardenberg, that the Cabinet system should be abandoned. The King, though he remodelled the system, would not consent to its abolition; and Stein retired for a time from the Prussian service.

Frederick Wilhelm had made overtures to Great Britain as soon as war with France was imminent. The Prussian ports were opened to British vessels; the British blockade was raised; and missions were sent on each side to negotiate an alliance. Lord Harcourt reached the Prussian head-quarters at Wismar two days before the battle of Jena, but he was not given an opportunity of discussing the questions at issue. After the battle he made his way to Hamburg, and taking the view that his instructions were practically cancelled by the course of events, he returned to England at the end of the month. The Prussian minister, Jacob, who arrived in London on October 10, was authorized to promise that Hanover should be restored as a general peace; but this fell short of what the British Government felt bound to demand; and the preparations for sending an expedition to Hanover, to co-operate with the Prussians, were stopped. According to Gentz, even Stein thought that Prussia should keep Hanover, though he disapproved the manner in which it had been acquired.

While the question was still unsettled, Martin marched into Hanover, and, in the middle of November, took possession of Hamburg and the

after Marengo. Having given up all hope of making peace with England, Napoleon determined to wage vigorous war. Those who excluded him from the ocean should be excluded from the Continent, and he would dominate the sea by the land. He would hold on to his continental conquests till England restored her colonial conquests. "It is with my land armies," he told Louis, "that I mean to recover the Cape and Surinam." On November 21 he issued his Berlin Decree, which declared the British Islands to be in a state of blockade, and prohibited all commerce or correspondence with them. British goods were to be confiscated wherever they were found, and British subjects imprisoned. "I have every reason to hope," he wrote, "that this measure will deal a deadly blow to England." Spain, Naples, Holland, and all his other allies were required to conform.

The Poles had long looked to French aid for the recovery of their independence, and the approach of the French armies filled them with hopes. These hopes Napoleon took care to encourage. He wrote to Pouchu to send him Kosciuszko; and, when that high-minded patriot refused to lend an inscription without definite pledges from the Emperor, forged proclamations were issued in his name. Napoleon knew that to commit himself to the restoration of the Polish republic would not only hinder that alliance with the Tsar which he was striving at, but would link the interests of Austria to those of Russia and Prussia. He was by no means easy about the intentions of Austria. The Corsican refugee, Pierre di Borge, the persistent enemy of the Corsican Emperor, was at Vienna on a mission from the Tsar, to bring about a French combination. A large army was gathering in Bohemia under Archduke Charles. Galesa at that time extended northward to the Bug, and came within a few miles of Warsaw. Napoleon was uncertain that he would not meddle with it, offering at the same time to give part of Silesia in exchange for it, but the offer was not accepted. Louis and Davout warned him not to trust the Poles, who were divided by jealousies and party passions as of old. There was no doubt, however, that admirable fighting material was to be found among them, and the line taken by Napoleon was to declare that he should not protect the independence of the country until the Poles convinced him of their resolution and ability to maintain it, by putting at least 80,000 men in the field, organized and led by the nobility. To meet the wants of a winter campaign, he called for a fresh levy of 80,000 conscripts from France; and he demanded 14,000 men from Spain to form a corps of observation in Hanover.

The Russian forces available against the French consisted of 60,000 men under Bennigsen, and about 40,000 under Borchgrevink. Bennigsen's army arrived on the Vistula in the middle of November, and occupied Warsaw; but Borchgrevink's could not join it for another month. The Prussians could only contribute a corps of about 18,000 men, commanded

by Lützen, who was placed under Bennigsen's orders. On November 15 Napoleon left Berlin for Posen, as did on the same day French and Russian camps in contact thirty miles west of Warsaw. Bennigsen was not strong enough to risqué his ground; he recovered the Vistula and retreated up the river Narew to Ostrołęka. Marshal entered Warsaw on November 18 to the delight of its inhabitants. The Vistula was encumbered with floating ice, and a fortnight elapsed before the bridges at Warsaw and Thorn could be restored. Napoleon remained at Posen till December 12, doubtful whether he should join his right wing at Warsaw, or his left, which was to cross at Thorn. News that the Russians were in retreat led him to decide on the former, and he arrived at Warsaw on the 16th.

By that time the two Russian armies had united, and had advanced again; they were encamped behind the Wisla and the Narew, with headquarters at Pultusk. Bennigsen was a Hanoverian, and Bludner a Prussian, and they were not on good terms; so Marshal Kutusoff, a veteran of the Turkish wars, and a genuine Russian, was appointed to command the whole, though he could neither ride nor see. Having thrown Dorsot's corps across the Narew, Napoleon drove the Russians out of Gurewa (Dec. 23), thereby taking their positions on the Wisla. A general advance of the French army followed. Ney and Bernadotte, who had passed the Vistula at Thorn, moved eastward, threatening the enemy's right; Lannes, Davout, and Angereau moved northward from the lower part of the Narew; while Soult, crossing near Plock, formed a link between the right wing and the left. The whole army numbered about 100,000 infantry and 25,000 cavalry. The Russians drew back slowly as the French approached. Kutusoff, having lost his head, ordered a retreat to the Russian frontier, and hurried on to Louisa.

On December 25 Lützen had a very severe action with Bennigsen's troops at Pultusk, while Davout and Angereau were engaged at Golytze. At Pultusk the French were largely outnumbered; at Golytze the advantage of numbers was on their side; but in neither case could they claim much success. The Russians, however, continued their retreat up the Narew to Nowogrodek. Napoleon had hoped to cut them off, but the weather and the state of the roads made burning movements impossible. The men sank to their knees, and the guns stuck fast; hardly any food was to be found in the deserted villages, and none could be transported. Napoleon had to be content with having driven the enemy halfway to Grodno, and taken a large number of cannon which they had left behind. He returned to Warsaw at the beginning of 1807, and the army was placed in winter-quarters. Lannes on the Nieg, Davout on the Narew, Soult north of Elowat, and Angereau on the Vistula formed a semicircle covering Warsaw. Bernadotte's corps was sent into East Prussia, to cover the investment of Königs and Graudenz, and to threaten Königsberg; and Ney was to be at Mlawa, to support either Bernadotte or Soult in case of need.

Napoleon reckoned on three months' repose for his army, and hoped to make good its numbers and equipment before he took the field again in the spring. By that time he expected to have possession of all the fortresses west of the Vistula, and he ordered intrenchments to be thrown up to form bridge-heads on the Vistula and the Neys. He believed that the Russians stood in more need of rest than his own men, and he and his officers enjoyed themselves at Warsaw, glad and comforted by the Polish ladies, "the most agreeable in Europe." Napoleon wrote to Joseph, "*Mis aml c'a, j'en ai dit et de bon, tellement que je suis devenu plus gai que par le passé*." But before the end of January he was obliged to assemble his troops. Ney, on his own initiative, had followed L'Écluse's corps to within thirty miles of Königsberg, leaving a wide gap between his own corps and that of Soult. He was sharply reprimanded, and drew back his troops to their assigned position just in time to escape disaster.

Friedrich Wilhelm had urged the Russian commanders to take up a position which would protect East Prussia; and they had consented to do so. Alarmed by Ney's approach, the King left Königsberg for Marien (Jan. 8), and renewed his appeal. Bennigsen, who was chosen to replace Kamenski as commander-in-chief, collected his army at Stals on January 15, and set it in motion towards the lower Vistula. His object was, in the first place, to sever Königsberg and drive back the French troops threatening it, and then to raise the blockade of Danzig, and secure good winter quarters. Bypassing the rear of Ney's corps as it fell back northward, the Russian columns were in the midst of Bernadotte's entrenchments before he had time to get his men together. He engaged their leading troops at Hohenhausen on the 25th, and repulsed them; but he was obliged to raise the blockade of Gdansk, and to retreat to the southern border of East Prussia.

When Napoleon found that the Russian army was west of the Aa, he saw an opportunity of repeating the Jena manoeuvre. By a rapid advance northward from Warsaw he might place himself across the Russian line of communications. He marched with 70,000 men, and sent orders to Ney and Bernadotte, who had 54,000 men, to draw outward and join him. The 8th corps remained behind to guard his rear, and to make head against the three divisions which Bennigsen had left to cover the Russian flanker, between the Bug and the Neys. Some detachments to Bernadotte, sent from Wilenberg on January 22, fell into Bennigsen's hands, and disclosed Napoleon's plan. Bennigsen had been giving his men three days' rest, and had just written to the King of Prussia that he believed the French would have to retire behind the Vistula. He immediately ordered his army to concentrate at Allenstein, but found Soult and Murat in possession there. He made a movement of eight marches, hoping to cross the Aa before morning, but the French kept level with him, and also hung upon his rear. At

length, on February 7, he chose a position at Preussisch-Euhren, and offered battle. His army was becoming demoralised by forced marches in retreat, but he could count on his men's stubbornness to fight, and a halt would enable L'Etang's corps, which Ney was trying to cut off, to rejoin the main body.

The country was open and unobscuring. It abounded in holes, but there were fences so hard that cavalry could manoeuvre over them; and everything was covered with snow. The Russian position was on high ground, strong against frontal attack, but not well covered on the flanks. It was less than three miles in extent, and was held by 75,000 men. The town of Eylau lay on a hollow about half-a-mile to the front; and the French gained possession of it on the evening of the 7th. The French forces in front of the Russian position on the morning of the 8th did not exceed 50,000 men. Angereux's corps formed the centre, with one of Soult's divisions on his right, and the other two on his left. The Guard and the heavy cavalry were in reserve. Davout was approaching the left flank of the Russians from Bartoszewitz with 17,000 men, and Ney's corps was expected to come up on the other flank. Bernadotte was two days' march behind, owing to the misarrangements of the orders sent him on January 22.

Napoleon wished to divert the enemy's attention from Davout. He began the battle by the seizure of a mill near the Russian right, and then ordered Angereux's corps forward. It advanced on a blinding snowstorm, and the leading brigades deployed; but, shattered by the fire of the Russian guns, and charged by cavalry, it was driven back in disorder with a loss of nearly half its strength. The Russians followed up their success by a counter-attack, which almost reached the church-yard where Napoleon had placed himself, before it was repulsed by the heavy cavalry. Meanwhile Davout was making progress, aided by Sarrut-Hilshorn's division of Soult's corps. He stormed the Krasnapolze, on which the Russians left rested, and pushed on in rear of the position across the Friedland road. But his progress was arrested by the arrival of part of L'Etang's corps early in the afternoon. He was forced to give up half the ground he had won; and his exhausted troops would probably have been overwhelmed at nightfall, had not the approach of one of Ney's brigades on the Russian right checked Bernadotte's preparations.

Napoleon had failed for the first time in a pitched battle. The Russians had learnt what the historians of the Seven Years' War said of them, "They cannot be defeated, they must be killed." They had lost more than a third of their numbers, but the French loss was still greater. Napoleon wrote to Duroc in the course of that night that he might find it necessary to cross the Vistula. Next morning he learnt to his great relief that the Russians had retreated, and that he could claim a victory. Bernadotte fell back on Krasnapolze, partly because his

troops were in want of food and ammunitions, partly from an erroneous belief that Bernadotte's corps had come up, but he was craftily bluffed by his own officers. The Emperor remained for a week near Eylau, to make good his claim to victory and allow of the removal of his wounded. He then drew back his troops into encampments, not, as before, in Poland, but across East Prussia, behind the Passarge and the upper part of the Alle. There became the base of the army; the head-quarters were at Osterode. The corps of Augereau had suffered so severely that it was broken up, and its units were transferred to other corps. Great pains were taken, then and afterwards, to minimise the French losses; and Napoleon professed to have exaggerated them in his bulletins, when he gave them as 2500 killed and 3700 wounded.

His experience at Eylau lowered his tone. A few days after the battle, he sent General Bertrand to Mémel to persuade Frederick Wilhelm to make a separate peace. He was willing to cede all Prussian territory east of the Elbe, and he would not require Prussia to help him in a war with Russia. As for the Poles, he said, he attached no importance to them now that he knew them better. Zastrow favoured a separate peace, if the Tsar would consent, but Hardenberg, when consulted by the King, maintained that Napoleon was not to be trusted and that Prussia should hold fast to her ally; and his counsel prevailed. The Emperor then proposed an armistice for joint negotiations; but Alexander saw in this proposal evidence of the official condition in which Napoleon found himself.

At the beginning of April, the Tsar went to Mémel to define the King's purpose; and, by his absence, Zastrow was replaced by Hardenberg as Foreign Minister. By the end of the month Hardenberg was charged with the conduct of internal as well as external affairs, in order that there might be the unity of direction which was essential for vigorous prosecution of the war. The Cabinet system came for a time to an end. The two sovereigns went together to the headquarters of the allied army at Bartenstein, and the Convention which afterwards bore that name was signed (at Schlegelshagen) on April 26. The two Powers bound themselves to do their utmost to drive the French out of Germany, and to create a German Confederation with a good military frontier. Neither Power was to make conquests on its own account; Prussia was to regain her old possessions or receive compensation for them. Offers were to be made to Austria, Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark, in order to secure their assistance. The Italian Question was reserved for future settlement, but the crown of Italy was in any case to be separated from that of France; and something was to be done for the Kings of Sardinia and Naples and the Prince of Orange. Napoleon's overtures were met by the proposal of a congress at Copenhagen.

Alexander recognised by this time that Russia, with all her powers of resistance, had not the offensive strength required for driving the French

back to the Rhine. Prussia was powerless, and the mixture of promises and threats which had been applied to her in 1805 was now applied to Austria. Napoleon, on his side, was anxious in his efforts: he would fall in with the wishes of Austria about Turkey, or he would let her have part of Sicily. Proposals of alliance were coupled with hints of its alternative, an alliance between France and Russia, and this was a danger to which they were fully alive in Vienna. Stadion agreed with Archduke Charles in holding that war must be avoided, but he wished to have a voice in the final settlement, but Austrian interests could be sacrificed. His policy was to hold out hopes to both sides, to keep enemies far apart, and to offer mediation. This suited Napoleon, whose great object was to gain time. He accepted in principle the Austrian proposal of a congress at Prague, but claimed that Turkey should be settled. Russia, France, and Great Britain did not reject it, but desired to know, as a preliminary, on what basis the French Emperor was prepared to negotiate, and the correspondence was prolonged until events made it superfluous.

The strain upon Napoleon's resources in the spring of 1807 was such as only he could have borne. To retire behind the Vistula would be a confession of failure which would strengthen his enemies; but to remain east of it was hardly possible. The country was exhausted, and he was short of transport and supplies. We find him pressing Tallienard to send biscuits and brandy from Warsaw, and adding, "This matter is more important than all the negotiations in the world" (March 15). The French soldier, reduced to meat and potatoes, is described as lean, sad, and dreamy, sitting in his person, and earning his life. Many thousands of marauders were wandering in search of food. The cavalry, with half-starved horses, could do little to check the raids of the Cossacks, who set off convoys and caused a general alarm. The ships which had been left on the Narva held its own with difficulty.

The long line of communication across Germany was at many points open to attack by partisan corps, or by troops landed on the northern coast; and few men could be spared to guard it. Mörner had landed Stralsund at the end of January, but he was called away to besiege Kolberg; and the small force which he left behind was driven across the Pomer by the Swedes at the beginning of April. A arm agreed to Stralsund and Berlin; but Mörner marched back to Stralsund and succeeded in bringing the Swedes to an armistice. Napoleon's instructions were to treat them well, and to distinguish between the Swedish people and their king. The Prussian Government had proposed that a British force should be sent to Stralsund, to cooperate with Sweden and Prussia. It might have done much both to hamper the French and to encourage the Allies; but the Grenville Ministry was not disposed to furnish either subsidies or subsidies. Lord Hildesheim, who had been sent to the Prussian head-quarters at the beginning of the year, wrote and spoke to

a strain of "roughed despatch and contempt" about the allied armies and their prospects. He signed a treaty of peace with Prussia (January 28); but it was not ratified for some months. The resources of Great Britain were devoted to expeditions to Egypt and South America, in pursuit of purely British interests, to the great discontent of the Continental Powers.

The change of ministry (March 23) which brought Canning to the Foreign Office led to a change of tone; and the substitution of Hardenberg for Metternich made relations more cordial. Ratifications of the treaty of peace were exchanged on April 30; and, on June 25, Great Britain acceded to the Convention of Bartenstein, undertaking to pay a subsidy of £1,000,000 to Prussia in the course of the year. She had procured a few days before to subscribe 16,000 Swedes, and to send 26,000 British and Hanoverian troops to Stralsund, to be under the orders of Gustavus, but removable for employment elsewhere. But the change had come too late. Neither men nor transports were available when the Tories came into office; and Lord Cathcart arrived at Rügen with 8,000 Hanoverians, the first instalment of the expedition, on July 16, a week after peace had been signed at Tilsit.

Danzig, even more than Stralsund, threatened Napoleon's security on the Vistula; and he resolved to make himself master of it before concluding any armistice based on the *status quo*. Accessible from the sea and along the coast, and so well covered by fortifications that it could only be attacked from the west, it was not an easy place to take. It had a garrison of 14,000 men; and the siege-corps, which consisted mainly of Germans and Poles under the command of Leszczyński, was at no time more than 15,000. The place was partially invested on March 21, but the French batteries did not open fire till April 26; and it held out for another month. The defence compared favourably with that of other Prussian fortresses, and the governor, Rakiborski, repaid laurels from it, though personally he showed little skill or vigour.

At the beginning of April Napoleon shifted his head quarters to Eisenstein, to be nearer to Thorn and Danzig. There he received the ambassadors of the Shah and the Sultan, and formed schemes for attacking Russia from the south. The Turks were to be joined by Marmont with his Delmatian corps, and were to march into Podolia, where Maistov, who was now commanding the 5th corps on the Niemen, would meet them. But the Porte did not relish plans which would bring French troops into Ottoman territory, and the Turkish ambassador pleaded want of instructions. The treaty with Persia was signed on May 4, and French officers were sent to Teheran to instruct the Persians in the art of war.

At the same time Napoleon was drawing troops from all quarters to strengthen his own army. Provisional regiments of conscripts were raised across Germany, and a new levy of 50,000 men (or *levys*) was ordered in France. It was the third levy within twelve months, and was



ready a year and a half before the legal date. He was warned that he was cutting his coat before it was ripe; but he replied that young men of eighteen were perfectly fit for home defence, and he made a promise (which was not kept) that they should not be sent out of France. Early in June he had 125,000 men in first line, on the Vistula and the Narva, and 100,000 in second line, including garrisons. The Allies had also been reinforced, but could not muster more than 150,000 men.

The capture of Danzig had given Napoleon a new base, and had furnished timely supplies of corn, wine, and money. Being no longer tethered by a siege, he planned a general advance for June 10. To his surprise and satisfaction, Borsigsen anticipated him. The Russian general had been passive throughout the siege of Danzig, with the exception of an unoffensive "promenade," meant to assist a force sent from Königsberg to relieve that fortress. He now took the offensive when there was least reason for it, and tried to cut off Ney's corps, which was quartered near Guttstadt, in advance of the general line. Ney, however, extracted his troops and fell back to the Passarge; and Borsigsen, finding that the whole French army was approaching, retreated to Heilsberg, where he had entrenched positions on both sides of the Alle. The positions on the left bank were attacked on June 18, but the Russians held them with their usual tenacity. The French lost heavily, and made no permanent impression. Napoleon did not resume the action next morning. He waited for all his troops to come up, and moved them round the Russian right, leaving the road to Königsberg, and interposing himself between the Russian army and L'Estocq's corps.

On the night of the 11th Borsigsen withdrew from his position, and retreated down the right bank of the Alle. At Friedland, on the morning of the 14th, he found himself in presence of a single French corps, a new corps which had been formed for Lannes, who had given up his old one (the 11th) on account of ill-health. Napoleon had directed Masséna on Königsberg, with the corps of Soult and Davoust, and was at Eylau with the rest of the army. Borsigsen had fought Lannes at Poltsuk six months before, and had repulsed him, but had not made the most of his success. He now saw an opportunity of overwhelming him, and brought nearly the whole of his army across the river. But Lannes, favoured by woods, and reinforced from time to time, held his ground. By 5 a.m. the Emperor had brought up the corps of Ney, Mortier, and Victor (now Bernadotte), and had nearly 80,000 men on the field, while the Russians were under 50,000. The Russian left, under Bagration, was separated from the right by a ravine, and the ground behind it was cramped between this ravine and the Alle. Leaving Mortier to hold the right in check, Napoleon launched the rest of his troops against Bagration and drove him back through this narrow belt, where the French artillery made havoc of the Russian masses, and across the river. The corn was cut on fire and the bridges were burnt. The right wing, retreating too

lets, escaped with difficulty by both lower doors. The Russians lost more than 15,000 men, killed and wounded, the French about half as many.

It was a decisive victory, worthy of the anniversary of Marengo. The pursuit was not close, and the Russian army soon found shelter behind the Pregel: but it was in such a state that Bessingen wrote to the Tsar begging him to treat the peace, in order to gain time for its reorganization. Believing himself unable to hold the line of the Pregel, Bessingen continued his retreat, ordering L'Ytoup's corps to join him. It left Königsberg, which it was preparing to defend, and succeeded in overtaking the main force, after a narrow escape from being cut off. By the 18th the combined army had crossed the Memel at Tilsit, but it left many thousands of stragglers behind.

Alexander was at Götze, suspecting a fresh corps brought up by Prince Lobanoff, when he received Bessingen's report. Frederick William had gone to Mémel with Hardenberg, and the Tsar had crossed the latter, when they parted on the 18th, that he did not mean to yield to the cry for peace which had been growing for some time past at the Russian headquarters. But he was overborne by the emergency, and without waiting to consult his ally he authorized Bessingen to ask for an armistice. Lobanoff was sent to act as envoy. He presented himself at the French outposts on June 18, a day destined to win other armistices eight years afterwards. Napoleon demanded the surrender of Gerdauen and of Kolberg, where Gerdauen had been showing an activity and resource which made its defence memorable. The Grand Duke Constantine, who brought Napoleon's terms to Alexander, urged him to accept them on account of the temper of the army, and even reminded him of his father's fate. The Tsar could not dispose of Prussian fortresses, or issue orders for their surrender; but this point was waived, and on the 19th an armistice was agreed upon between the French and Russians. Four or five days were granted to the Prussians to allow of their accession to it.

On the same day Alexander and Frederick William met again at Schwet. "Saw Belling and found the political system completely changed," was Hardenberg's entry in his diary. Alexander had decided, not only to make peace, but to ally himself with France. The influence was caused, as Belling explained, by the conduct of the Austrian and British Governments, which had left him to bear the whole burden of the war. He had been greatly incited by the refusal of the Gentile Ministry to guarantee a Russian loan of six millions, and by the ground given for it, that if the two countries fell out Russia might not keep faith as to payments. He had repeatedly asked, but to no purpose, that a British expedition should be sent to the north coast of Germany; and he knew that England was altogether opposed to his designs upon Turkey. He had nothing to gain by the war, and he was told that he was sacrificing his country for France. For the Prussians his officers

entertained even greater contempt than they had felt for the Austrians in 1805. Frederick William was bitterly aggrieved at the Tsar's desertion of him, but he could only submit, and his own past conduct gave him small right to complain.

Alexander made rapid progress on his new task. He sent Labaudt to Tilsit to propose a personal interview, which Napoleon accepted with some affectation of indifference. It took place on June 25, on a boat moored in the Niemen. The two Emperors discussed their future relations *stand-still* for three hours, while the King of Prussia waited in the rain on the shore bank to learn his fate. As a concession to Alexander, Napoleon granted an armistice to Prussia without surrender of the fortresses, and it was signed on that day. Nothing else is positively known of what took place. There was another meeting next day at which Frederick William was present. Napoleon treated him with marked respect, and described him as "an *homme d'encrement* *brave, sans ambition, et sans orgueil*."

The issues having been settled by the two emperors, the details of the negotiations were left to the diplomata; but Napoleon would not let Hardenberg take any part in them, and Prussia was represented by Goltz and Eckbrecht. At the instance of the latter, Queen Louise was induced to come from Memel to Tilsit. Napoleon wished to meet her, and, after Eylau, had expressed his regret by Hartens for "the manner in which she had been spoken of." She was led to hope that, by passing over her own wrongs, she might win back Magdeburg for her country, but, though Napoleon admired her, he yielded nothing to her.

The treaty of peace between France and Prussia was signed at Tilsit on July 9. Prussia was deprived of all her territory west of the Elbe, of the Polish provinces which she had annexed in 1793, and even of the southern part of West Prussia, acquired in 1772. East Prussia was assigned to Saxony, of which it was an *exclave*. Danzig, with a radius of ten miles round it, was made a free city under the joint protectorate of Prussia and Saxony. By these surrenders Prussia lost nearly half her area and population, the latter being reduced to less than five millions. She was required to recognize Napoleon's new creations, and to take common action with France and Russia against England. The treaty was supplemented by a convention (signed at Königsberg, July 16) respecting the withdrawal of the French troops from what remained of Prussia. This was to be completed by October 1, with some exceptions, but only upon payment of what was due to France for outstanding war contributions. The amount was not specified, and was not settled till long afterwards. Napoleon was well aware that the money, or security for it, could not be found; and that this condition would enable him to keep 100,000 men in Prussia at her expense so long as he wished.

The treaty of peace between France and Russia had already been signed (July 7). It made mention of the several countries of Prussia

territory, and put on record that it was only out of regard for the Tsar that Frederick William received back part of his country. Napoleon had, in fact, thrown out the suggestion that France should be expanded, and that the Vistula should be the dividing line between the two Empires. The treaty also stated Napoleon's intentions as to the disposal of the ceded territory. The provinces west of the Elbe were to be included, with Hesse, in a new kingdom of Westphalia, for his brother Jerome. The Polish provinces were to form the *duché* of Warsaw, under the rule of the King of Saxony, except the district of Białystok, which was given to Russia. Alexander recognised these arrangements, as well as those which Napoleon had made previously in Germany and Italy. He gave up Caffaro and the Ionian Islands, and promised to recognise Joseph as King of Sicily, if Ferdinand was informed by the Balcara Islands as Cádiz. He accepted Napoleon's mediation for peace between Russia and Turkey, while Napoleon accepted him as mediator between France and Great Britain.

The treaty of peace was supplemented by a secret treaty of alliance agreed on the same day. It provided that France and Russia should help one another with all their forces, or with so much as might be agreed upon, in any war against an European Power, and should not make peace separately. If England should reject the mediation of Russia, or not make peace by November 1, requiring the equality of all flags on the sea, and refusing, in exchange for Hanover, all requests made by her since 1805, the Emperor of Russia should give her one month's notice of his intention to make common cause with France. In that case, Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, and Austria would be summoned to make war upon England; and if Sweden refused, Denmark would be called on to join in hostilities against her. If Turkey should decline French mediation, or if peace were not made within three months, France would make common cause with Russia against the Turks; and the two Powers would come to an understanding for the liberation of all the European provinces from the Ottoman yoke, with the exception of Roumelia and Constantinople. The deposition and death of the Sultan Selim, which occurred on May 28, 1807, did something to cover the abandonment of this abandonment of the Turks.

Ratifications were exchanged on July 9; and the two Emperors parted well pleased with themselves and with each other. Alexander had discovered at their first meeting that "Bonaparte, with all his genius, had his weak side—envy." He played upon it so successfully that he himself won some of the peace which he bestowed. Each sovereign believed himself to have secured an instrument to serve his own purpose.

## CHAPTER XL

## THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT.

ONE of the most marked characteristics of great men, of action is their refusal to rest, even when they seem to have gained a market of glory and to have climbed to almost incredible heights of power. But of all those whom history depicts as agitated on by insatiable activity the most remarkable was Napoleon. To him a great victory was but an opportunity for pushing on a victorious pursuit. It enabled him, by exhausting his enemy's resources, to force terms upon the vanquished at the sword's point; and the resulting treaty inaugurated no period of rest and recuperation, but a political campaign that promised to overcome his remaining enemies and to strengthen the fabric of his own authority. Such a peace was the Peace of Tilsit. While diplomats and soldiers hailed it as the beginning of an era of quiet enjoyment, the victor looked on his diplomatic triumph as the beginning of a new time of activity, in which the forces of the Continent were to be used for the humbling of Great Britain, and in due course for the prosecution of new schemes in the East.

So complex and many-sided were the undertakings of the French Emperor in this period of his ascendancy that it has been found advisable to treat them separately, and to postpone to later chapters the consideration of his Continental System, and of his relations to Austria, Spain, and the Church of Rome. The present chapter, then, deals, first, with the events in Denmark, Portugal, the Baltic States, and Finland, which sprang directly from the policy agreed on at Tilsit; secondly, with the international relations which led up to the Congress of Erfurt; thirdly, with the very important work of national revival which went on in the Kingdom of France; and lastly, with the establishment of the Kingdom of Westphalia and the duchy of Warsaw.

The mental preoccupation of the French Emperor during his return from Tilsit to Paris was noticed by Madame de Staël at Dresden. In her letters she alludes to his utter lack of interest in the art treasures of that city. When conducted by the King of Saxony to the Museum, he

learned past pictures and statues at a pace which already caused no less inconvenience than annoyance to his host. This haste and pre-occupation were natural. Napoleon was at the turning-point of his career. His thoughts were doubtless intent on the complex plans sketched in outline at Tilsit with his new ally, Alexander I, which have been described in the previous chapter. The chief of them was that which bound the Allies to summon the Courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon to close their ports to British commerce, and declare war against England. A refusal on their part would bring on them the hostility of the two Imperial Courts; and, if Sweden failed to comply, Denmark would be compelled to declare war on her. A postponement of decisive action was clearly contrary to Napoleon's wishes, and it is known that, on his way back to France, he made his plans with a view to the speedy correction of Denmark as well as of Portugal.

There was every reason why he should at once turn his attention to the former of these Powers. Denmark, holding the keys of the Baltic, had it in her power to prevent the arrival of reinforcements to a British expedition then off the shores of Swedish Pomerania. That expedition was a belated effort to comply with the requests for help urgently pressed by the Tsar during the spring. It had set sail from England at the end of June, and reached Elsinore on July 6-8, 1807, its aim was to help the King of Sweden in the campaign which he sought to raise against the French in the north of Germany. The land force, numbering about 10,000 men, were under the command of Lord Cathcart, they consisted mainly of Hanoverians who had been embodied in the King's German Legion. Had the force set sail two months earlier, it might have effected a most welcome diversion against Napoleon's flank or rear. As it was, the British entered the Baltic and arrived off Rügen just when peace was signed at Tilsit.

The action of Gustavus IV Adolphus of Sweden in denouncing the armistice which he had signed with the French general Bruze on June 4 was equally unfortunate. Strengthened by the signing of a convention for subsidies at Stralsund (June 17), and relying apparently on the arrival of a larger force than Cathcart actually brought, the Swedish monarch renewed the war after the interval of one month, at the very time when the course of negotiations at Tilsit set free large numbers of French troops for service against the Swedes and their allies. It is unnecessary to follow the fortunes of this expedition. The chances of success for the defence of Stralsund were greatly lessened by the withdrawal of the British force, owing to events soon to be described. In truth the Anglo-Swedish expedition scarcely claims notice on its own account. Its importance lies in the fact that it precipitated vigorous action both on the part of the British Government and of the French Emperor.

The presence of a British expedition off Rügen furnished an additional reason why Napoleon should press Denmark to side with him and

endanger the communications of Cuthbert. On July 31 the French Emperor wrote to Talleyrand, who had not yet definitely given up the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, directing him to express through the French Minister at Copenhagen his annoyance at the continuance of correspondence between that Court and the British Government, in spite of the promise already made to the contrary, and to demand that all communications should cease. The despatch ordered the French army to stay farther to the Danish Minister: "That, whatever my desire to treat Denmark well, I cannot prevent his [the Prince Royal's] suffering from the violation of the Baltic Sea which he has permitted; that, if England refuses the violation of Borneo, he must choose either to make war on England or on me, and that the friendship which the Prince Royal has testified for me, as well as the interests of Denmark, must me to hope that he will not hesitate in his choice." This letter is of importance as showing that the Prince Royal of Denmark had given Napoleon some ground for hoping he would take the French side, and the phrase quoted above concerning the "violation of the Baltic Sea," i.e., by Cuthbert's expedition, also bears witness to the Emperor's expectation that Denmark would keep the Baltic shut against a British fleet. He expressed the same desire to the diplomatic circle on August 5. Stopping before the Danish Minister, he remarked, "So you have allowed the Baltic to be violated. We laid down the principle that you were to be its guardians." After a long statement by the envoy, he closed the discussion with the words, "The matter will, I hope, be arranged."

The friendliness displayed by Denmark towards France had long been known to the Powers ligated together in the Third Coalition. In his official *Memoire* of April 7, 1805, Hadenburg proposed, among other things, that Russia, Great Britain, and Prussia should take steps to make Denmark more. The same proposal took more stringent form in the Russo-French Convention of Bartenstein (April 26, 1807), the ninth article of which specified that Russia and France, together with Austria, Great Britain, and Sweden—in case of the accession of these Powers to the new compact—would endeavour to persuade the Court of Denmark to join the Coalition. Great Britain became a party to the convention; but no steps were taken immediately to force the hand of the Danish Government. Unlike the British Minister at Copenhagen, reported various small matters in which Denmark showed undue deference to Napoleon. The position of Denmark was, in truth, extremely difficult. Threatened by the naval superiority of the Coalition on the one side, she saw, on the other, the duchy of Holstein menaced by a force of French and Spanish troops under Marshal Beresdote at Hirschberg. The Prince of Thûr, far from leaving her alone, reinforced them. In fact Copenhagen became for a few weeks the central point in east combinations of policy, those of the Sea Power and those of the Land Power.

The general situation was not unlike that of the years 1800-2, when

the First Consul and the Year Paul drew France and Denmark into their schemes for the humbling of England's naval power. As at the time of the Second Armed Neutrality, so now Napoleon looked on the help of Denmark as essential to the success of his schemes, and on August 16 he ordered a demand to be sent to the Danish Government for the re-occupation of its fleet with that of France, and for the exclusion of British goods from Danish ports. On the other hand, George III and his Ministers were equally resolved to paralyse the new hostile coalition at the outset by measures which, though less unfriendly in intention than those of 1801, proved in the event far more disastrous to the Danes.

We must now advert to the interesting but obscure question, how the British Ministry had been able to discover their adversaries' designs. On July 16 Canning received important despatches which warned him that dangers were ahead. One of these was from an officer, probably a Russian, dated Koenig, June 26, 1807, describing the losses at the battle of Polendano and the friendly bearing of the two Emperors on the occasion of their interview on the raft at Tilsit. The second was from Götting, going back news that had come through General Clinton, who had been at Moscow and on his return had called at Stralsund. The despatch also stated that the Danes now feared a military occupation of their mainland territories by the French, a danger which ought to be guarded against. The third despatch was from Macdonald, a British agent who had dined with General Bonaparte at Tilsit on June 28, and heard news as to the Tsar's ratification of the armistice and the general wish for peace. These tidings, coupled with the notorious partiality of the Danish Prince Royal for the French cause, caused Canning to take a step of great importance. On that same day, July 16, he appointed Brodie Taylor British Minister at Copenhagen in the room of Götting, and instructed the new envoy to inform the Danish Government that a large British fleet would at once be sent to the Sound, in order to cooperate with the King of Sweden for the security of his dominions, to protect any British reinforcements that might be sent to Stralsund, and to safeguard British commerce in those waters. Brodie Taylor was to announce that the naval preparations of Denmark and the "avowed designs of Bonaparte" had induced to the formation of this design, and that the presence of a large British fleet was necessary in order to counterbalance that of the French fleet on the borders of Holstein.

As yet, however, Canning seems to have entertained no thought of employing forcible measures against Denmark. That drastic resolution was apparently formed on or shortly before July 22, when he had news "directly from Tilsit," that the two Emperors, at an interview held on June 24 or 25, proposed to form a maritime league against Great Britain, "the accession of Denmark to which was represented by Bonaparte to be as certain as it was essential." The Emperor of Russia is described as having "neither accepted nor refused this proposal." The source of



this news is unknown. A British agent, Moulouze, and Dr D'Almeida were probably the only Englishmen at Tilsit at the time of the interview, and Moulouze did not arrive in London until July 23, when he brought dispatches from Lord Grenville-Lerouin-Gower at Moscow. Seeing, however, that the rôle attributed to the Tsar in the sentence quoted above contrasts harshly with that assigned to Napoleon, we may with some approach to certainty infer that the news which reached Canning on July 22 must have come from a Russian. The groups of Paris and London afterwards pointed to Talleyrand as having betrayed his master, but this rumour seems to be discredited by the details contained in the British archives and summarized above. Still more certain is it that the news of July 22 came "directly from Tilsit," and that the Russian information did not come from Lüben, as some writers have claimed.

In any case, the information was received on several important particulars. In the first place, the news as to the naval preparations going on at Copenhagen was afterwards discovered to be wholly unfounded, the Danish seal of the line being for the most part quite unfit to put to sea. It would appear also that Canning misinterpreted the plans agreed on at Tilsit. The details of the conversation of the two Emperors at their first interview on the raft are still but dimly known; it is, however, improbable that Napoleon succeeded at once in his effort to enter the Tsar into the formation of a league actively hostile to Great Britain. At the close of the interview, when he had strengthened his hold over Alexander by setting forth alluring plans respecting Turkey and Finland, he was unable to induce him to do more than offer his mediation for a peace between France and Great Britain in a sense favourable to the former. If the latter rejected the Franco-Russian terms, then, but then only, should Denmark be coerced into joining the new league. In short, the plan of conquest was conditional.

Canning, on the other hand, believed it to be absolute and immediate. He had no knowledge of the secret treaty of alliance signed at Tilsit, such as he would probably have had if Talleyrand had betrayed Napoleon's secrets. On August 4 the British Foreign Secretary instructed Lord Grenville-Lerouin-Gower, British Minister at the Russian Court, "that, in the event of there not appearing any article on the face of the Treaty which affects the rights and interests of this country, your Excellency should further demand the communication of any secret articles to that effect or a formal disclaimer of their existence." Next day Canning informed Lerouin-Gower that news had come of Bernadotte's arrival in Holstein; and he added these significant words: "The project of occupying the ports of Holstein and of employing the Danish fleet as part of a combined armament to cover the invasion of Scotland and Ireland was undoubtedly conceived by Bonaparte some time before any interview had taken place between him and the Emperor of Russia. The success of this expedition [the British] are to be feared in the more

jeopardize and posing dangers which existed independently of any Baltic League, though their probability and their magnitude would no doubt be infinitely augmented by such a confederacy."

Thus the British Ministry based their action on evidence which was merely of a circumstantial character, and which we now know to have been incorrect in important details. Whatever was the truth as to the project of using the Danish fleet against Scotland or Ireland, that project in point of fact was subordinated to the policy agreed on at Tilut, which aimed at winning overwhelming political forces in order to compel Great Britain to accept the terms there formulated. Whether the British Ministry would have accepted those terms, had they been presented in their entirety, is of course only matter for conjecture. But such acceptance was by no means impossible. Talleyrand, in his letter to Napoleon of June 10, 1807, had expressed surprise at finding the tone of the British despatches far more favourable to peace than that of the Prussian notes. The Portland Cabinet, however, in its alarm at the news which thereafter came from Tilut and Holsten, decided on a step which subjected the Danes to harsh and high-handed usage.

On July 28, 1807, Canning instructed Francis Jackson to proceed with the utmost speed to Kiel, and to demand from the Danish Prince Royal, then at that place, an explicit declaration of policy. Jackson was charged to present a treaty of alliance with England, one condition of which was the deposit of the Danish fleet as pledge. As is well known, the offer met with an immediate refusal; the Prince set out for Copenhagen; and hostilities at once began between Great Britain and Denmark. The British operations in Iceland and the capture of the Danish fleet having been described in a previous chapter of this volume, it is unnecessary to relate them here. The political results of these actions, however, claim attention in proportion to their importance. First, Great Britain suffered a loss of moral reputation which partly outweighed the gain brought by the accession of material strength to her navy and the added sense of security. The peoples of the Continent, unaware of the reasons that prompted the action of Great Britain, regarded it as little better than piratical. Only by degrees did this bad impression fade away, and then because it was overshadowed by Napoleon's conduct in Spain. For the present, the French Emperor had public sentiment on his side, a matter of great importance when so complex and unpopular a regime as that of the Continental System was being imposed on peoples previously hostile. This adverse trend of opinion was destined also to increase the difficulty of England in finding allies among the old Governments of the Continent, which contrasted the tactics of the Grenville Ministry in helping their friends with the energy shown by their successors in attacking neutrals. Further, Canning failed to accomplish his ulterior aim in making this expedition, namely, that of forming an Anglo-Spanish-Lusitan league as a counterpoise to that

of France and Russia. This also he set forth in a memorandum which is contained in the British archives. He therein stated that his action was prompted, not by hostility to Denmark, but rather by the wish to compel her by the display of Swedish naval force to choose the British alliance, and secure the freedom of the Baltic Sea and the safety of Sweden. This hope failed in consequence of the refusal of the Danish King, who spurned all the British proposals for a friendly understanding and ordered the continuation of hostilities after the British forces evacuated Zealand (October 22).

Sweden also gained nothing by England's conduct towards Denmark. In fact, the position of Gustavus Adolphus at Stockholm was seriously weakened by the withdrawal of Collioure's force in order to support the attack on Copenhagen—a result which gave rise to explanations of the sudden revulse of the Swedish monarch to sue for an armistice and to abandon the mainland of Swedish Pomerania. On August 29 he evacuated Sweden, and, under the pressure of French operations against Rügen, found himself constrained to hand over that island to the French commander by a convention dated September 7. In a state of illness which was largely traceable to his misfortunes he retired to Sweden. There again he was soon to be beset, on the one by the preparations of the Tsar for a campaign against Finland, and on the west by the hostility of the Danes. At the close of the month of October, Denmark concluded an alliance with France, which empowered Marshal Bernadotte to cross the Belt and occupy Zealand. There can be little doubt that Napoleon had expected to gain an easy victory over the Swedes in Pomerania, and hoped that this further triumph would place the resources of Denmark at his disposal. A phrase in his letter of September 7 to Champagny, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs—"If England succeeded, the greatest loss would be the Danish vessels that she would destroy"—shows that Napoleon never ceased to look on Denmark as potentially the ally of France, and his navy as forming the right wing in the naval operations eventually to be carried out against the mistress of the sea. Figures such as these, and the details contained in the British archives, serve largely to justify Canning's policy, which on the surface appears unjustifiable. It rested on an induction the premises of which were uncertain, but which was based on a sound estimate of Napoleon's character and of his probable action. The Emperor's subsequent conduct added a further proof that, when he wrote the letter of September 7, he believed that Great Britain had failed at Copenhagen. When he heard the truth, his rage knew no bounds. The compiler of the *French Moniteur* states that, since the arrival of the news of the surrender of the *Tier Pfand*, he had never seen Napoleon in such transports of anger. This is easily to be accounted for. The accession of the Danish fleet to the naval resources of France, Russia, Holland, Spain, northern Italy, and probably Portugal, might have turned the balance against Great Britain and secured either

her submission to the conqueror's terms or her other conduct on her own element.

In order to secure this great result, Napoleon had also been maturing his plans for the conquest of Portugal. So far back as July 18, he charged Talleyrand immediately after his return to Paris to warn the Portuguese ambassador that the harbours of Portugal must be closed to British commerce by September 1, and British goods confiscated; in default of such action, hostilities would be begun by France. Spain also was urged to put pressure on her western neighbour, and, in case of resistance on the part of the Court of Lisbon, to join France in effecting the conquest of Portugal. The latter proposal secured, on the surface, to be merely the renewal of a plan for the partition of that kingdom discussed between Napoleon and the Spanish Minister, Godoy, early in the previous year; it now met with a ready assent from the latter, all the more so as it appeared to indicate Napoleon's sagacious foreboding declaration issued by the Prince of the Peace shortly before Jena. The alarm caused at Lisbon by the French demands was proportionate to the satisfaction felt at Madrid. Those demands took threatening form at the diplomatic reception of August 4, when the Emperor addressed an important message to the Portuguese Minister. The Court of Lisbon was now in despair. Any hope that it might have entertained eighteen months earlier of resisting the power of France and Spain had now vanished. France was victorious; the Tsar had made common cause with Napoleon; the naval resources of Great Britain seemed hardly sufficient to ward off defeat; and a strong French corps was mastering at Bayona. The Queen of Portugal, being at that time insane, the government was in the hands of her son, the Prince Regent, a man scarcely fitted to cope with the crisis.

The despatches of Viscount Strangford, British ambassador at Lisbon, show that that Court, laying aside all thought of resistance to Napoleon, sought by all possible means to induce the British Government to meet Napoleon's demands. On finding that the Portland Ministry had no thought of accepting his terms, the Lisbon Cabinet begged the British Government to put up with the appearance of a rupture between the two countries, and promised that in no case would the property of British merchants in Portugal be subjected to confiscation. The replies of the Prince Regent of Portugal to the French demands were of the same tenour. While giving as all but complete assent, he stated that however valuable his confiscating the property of British merchants who had settled under his protection. Orders were also secretly sent to Paris with the view of influencing the Emperor's council.

All was in vain, Napoleon's mind had returned with irresistible strength to the earlier plan of partitioning Portugal. With the appeals of the Portuguese Government were still coming in, he instructed Dumas to confer with Ingulardo, the agent who managed Godoy's private

concerns at the French Court, and to accede to the plans of the Prince concerning Portugal. In his instructions to Duroc, dated Fontainebleau, September 23, he suggested the advisability of making the King of Spain cession over Portugal, and of apportioning part of that kingdom to Godoy and to the Queen of Etruria (a daughter of the House of Spain) and her son. The following sentence is noteworthy: "As to the share of Etruria, you will make him [Napoleon] understand that it is very difficult for a branch of the House of Spain to continue to be established in the middle of Italy; that this offers great difficulties, now that the whole of Italy belongs to me, in respect of religious affairs, the monks, and the commerce of Leghorn, and by reason of the absolute necessity for self-government from which that country suffers." The whole letter shows how in Napoleon's fertile brain dozens of thoughts were by degrees worked up into a firm and definite policy. The cession of Portugal formed an essential part of his great final design for the ruin of England; but the hesitation of the Portuguese Prince to comply with his demand for the confiscation of all British possessions furnished an excuse for reversing to his former design of partitioning Portugal. This expansion of the Emperor's Iberian policy, it will be observed, had an intimate relation to his plans for securing complete domination in Italy in secular, commercial, religious, and political. In order to ensure free play in that peninsula for the working of the Napoleonic system, Portugal was to be partitioned between the Queen of Etruria, Godoy, and France. In fact, Portugal was now, like the Venetian Republic in the year 1797, to provide means for satisfying the demands of its more powerful neighbours and for extending the operations of Napoleon's system.

The Spanish Court, conscious of the dangers which attended Napoleon's gifts, eagerly entered into his views, and, as a result, a secret convention was signed at Fontainebleau on October 21. It stipulated that the young King of Etruria, grandson of Charles IV of Spain, should cede that kingdom to Napoleon, reserving in return the provinces of Entre Minho e Douro, with the title of King of Northern Lusitania. A larger territory, namely, Algave and Alentejo, was awarded to Godoy. The intermediate districts were not to be definitely disposed of until the general peace; the King of Spain received the title of Protector of the province Entre Minho e Douro. Napoleon guaranteed to him the possession of all his Spanish lands south of the Pyrenees, and awarded to him eventually the title of Emperor of the two Americas. A military convention of the same date arranged for the entry into Spain of 80,000 French troops to be marched against Lisbon, an enterprise in which they would receive the help of 11,000 Spanish troops; while 14,000 other Spaniards were to invade the north and south of Portugal. Another French corps of 80,000 men was to meet at Bayona, to be held in readiness to support the first corps if the British threatened to attack

It, but its entrance into Spain was made conditional on the consent of the two contracting Powers.

The signature of these conventions marks a third stage in the development of Napoleon's Iberian policy, and those who are acquainted with the methods of his statescraft cannot fail to notice in them the emergence of ideas which portended ruin to the House of Spain. The removal of 12,000 Spanish regulars into Portugal, added to that of 14,000 who were already serving under Beresford in Galicia, robbed Spain of the greater part of her trained forces, and that too at the very time when Napoleon gained the right of sending first 25,000 French troops, and eventually 40,000 more, into the Peninsula. With the fate of Spain, however, we are here concerned only so far as it suggested to, and was developed from, the policy agreed on at Tilsit. Enough has been said to show that the Emperor's Spanish policy did not spring *Machiavelli-like* from his brain, but that it had three well-marked stages corresponding to the opportunities furnished by the course of events.

Even before the signature of the two conventions at Fontainebleau, Junot, the commander of the corps at Bayona, received imperative orders to start at once, "in order to forestall the English." He therefore crossed the Atlantic on October 18. Despite the irregularity of his entrance into Spain, he and his men received a warm welcome from the Spaniards, whose goodwill enabled them to march at a rapid rate towards the Portuguese frontier. In the provinces of the border districts beyond Almeida the corps suffered terribly from want of food, the torrid heat of the summer, and the badness of the mountain tracks. The Spanish troops who accompanied them were lost 1700 men from hunger and sickness, or by drowning in the torrents. Still Junot struggled on, under the stimulus of reiterated commands from Napoleon. The Emperor's correspondence bears witness to his eagerness on this head. It was enough to him that Portugal had declared the British ambassador and declared her alliance to the Continental System. Junot (as Napoleon wrote on October 17, and again on the 31st) must be at Lisbon by December 1, either as a friend or an enemy to that Court, for "Lisbon is everything." The letter of October 25 to General Clarke, Minister of War, explains the ground of Napoleon's anxiety. After stating that, however accommodating the conduct of the Prince Regent of Portugal might be, Junot must hurry on to the capital and make no promises, the Emperor adds: "I wish my troops to reach Lisbon at the earliest time possible in order to sequester all the English merchandise. I wish them to arrive there, if possible in flank, in order to seize the Portuguese fleet."

Despite the hostility of Napoleon and the utmost efforts of Junot's corps, the prize escaped. Under the protection of urgent representations from Sir Sidney Smith, there is command of a British naval force in the Tagus, and from the British ambassador, who had taken refuge on his

flagship, the Prince Regent decided, though with the utmost reluctance, to leave Portugal and set sail for Brazil. Taking with him the archives of the State, the treasury, the chief Ministers, courtiers, and all who especially feared the advent of the French, he entrusted himself to the protection of Sir Sidney Smith's squadron (December 22). Eight Portuguese and of the line, four frigates, four sloops, and twenty merchantmen weighed anchor opposite the historic quay of Belem. Thence Vasco da Gama and Cabral had set sail in happier times on their memorable quests; but now the royal family and its most devoted supporters made for the New World amidst signs of universal grief. The lamentation proved to be prophetic for this event was the precursor of many others which finally led to the separation of Brazil from the motherland. Portugal, in truth, had forfeited nearly every claim to respect, except that which is accorded to the weakness of old age. She had made no effort to preserve her independence. When, on November 10, Joseph's van-guard sailed Lisbon, almost in time to see the Portuguese sails at the mouth of the estuary, it was found to consist of barely 1500 foot-men and half-armed men. Yet the capital struck no blow to save its honour. The weakness that had crept over all the old Governments in turn seemed to have paralysed the once hardy and adventurous men of Estremadura. Even so, however, the escape of the Portuguese fleet and the departure of the royal family saved Napoleon the greatest catastrophe. He had persuaded himself that the Prince Regent would not take this desperate step, and had urged Joseph to do all in his power to replace the Prince and all those who had claims on the throne to repair to Bayona. He also hoped that the Russian squadron commanded by Admiral Senarvin, which was on its way back from the Mediterranean to the Baltic, would put in at Lisbon and prevent the escape of any Portuguese and British ships. Senarvin did arrive there, but his squadron was overpowered by that of Sir Sidney Smith, who once more stepped in to save the Emperor's plans. After meeting the Portuguese fleet to sea, Smith returned and blockaded the Russian ships in the Tagus.

The deliberations of the British Cabinet at this time are unknown; but we may reasonably conjecture that the capture of the Danish fleet and the prospect of saving the Portuguese men-of-war from Napoleon's grasp helped in strengthening their resolve to leave the risks of open war rather than meet the uncertainties and humiliations of a peace with Napoleon. Nevertheless, towards Russia the British Government made token friendly attitudes, doubtless with the hope of dissuading the Franco-Russian alliance. It sent a conciliatory reply to the Tsar's offer of mediation, which was accepted in terms agreed on at Tilsit. Canning stated that his Government was willing to treat on equitable terms for so desirable an object as a general peace, and required in turn a communication of the secret articles signed at Tilsit as a sign of the goodwill of the Tsar's Government to its present proposal. In order to smooth matters,

Canning had despatched to Levassier-Gower on August 25 full powers for the signing of a commercial treaty with Russia, on terms favourable to that Power. This was of no avail. The Russian Chancellor, Count Nesselrode, returned an evasive answer on the subject of the secret articles signed at Tilsit. On September 1, indeed, he admitted in an interview with Levassier-Gower that there were such articles, but he pledged his word that they did not stipulate the closing of Russian ports to British ships and merchandise. He added the following significant words: "the Continental peace cannot be of long duration; any peace with France must be considered as a momentary respite, and by no means as affording any prospect of permanent tranquillity; neither the French Government nor the French people is ripe for peace; they retain too much of their revolutionary enthusiasm. We must employ this moment of repose in preparing the means of resistance against another attack."

This was the general opinion in Russian society. It was even more prevalent in the mercantile classes, where the prospect of the resolution of British commerce caused general alarm. The policy agreed on at Tilsit was openly disapproved by the Emperor's Ministers, the nobles, the clergy, and the trading classes, and Savary, who came on a special mission to St. Petersburg, soon reported that the "English" party had the upper hand. The news of the bombardment of Copenhagen caused no general excitement, being regarded as an act of timely vigour. The Tsar, however, on September 11 entered a sharp protest against that action, and the statement that he at the same time privately expressed his approval of it must be deemed as a rebuke, originating in some disaffected circles. He had just dismissed the lethargic and rather Anglophile Minister Count Nesselrode, and now entrusted the portfolio of Foreign Affairs to Count Romanoff, the chief partisan of the French alliance and a firm believer in Russia's mission to effect the overthrow of Turkey. The new Chancellor quickened his master's resentment against England; but motives of policy served to postpone an open rupture. In the first place Alexander wanted to hear news that his Mediterranean squadron, about to return to the Baltic, had reached the French ports on the Bay of Biscay, where it would be safe from capture by the English. There were other reasons why he should move warily in so complex a situation and in dealing with an ally whom he secretly despised. By holding back part of what Napoleon required, he would give weight to the demands of Russia. The "English" party at St. Petersburg, however, made a false move which probably precipitated the rupture with Great Britain. Sir Robert Wilson, an ardent intriguer, had been stirring up the old hatred felt by the Russian nobility for France, but he was imprudent enough to introduce an English pamphlet on the policy of Tilsit which spoke with slight respect of the Tsar. Savary was able to present a copy of this brochure to Alexander, who at once gave orders for the expulsion of Wilson and the removal of



Narvinskoff, Strengnoff, and others of the English party from the capital. Doubtless, as Lord Grouville Leveson-Gower stated in his despatches, the demand of Napoleon for a Russian declaration of war against Great Britain, had also a place in Alexander's calculations. On November 8, when the approach of winter promised immunity from British attack by sea, he broke off all relations with the Court of St. James.

Next in importance to the relations of Alexander with Great Britain were his plans with regard to the Ottoman Empire. As has been already stated, Alexander's desire for conquests in Turkey had been whetted by Napoleon at Tilsit; and it was the key-stone of Rostomoff's policy to render the French alliance less unpopular by turning Russian energies away from the campaigns in central Europe, barren alike of glory and material reward, to those enterprises against the Turk which had truly failed to win glory, treasure, and broad dominions for the Muscovite nobility. Yet, while directing the gaze of his ally toward the Balkans, Napoleon had taken care to stipulate in the public treaty of Tilsit that hostilities between Russia and the Sultan should cease, the troops of the former evacuating the Danubian Provinces, which they then held, though the Sultan was not to occupy those lands until the signature of a peace with Russia. For the conclusion of this peace Napoleon offered his mediation, and thus gained the right to act as arbiter in the complex disputes arising out of the Eastern Question. By the secret articles signed at Tilsit, Alexander had ceded to him the Seven (Ionian) Islands and the Chios district on the mainland; and the completion of these plans, together with Delmatia and Ragusa, placed the French in possession of points of vantage on the Turkish frontier fully equal to those which Russia held on the banks of the Danube. Furthermore, an article of the secret treaty of alliance specified that, if Turkey did not accept the mediation of France, or if she failed within three months to give effect to her promises after her peace with Russia, then France would make common cause with Russia against the Sultan, "in order to withdraw from the yoke and the servitude of the Turks all the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, except the town of Constantinople and the province of Roumelia." It was well known that this last clause met with opposition from Alexander at Tilsit; for it withdrew from the sphere of Russia's distant activity the province and city that formed the goal of her most ardent ambitions.

The Turk showed his ill-humour by postponing the evacuation of the Danubian Provinces. For this conduct he had a plausible excuse. Article 4 of the public treaty of Tilsit imposed unconditionally the evacuation of Russian fortresses and districts by the French troops, but there was no sign of its approaching fulfilment. In fact, Napoleon's procedure in the case of France betokened a determination to keep that State wholly under his control. Alike in the negotiations and in the Treaty of Tilsit, the case of Prussia was set over against that of Turkey.

Napoleon wished to partition Prussia, just as Alexander wished to annex a large part of Turkey, and the French Emperor wanted his share of aggrandisement at the time, in consideration of similar pretences being shown by the ally and rival in the case of Turkey. But it was not in Napoleon's character to let Prussia escape until he had drained away her strength. An opportunity came which presented not only to give her play in these vampire-like methods, but also definitely to prolong the French occupation.

Marshal Kalibourth, when negotiating the terms of the Convention of Königsberg (July 18), for the restitution by France of the Prussian lands that she had conquered on the east of the Elbe, was guilty of a strange inadvertence. He allowed the insertion of an article stipulating the restitution of those districts to the Prussian authorities when the contributions and exactions imposed by order of Napoleon should have been completely discharged; but he failed to secure the insertion of a clause specifying the maximum charge. This omission gave Napoleon the opportunity of subjecting towns and districts to exactions beyond their powers, and thereby indefinitely postponing the time of liberation. The Emperor's letters leave no doubt that he was personally responsible for this ingenuitous cruelty. On July 18, 1807, he wrote to General Clarke that he did not intend to evacuate Prussia until the money should be paid; he then estimated the amount due from Brandenburg at 60,000,000 francs. On July 28 he again wrote to Clarke respecting the same due from Brandenburg and Silesia, which he reckoned at more than 120,000,000 francs. He added, "make the provinces pay all they can.... If we can raise this sum to 250,000,000 francs, so much the better." This was from a land whose revenue in 1805-6 was about 27,000,000 thalers (105,000,000 francs). With her domestic industries suffering from the French occupation, her foreign commerce reduced by the naval war with England consequent on the adoption of the Continental System, the mutilated Prussia of 1807 was utterly unable to meet the exactions now imposed. The same drain at once sapped her strength and cut off all hope of future deliverance, except by a step that involved political annihilation, namely, inclusion in the Confederation of the Rhine; and there is every reason to believe that Napoleon had determined to drive her to this last step. Ultimately, in March, 1808, the sum claimed from Prussia was fixed at 125,000,000 francs; but the French intendant, Dora, placed all possible difficulties in the way of the acceptance of the service demanded for this sum. Even a personal appeal, which Prince William of Prussia made to Napoleon at Paris in the spring of the year 1808, failed to move him from his purpose. He finally replied that the restoration of Prussia depended solely on the other political combinations which he had in view.

The instructions issued on November 25, 1807, to Caulaincourt, French ambassador-delegate at the Russian Court, reveal the advantage

which Napoleon hoped to reap from his very hasty occupation of Prussia. Seeing that the Tsar seemed to keep Moldavia and Wallachia, the French Emperor directed Caulaincourt to offer no opposition to that plan, provided that France should gain a part of Prussia fully equal in population and resources to those States. If the Treaty of Tilsit were to be modified, the change must be equally to the advantage of both the contracting Powers. If, however, the Russian Government hesitated at a partition of Turkey, with the acquisition of Russia and Albania by France, Caulaincourt was to repel any such suggestion. The fall of the Ottoman Empire was inevitable, but it was to the interest of France and Russia to postpone its fall to a time when they could most profitably share its "vast empire," and when a hostile Power could not seize "Egypt and the islands, the richest spoils." In any case the two contracting Powers must march at the same speed. Napoleon declared that he would not evacuate Prussia until Alexander avowed his intention of entering Wallachia and Moldavia to the Balkans; or he would evacuate Prussia partially when arrangements relating to a new order of things had been agreed on between the two Powers. A secret convention might be signed, "interpreting" the Treaty of Tilsit, whereby the two Powers would retain the parts of Prussia and Turkey agreed on between them. Caulaincourt was also charged to hold out the prospect of a joint Franco-Russian expedition against India through Asia Minor and Persia, to a topic on which instructions had been forwarded to the French ambassador lately sent to Tilsit. Russia must also be urged to invade the Swedish dominions on the side of Finland, while a Franco-Danish force was preparing to enter them from the west.

Such were the instructions issued to Caulaincourt. Though Alexander, on December 26, assured that away with the pretensions due to his diplomatic position and to his own admirable qualities, he did not hide his chagrin at seeing the acquisition of the Danish lands restricted by a condition which deeply touched his honour. As Potemkin and Bartenstein he had taken up the rôle of protector to Frederick William and Queen Louisa. Even at Tilsit he had acted for them the province of Silésia. How could he, the glorious winner of the Prussian Queen, give Turkish lands by a step which would entail the sacrifice, once again, of half her dominions? His pride revolted at so humiliating a bargain, every suggestion of which he repelled aside. In point of fact, he had been prepared for such a proposal by the despatches of Count Tolstoy, Russian ambassador at Paris, who on October 26 and November 28 wrote to warn the Russian Government that Napoleon was about to compass the entire ruin of Prussia by assigning Silésia to the duchy of Warsaw and the whole of Brandenburg to Jerome Bonaparte's Kingdom of Westphalia. The latter statement was probably incorrect, though there are grounds for thinking that the Emperor had held out to his brother the prospect of assigning at Berlin

But, whether correct or not, Talbot's despatches conveyed to Alexander these suspicions of Napoleon which he had with difficulty suppressed even at Tilsit. A time of doubt and hesitations paving ground on both sides. Napoleon, on finding that Alexander was at once firmer, more astute, and more resolute than he had at first believed, sought to adjourn every important question to a time that would be more favorable to France. In a postscript which he added on January 18, 1808, to a despatch for Chateaubriand, he informed him that the present state of things suited his (Napoleon's) views, and that the question of the partition of Turkey must be deferred.

A new situation, however, was brought about by the action of the British Government. George III. in his speech at the opening of Parliament on January 21, announced the firm resolution of the King and his trust in the support of the people during the present terrible struggle. The tone of the debates in the two Houses was equally determined. Napoleon replied by a Note to the Minister, on February 2, that peace would return some day, but only after events that would have deprived England of her distant possessions, "*principale source de sa ruine*." This hint as to an Oriental expedition served at the same time to threaten Great Britain with the direct loss and to hold out once more to the Tsar the vision conjured up at Tilsit. The certainty that the war would be fought out to the bitter end served to quicken the march of events both at Paris and St. Petersburg. It even promised to bring Austria into the Franco-Russian coalition. Already that Power had settled the outstanding claim of France as the survivor which Netherlands. Austria's ambassador at the French Court, signed with Champagny at Fontainebleau on October 21, 1807. For the Habsburgs that compact was little else than a series of surrenders. The delimitation of the Austrian frontier on the north was wholly in favour of the kingdom of Italy, the line of the river Innos being adjudged as the boundary between the two States; Trieste was saved with difficulty. The Habsburgs gained no compensations, and Metternich suggestively remarked to Stadion that the sole advantage conferred by that compact was that it left no question open with Napoleon. The French, however, now evacuated Bremen on the Russian frontier; and Stadion seemed to be the order of the day in Franco-Austrian relations. Below the surface there lurked the old suspicion and fear of Napoleon, as it does in Metternich's correspondence. Nevertheless Austria undertook to mediate with a view to peace between France and England; but, largely owing to the opposition of Canning, her offer was finally declined. Accordingly, the Austrian ambassador, Count Stadionberg, left London on January 20, 1808; and Alar closed his mission to Vienna on March 1. On February 28, 1808, Austria adopted the Continental System.

Napoleon at once sought to complete the isolation of Great Britain by a scheme which would bring Austria closely into his political system

He sketched the outlines of the new plan at an interview which he accorded on January 22, 1805, to Metternich. The Austrian ambassador having presented a letter announcing the marriage of his master with the Grand Duchess Maria Louisa of Tole—it was his third marriage—Napoleon began to debate upon the field of activity of the British Cabinet, which, he said, had brought him reluctantly to the determination to ensure the peace of the world by a step that meant living ruin to England, namely, an Eastern expedition and the partition of the Ottoman Empire. That event would benefit Russia more than France, who needed only "Egypt and some colonies", but Austria could not stand by and see the partition of Turkey among other Powers. The dictates of sound policy required her to unite very closely with France in order to share the spoils. Metternich received the offer very guardedly, and suggested that France I. would almost certainly despoil her of so revolutionary a proposal, for his only desire was to maintain peace and the *status quo*; Napoleon, however, believed that he could force his hand, as Frederick II and Catherine II had forced that of Maria Theresa in the case of Poland. That he entered eagerly into the new scheme may be seen from two letters which he wrote to the Tsar and Cautinemet on February 2. To his ambassador he stated that he would gladly see Alexander conquer Sweden and take over Stockholm itself, so as to make St Petersburg the geographical centre of his empire. He also instructed Cautinemet not to press for the evacuation of the Danubian Principalities by Russia, it being understood that the French would not leave France. Above all he was to hold out the plan of an Eastern expedition, in which from 20,000 to 25,000 Russians, from 8,000 to 10,000 Austrians, and from 55,000 to 60,000 French troops would march through Asia to India, "nothing is so easy as this operation." That enterprise, of course, implied a partition of the Turkish Empire; and, in order to arrange details, he (Napoleon) wished to have an interview with Alexander. If the Russian Emperor could come to Paris, it would cause him the greatest pleasure; if this were impossible, and he could come only half-way, Cautinemet must take his companions and find the middle distance. Such is the first emergence in Napoleon's correspondence of the plan which was to lead up to the Erfurt interview.

Napoleon exposed the same vision, but more vaguely and guardedly, in a letter of the same date to Alexander; he laid no stress on the help that Austria might give, but stated that, in the space of a month after they had come to an agreement, the French and Russian troops could be on the Bosphorus; that by May 1 the combined armies would be campaigning in Asia, and the Russians might be in possession of Stockholm. This letter has its theatrical side; but there is ground for thinking that the final refusal of Great Britain to consider Austria's offer of mediation, together with the challenge conveyed by the King's speech to Parliament, now sufficed to convince Napoleon's

former reluctant to an immediate partition of Turkey, and induced him to press it on his ally with all the reluctance that he had displayed at Tilsit. He saw in the enterprise an opportunity, similar to that which Frederick, De Guise and Catherine II had discerned in the partition of Poland, of composing the mutual jealousy of France, Russia, and Austria. It was true that France was not so well placed for the partition of Turkey as were Russia and Austria. But the defects of position might be made good by a vigorous policy, even during a time of war with Great Britain. Moreover it was clear that, if the Russians were deeply involved in the conquest of Poland and Sweden, they could scarcely have the upper hand in the partition of Turkey, especially if Napoleon secured the armed help of Austria in resisting their undue preponderance in the Balkan peninsula.

Self as was the transition of the Emperor's plans, yet his correspondence during the months of February—May, 1806, yields proof that it was decisive. He now bent all his energies to the task of consolidating his power in the territories which dominated the Mediterranean, namely, Corsica, Sicily, and Spain. On February 7-8 he wrote several letters showing the importance that he attached to Corsica and the rock of Scylla. An attack by British cruisers on Corsica would be serious (so he wrote to King Joseph); and the loss of that island would be the most fatal blow to his plans. At the same time he warned his brother that the rock of Scylla, where the Bourbon garrison stoutly opposed every effort of Joseph's troops, was "the most important point in the world." It was the key to Sicily; and the capture of Sicily (so he wrote to Denis) would change the face of the Mediterranean. At the same time he pressed on the occupation of Spain by the French; and his letters of May 16-18, when he believed that offer to be at an end, show that he valued Spain's possessions largely because her naval resources were now quite at his disposal "for the common cause." He ordered Dupont to march straight to Cadix in order to secure that arsenal for France. In all the ports of France and of her vassal States, from Amsterdam to Ancona, there reigned the greatest security; and it is clear from Napoleon's letter of May 17 to Denis that he wished to prepare for an expedition against India at the close of the year.

Alexander at first responded to the appeals and projects set forth in Napoleon's letter of February 2. On reading it he exclaimed fervently to Caulaincourt, "*Petit le grand homme... dit le langage de Tilsit*." He declared that he would gladly go to Paris, did not circumstances forbid such a step. At some place, about halfway, such as Wilna or Brest, he would gladly meet his ally so as to arrange the details of the new scheme. He, however, expressed a wish to have some preliminary understanding as to the partition of Turkey; and whilst the discussion of details the first rupture speedily manifested. It could not escape the notice of Alexander and Bernadotte that the gain of Russia in the south

was vague and prospective, while Napoleon's proposal to keep his hold on France seemed to comprehend the association of that State, and possibly the reconstruction of Poland on a larger scale by the addition of colonies and East Prussian lands. The partition of Turkey, however, was the question on which Castelnau and Romasoff entered into the most eager discussion. The Russian Minister extended to Napoleon *Algeria, Thessaly, Syria, the Morea, the Asian Archipelago, Egypt, the chief capitals of Asia Minor—the cities de Levant*—and, perhaps, part of Spain. The French ambassador also agreed that Russia should have Moldavia, Wallachia, part of Bulgaria, and a considerable territory around Trebizond; but, when Romasoff claimed Serbia, Roumelia, and Constantinople, their debates became hot, almost acrimonious. Castelnau remarked that Serbia lay beyond Russia's natural sphere of influence, and that it ought to go to Austria, or to some German power who might marry a Russian grand-duchess. Above all, he declared to handing over to Russia both Constantinople and the Bosphorus, with all the districts north of them. Russia's interests, retorted Romasoff, demanded that she should hold both the keys of the Black Sea, and not one only. In short, he claimed all the lands east of the river Maritsa. He further pointed out that the proposed joint expedition to India would be all to the advantage of Napoleon. This drew from Castelnau the question whether Russia was not at war with England; and he asserted that the other gains of France in the East could not be securely held unless she possessed the Dardanelles with an eastern frontier running from Rodosto to Adrianople. To the Romasoff replied that their interests would then be brought frequently into opposition. It would be far preferable, he urged, that Austria should be a buffer-state between the new dominions of France and Russia. The views of the Tsar were now found to have widened, probably under the influence of Romasoff. He asked little for Trebizond; but his mind was freely set on the acquisition of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. When Castelnau appealed to him in favour of his first proposal respecting Constantinople—that of making it an independent free city—Alexander at once replied that the plan of sending a great army to India closed matters, and that Russia must consult her own interests before she put forth such an effort.

In these discussions, it is observable that French policy relegated Austria to a quite secondary position. Part of Russia and Turkish Croatia, together with some control over Serbia and the north of Macedonia, would, Castelnau assumed, amply satisfy her. Alexander assigned to her the coast-line west of the Maritsa, inclusive of Silistria, but only because he disliked having Napoleon as a neighbour. The same views also dictated Romasoff's reference to the continued occupation of Prussia by Napoleon's troops. Alexander clearly felt uneasy while a large force of French troops remained near his own borders.

The first week of March, 1808, was an anxious time for Alexander, which left Czarismort, and through him Napoleon, with the conviction that Alexander would not move his army towards the East until the French troops evacuated Prussia, and Constantinople and the Danubian were allotted to Russia. Such was the substance of Czarismort's despatch to Napoleon of March 25. Alexander's letter of that date to Napoleon was of the same tenor. Two projects of partition were drawn up, the one French, the other Russian. The acceptance of the Russian scheme was made the condition of the Tsar's acceptance of Napoleon's invitation to the interview.

If this was the tone of Russian diplomacy when Napoleon's Spanish enterprise seemed to be prospering, it was certain to harden when, a few weeks later, difficulties began to crowd upon the Emperor in the Iberian peninsula. There, the first rumblings of popular wrath, which portended the mighty outbreak that was shortly to follow, already made themselves heard; and, while Napoleon betook himself to Bayona to set the crown to his new policy, Alexander could look with satisfaction on the progress of his arms in Finland. The Swedish King having refused to abandon the British alliance in deference to the Russian note of February 18, Alexander's troops promptly invaded Finland, overcame the few Swedish detachments scattered there, and early in March brought the fortress of Sweburg to capitulate. On March 25 the Tsar issued a proclamation to the Powers, in which he spoke of Finland as a province conquered by his arms. The phrase has a twofold interest, first, because it explains the firm and decided tone which Russian policy then assumed towards Napoleon on the Eastern Question; and, secondly, because it has ever since been appealed to by the advocates of the Pan-Slavonic programme in Finnish affairs, as justifying subsequent measures for the abrogation of the ancient rights of the Grand Duchy.

It may be well to advert briefly to this question, especially as the changes that came over the situation in Finland to some extent influenced Alexander's relations with Napoleon. Just as the French Emperor felt the need of modifying his plans under the stress of events in Spain, so too Russian policy, being under the control of a more sensitive personality, registered the changes that took place in the campaign in Finland. There, as in Spain, the resistance did not become serious until the regular troops were beaten back or dispersed. The defence of the Swedish forces was tame in the extreme; but Alexander's reference to Finland as a conquered province cut the pulse of that patriotic people to the quick. They prepared for a national resistance, and early in the summer inflicted several checks on the invaders. In that land of forests, lakes, and swamps, the efforts of partisan bands were no less effective than in Spain; and Alexander soon perceived that the real conquest was still to be effected. Prudence, therefore, as well as his own leaning towards liberalism provided a more generous treatment of the Finns.



He had all along wavered between the advice of his military men, headed by Arakcheyeff, Minister for War, and those who favoured an approach towards western democracy. The latter party now gained his ear, and urged him to end a troublesome strife by offering to the Finns a generous measure of autonomy. There was the more reason for taking such a step, seeing that Napoleon had not sent the expedition against Sweden from the west on which the Tsar had counted. In fact, a recently published letter of Napoleon to Cautincourt (April 26, 1808) shows that he had rejoined on Bonaparte's conditions as to the crossing of the Sound by 40,000 men at one time, which he must have known to be impracticable. Possibly Alexander suspected that his ally was holding back the promised help. In any case, his attitude towards the Finnish question underwent a change. Giving up the rôle of conqueror, he adopted that of conciliator; and, on June 17, 1808, issued a declaration which promised to the Finns the enjoyment of their ancient privileges, and the conservation of the Diet of the Grand Duchy.

The sequel is well known, and can be only briefly described here. The resistance of the Finns slackened; and in November, 1808, a deputation of their chief men proceeded to St. Petersburg to set forth to the Tsar the wishes of their people. In the same month a truce was concluded, whereby Sweden recognised the occupation of the province of Umeå by the Russians. The Russian officials who administered the Grand Duchy, Sprengporten and Sprengkell, cordially worked on behalf of the interests of the people; and on February 1, 1809, Alexander issued an order cancelling the four Estates of the Grand Duchy at the town of Raase. On the opening day, March 27, he issued an Act of Guarantee in which, after stating that the will of God had placed him in possession of the Grand Duchy, he confirmed and sanctioned its religion and "the fundamental laws of the country, as well as the rights and privileges which each Order in particular, in the said Grand Duchy, and all its inhabitants in general, both great and small, have hitherto enjoyed by virtue of the Constitutions. We promise to maintain all these advantages and laws in full vigour without alteration or change." Thus did Finland gain its first charter of freedom under the eye of the Tsar, who became, in a constitutional sense, Grand Duke of Finland. Thus, also, did Alexander avert the troubles that had threatened at the beginning of the previous summer to weaken his position in the complex international questions then pending.

Very different at that time was the situation of Napoleon. While Alexander saw his proclamation of June 17, 1808, bring forth the fruits of confidence and goodwill, the policy of Napoleon speedily produced an immeasurable harvest of hatred and strife. The change thus brought about in Napoleon's position is instructively mirrored in his correspondence. On April 29 he had told Alexander that the revolutionary symptoms in Spain embarrassed him somewhat, but that he would soon be

ready to arrange "the great affair," that is, the partition of Turkey, with the Tsar. On May 31 he wrote to Caulincourt that Spanish affairs were "entirely decided"; that the Spaniards were quiet and even devoted to him, and that at any time after June 30 he would be free for the proposed interview, but it must be without any preliminary conditions attached to it. As for Spain, his views of that country down to the first days of June were, in the main, those of an observer viewing up the additions which he could make to his naval resources with a view to the great operations proposed for the following autumn and winter. On June 3, however, he heard disappointing news from Santander, Sanaguan, and elsewhere, which caused him to announce to Alexander the postponement of his departure from Bayona for a month; though he added that after that time he would be free for the interview. In a letter to Caulincourt, dated June 13, he fixed the month of September for the interview. It was not until July 7 that he expressed to Dorey his fear that he must postpone the great naval efforts on which he had been counting. This implied the abandonment of all plans for the partition of Turkey and the conquest of Egypt and India. It is significant that the news of the capitulation of Dupont at Baylen, which reached him at Bordeaux during his journey to Paris, turned his thoughts at once to the complex international situation. In a letter to his brother Joseph he writes: "*L'Allemagne, la Pologne, l'Italie, etc.—tout au fait.*" Three days later he sent Caulincourt a letter, subsequently undated July 31, stating that, as Alexander had obliged him by recognizing Joseph as King of Spain, he (Napoleon) had given orders to close matters with Prussia, that is, to evacuate her provinces. In another despatch of the same date he even informed Caulincourt that he might withdraw his troops from the duchy of Warsaw and Danzig, and station his army on the left bank of the Rhine. A comparison of these intentions of Napoleon (which afterwards were modified by circumstances) with his former designs on Prussia will serve to reveal the enormous influence which the Spanish rising exerted on the affairs of Europe. It is not too much to say that it saved Prussia from virtual extinction and the Turkish Empire from perdition.

There was another reason why Napoleon should now seek to annihilate Alexander by every means in his power. The fate of the Spanish Bourbons had struck terror into the Habsburgs. This might have been expected. The mental equipment of Francis I. was inadequate. His narrow, pedantic outlook on international affairs left him a prey to fearful adventures, like Tilsit, or subtle treacheries such as Coblenz. Between their divergent lines of policy he had wavered for many years. But in one respect his character displayed some firmness; he inherited the family pride of the Habsburgs and their reverence for ancient dynasties. These fundamental feelings were cut to the quick by Napoleon's treatment of the Houses of Braganza and Bourbon. On all sides Francis saw with bewilderment the old landmarks vanishing—

Austria abstained in the French Empire (January, 1806), and the Papal Legation assented to the Kingdom of Italy (April, 1806). Now were his heart laid to rest by the anticipation that came from Paris to show in the approaching partition of the Turkish Empire. While Napoleon's legions held Spain, the duchy of Warsaw, and Dalmatia, Austria could expect but scant consideration either at her hands or at those of the Turb, whom she had neglected to help in the spring of 1801. Having broken with England, the Habsburgs saw themselves utterly isolated. One source of hope alone remained—in trust the loyalty and devotion of their still numerous subjects, thoroughly to reform the administration, and to see against all contingencies.

That was the advice of Stadion, the bold and enlightened minister who then held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. The result was the decree of June 9, 1806, ordering the incorporation in a national *Landwehr* of all able-bodied men from eighteen to twenty-five years of age who were not serving in the regular army. The decree aroused an amount of enthusiasm almost unparalleled in the history of the Habsburg States. In truth the people were weary of surrender to Napoleon, and chafed under the burdens imposed by the Continental System. They therefore gladly answered the summons, and their zeal for military service was heightened by the news of the French disaster at Eylau.

Napoleon was at first perplexed by Austria's action. With his usual propensity to exaggerate the importance of material gains, he failed to see why the plan of a joint partition of Turkey should not bring the Habsburg Power wholly to his aid. Thenceforward he decided quite correctly that his armaments were due solely to fear. Yet he did nothing to allay Austrian alarm. On August 15, at the first reception of the diplomatic sack laid after his return from Bayona, he reproached Metternich with Austria's armaments, asserting that they must be set on foot either to attack or to intimidate France, that he (Napoleon) would retort by arming the Confederation of the Rhine and beginning a war which would be war to the death. The present conduct of Austria would induce the Emperor of Russia to declare that those armaments meant war; and, he added, if Russia became the victim in this matter, "I will no longer admit you to the future settlement of many questions in which you are interested." This reference to the Eastern Question, uttered in presence of the Turkish ambassador, alarmed everyone and reacted unfavorably on the Bourne. The bad impression thus created was not removed even by a friendly explanation which he privately accorded to Metternich ten days later. The tirade of August 15 was remembered as a notorious instance of Napoleon's incredible bias in favour of physical compulsion. The mental characteristic of him was well described by Talley, Russian ambassador at Paris, in his despatch of August 7 to his master: "It is only conduct that is simple and open but firm and resolute, and that rests on

adequate military force, which has any effect on this sovereign. Every concession begins in him the desire for further concessions." The Court of Vienna had discovered the same truth. Indeed, under the pressure of Napoleon's supremacy, the statesmen of St Petersburg now saw the need of safeguarding the interests of the only State that stood between them and the conqueror of the West. The policy of balance engineered by Alexander with so much skill at Erfurt was but the expression of a truth the importance of which had already been recognized by every intelligent diplomatist on the Continent. The utmost length to which the Tsar would go in the way of covering Austria was a suggestion which he made in a despatch of September 5 to Krasinski, his ambassador at that Court, as to the advisability of her remaining a passive spectator of the war in Spain, otherwise Napoleon might decide to fall upon the Habsburgs before entering on the Prussian War. "There will always be time," he added, "to adopt afterwards the course that circumstances will then suggest. By following this line of conduct, Austria would not see the painful necessity of taking sides against her, for I am bound to that course only when she shall attack." It would be difficult to judge from this language whether Alexander was an ally of Napoleon or of Francis I.

In vain, also, did Castlereagh press on the Tsar the need of spending freely to Austria about her armaments, if he wished to see Napoleon evacuate Prussia. That wish lay near to Alexander's heart; but he came to believe that the evacuation would take place owing to the urgent needs of the Spanish campaign. While, therefore, he warmly approved Napoleon's offer to free large parts of Prussia from the crushing burden of the military occupation, he now did little to press for its fulfilment. He preferred to wait upon the logic of events. This passivity seemed about to be justified. As has been stated, the news of the French surrender at Baylen induced Napoleon to offer to arrange matters with Frederick William. Accordingly, negotiations began with a view to the evacuation of part at least of Prussian territory. They failed owing to an entirely incident, the capture of a letter written by Stein on August 18, in which that statesman imperiously refused to a war between France and Austria as inevitable, and cited the events in Spain as proof of what a courageous nation could do. The influence of this letter on the fastness of Stein and of the German national movement will be referred to later in this chapter. Here we must notice that its effect on the negotiations between Napoleon and Prussia was equally disastrous. It enabled the conqueror to tighten his grip on Prussia and to raise his pecuniary demands. In the month of March, 1808, as has been stated above, he fixed 112,000,000 francs as the price of evacuation; now, after his army had lived on the country six weeks months, he raised the sum to 154,000,000 francs. After vigorous protests from Prince William of Prussia this was reduced to

144,650,000 francs by a convention signed at Paris on September 8, which stipulated that Glogau, Rastria, and Martin should be handed over to the Prussian troops on the discharge of that sum. The armistice, besides limiting the Prussian army to 40,000 men, imposed other humiliating conditions, the result being that the King sent Prince William to the conference at Erfurt in the hope of securing some alleviation of the tribute of Prussia. The hope was a vain one. Napoleon's satisfaction at the close of his interviews with the Tsar led to further indignifications. The three fortresses were not evacuated, and more exactions and insults were heaped upon Prussia.

In the month of September, 1808, the arrangements for the interview at Erfurt neared completion. So far back as the third week of May, Alexander had answered to Cauterworth that he accepted Napoleon's invitation without insisting on any preliminary understanding on the Eastern Question. Events proved that this concession on his part was premature, but at that time the campaign in Finland was beginning to take a master turn; and the shadow of the Spanish troubles had not as yet dimmed the lustre of Napoleon's glory. To the Erfurt interview, then, both monarchs came untrammelled by conditions, a fact which greatly favoured Napoleon's diplomacy; but, while the French Emperor had gained in regard to diplomatic procedure, he had lost in the sphere of practical politics. The Spanish difficulty dogged his efforts at every turn, and still more so when, after the middle of September, the news of the Convention of Cintra slipped through to the chambers of central Europe. After this second blow he could no longer dictate his terms as to Constantinople, the Dardanelles, France, and Austria; he came almost as a suppliant for the good services of the Tsar. Not that he adopted the rôle of a suppliant. Such a part comported ill with his temperaments, and still worse with his diplomatic methods; but the word expressed his position amidst the complex play of world-events. He no longer controlled them; he seemed on the point of being whirled into their vortex. Affairs in Spain called for his undivided attention; yet Austria's armaments held fast no real part of his available forces in central Europe; and no one but the Tsar could meet this overpowering situation. The rôle of arbiter which Napoleon had so triumphantly played at Tilsit passed to Alexander at Erfurt, and both men knew it.

Everything turned, then, on the ability of Napoleon to facilitate his rival by the display of that personal and political witchery which had been so effective on the banks of the Niemen. External circumstances promised to favour him. The old Thuringian city still appealed to the historic imagination of the Tsar. The sight of the crowds of royal Prussians and nobles of Germany side by side with the diplomats of Europe compelled admiration for the genius and power of the modern Charlemagne. Robert had passed into his hands after the battle of

Jena; the choicest of the French regiments now formed the garrison under the command of Ordener. Architects had been called in to beautify the chief buildings of the city in accordance with the pseudo-classical fancies of the time; and the handsome if not the ablest artists of the *Théâtre Français* came in the emperor's train in order to represent appropriate dances before the two Emperors and a party of Kings. The arrival of the chief potentates on September 27 was the signal for a series of receptions and spectacles of unequalled brilliancy. The charms of intellectual converse were not wanting. In a brief visit to Weimar, in the middle of the conference, the two Emperors saw Goethe and Wieland. Napoleon discussed literary topics with the former, and urged him to fix his abode at Paris, where he would find an adequate sphere for his powers. With Wieland the Emperor engaged in brilliant talks, depreciating the genius of Tacitus and deriding his judgments on the Roman Emperor.

All this was but the scene setting designed to dazzle Alexander, and to begot in him that acquiescent mood so needful for the success of Napoleon's designs. The task proved to be unexpectedly difficult. The splendour of the reception could not blind Alexander to the fact that the divergence of French and Russian policy was all but irreconcilable. The Tsar came to Erfurt with the hope that the overhauls of France would enable him to press on a solution of the Eastern Question entirely favourable to Russia. Napoleon, on the other hand, had resorted to his previous resolve to postpone that question until Spain and Sicily became naval bases that would secure to him the complete command of the Mediterranean. Their views were as less sharply opposed with regard to the arguments of Austria and the continued occupation of the fortresses of the Oder by Napoleon's troops. Diplomatic skirmishing on these questions postponed serious and prolonged struggles, all of which served to convince Napoleon that the Tsar was no longer in that frame of mind which had rendered him so open to fascination at Tilsit. In vain did he now seek to haul him in compromise with his aims. Alexander replied but briefly to the discussions of his host, and maintained his position with a quiet shrewdness against which arguments, volitive offers, flights of imaginative statecraft, and threats were equally futile.

The discussions respecting the Eastern Question are not fully known. It is clear, however, that Alexander agreed, or seemed to agree, to a postponement of the scheme in its larger sense. Napoleon had placed his finger on the central point of the whole problem in the concluding words of his letter of May 31 to Gaidarov: "The fundamental part of the great question is always this—Who shall have Constantinople?" That question remained unresolved by the interviews at Erfurt. The arguments of Romantoff, who was most eager to show his countrymen some tangible gain from the French alliance, barely availed to secure

Napoleon's reluctant consent to the acquisition of Moldavia and Wallachia by Russia; and even this was to be deferred, first, to the present unstable situation at Constantinople, the Sultan should decide to throw himself into the arms of England. If the Sultan made war on Russia, Russia was not to take part in it. France and Russia also agreed to maintain the remaining possessions of the Sultan. If Austria attacked France, Russia was to make common cause with the latter. Poland was definitely assigned to Russia. Clauses to this effect were included in the convention signed at Erfurt on October 12, whereby the Emperor renewed the alliance concluded at Tilsit.

Disappointed in his hopes of securing Constantinople and the Danubius, Alexander felt the less inclination to support Napoleon in any proposal to coerce or humiliate Austria. Thanks to the Spanish rising, and to Metternich's astute diplomacy at Paris, which had the tacit support of Tolstoy, Talleyrand, and Fouché, the Erfurt interview had no terrors for the Habsburgs. Talleyrand strongly advised that the Emperor Francis should present himself at Erfurt to defend in person the interests of his realm. Fearing, perhaps, to compromise his dignity at the congress, that monarch despatched a special envoy, Baron Fugère, as bearer of a conciliatory letter to Napoleon. The French Emperor received it coldly (September 28). His distrust of Austria redoubled after reading a despatch of Andrassy, French ambassador in Vienna, describing the conduct of that Court in the most hostile terms. "I understand you," rejoined Napoleon, "why the Emperor did not come: it is difficult for a sovereign to lie to my face; he has decided that task on M. de Vincent." A joint Franco-Russian note to Austria seemed now to be imperatively needed. But on that day Talleyrand (whose presence at Erfurt must be pronounced a strange blunder on Napoleon's part) had seen the Tsar and pointed out the need of supporting the European system, of which Austria was the pivot. The advice entirely coincided with that of Tolstoy and, indeed, with Alexander's innermost convictions. In view, then, did Napoleon point out to the Tsar his successive interviews that the dismemberment of Austria could alone guarantee central Europe against war and quench the hopes of reawakening a future coalition that still were cherished at London. Alexander saw the need of supporting the buffer-state, and firmly declined to participate in any scheme for its dismemberment. Repplied on this side, Napoleon refused to listen to Alexander's pleadings on behalf of France. How could France evacuate the valley of the Odra, be excluded, if Austria were to be free to continue her preparations? If Alexander insisted on the evacuation, he (Napoleon) would at once fight not his quarrel with Austria before sending most of his troops into Spain. The Tsar refused to bring about compromise. Napoleon promised to evacuate the fortress of the Odra, while Alexander definitely undertook to help France if Austria should throw down the gauntlet.

The final proceeding at Erfurt was the dispatch by the two Emperors of a letter, dated October 18, to George III, in which they begged him to accord peace to the world and "to guarantee all the Powers then existing"; they also warned him that in the contrary case still greater changes would take place, all of them opposed to the interests of Great Britain. An accompanying dispatch contained the offer to treat on the basis of self preservation, and of reciprocity and equality. These vague expressions must be interpreted in the light of the then secret Franco-Russian convention of October 15, which, as noted before, stipulated that Finland, Moldavia, and Wallachia should count as already belonging to Russia. Though unaware of the exact meaning of the phrase cited above, Canning replied on October 28 that Great Britain had always striven for a general peace on equitable terms, but that no such terms had yet been offered; that his Britannic Majesty was now united by treaties with the Crown of Portugal and with the Swedish Majesty; that with the Spanish nation he had engagements which were no less sacred than those resulting from the most solemn treaties; and that these engagements must be respected in any coming negotiations. On November 18 Ruzsawoff replied that Russia would recognize the sovereignty of the King, but could not admit those of the Spanish sovereigns. On the same day Champagny refused to admit the Spanish sovereigns to the negotiations, or the sovereigns of "the King who reigns in Brazil, the King who reigns in Italy, or the King who reigns in Sweden." This brought a reply from Canning to Champagny, dated December 2, stating that the refusal to admit the Government acting on behalf of Ferdinand VII of Spain must be regarded as ending the negotiations for peace.

The chief practical results, then, of the Erfurt interview were the continuance of the Franco-Russian alliance, though on somewhat strained terms; Napoleon's reluctant concession of the Danubian Principalities to Russia; the prolongation of the time of neutrality for Austria; and the assurance of Russian triumph over Sweden.

It will be well briefly to review here the course of Swedish affairs from the beginning of the war of the Third Coalition down to the deposition of Gustavus IV and the choice of Marshal Bernadotte as Prince Royal. No monarch had striven so valiantly and persistently against the French Republic and Empire as Gustavus IV. Hereditary Infante and the events of his early life conspired to make him a champion of legitimacy. During the period following the Peace of Amiens he spent many months in Germany, working, in concert with other sovereigns and with Duke of Munich, to form a new league against France. After the execution of the Duc d'Angoulême, the young monarch felt for the author of that crime a hatred as intense as that which his father had nursed against the Revolution. His advisers saw with concern the growth of the same characteristics that had brought Gustavus III to his doom—a quixotic generosity unbalanced by prudence



or largely regard for the vital interests of his own people, and so haste in arriving at decisions and extreme obstinacy in adhering to them, proneness to contradict or thwart his advisers, and sloveness in handling the wands that his vanity or hoodlumism inflicted. At a critical time in the formation of the Third Coalition he imposed the negotiations by demanding an exorbitant subsidy from Great Britain in return for a small contingent, and by sending back to Berlin the decoration of the Order of the Black Eagle, because Frederick William had conferred it on Napoleon. With such a sovereign accord was difficult and fruitless negotiable.

The ignominious end of his Pomeranian expedition in 1807 caused great discontent among his people. Nevertheless, the attack made by Russia on Finland in the following spring kindled anew their martial ardour. They gladly responded to the appeals of their monarch and furnished considerable forces. Had Gustavus put himself at their head and won credit, if not victory, in the field, the loss of the Grand Duchy would have been less keenly felt; but he remained at Stockholm and drew up an ineffective plan of campaign, which left the Swedes in small better to be evoked in detail. Little was made of the patriotic ardour of the Finns; and, by the close of the year, the Swedes had virtually lost their hold on the country. In making preparation to withstand the Danish and Franco-Spanish forces that then threatened his western and southern borders, Gustavus revealed his incompetence as a commander and his capriciousness as a man. On the arrival of General Mörse at Göttingen with a British force of 12,000 men, the King insisted on the adoption of offensive measures which were quite incompatible with the orders of the British Government. When Mörse represented this in the course of interviews at Stockholm, the King heaped reproaches on him, and for a time placed him under arrest (May-June). Mörse, however, managed to escape and sailed away with his whole force. Nevertheless the report showed that Sweden had little to fear on that side. Bernadotte had a force of French, Spaniards, and Dutch, about 22,000 strong, in Jutland and the Danish islands, but Napoleon, as has been stated above, had no longer any interest in pressing Sweden hard, and sent orders which practically tied his Marshal's hands. La Romana's corps of 14,000 Spaniards also became increasingly restless as the news from Spain began to filter through; and their wish to escape from the grip of the retrograde became a fixed resolve when the British authorities succeeded in sending a prison in disguise to inform them of the successful escape of their countrymen. They determined to flee as soon as ships could be sent by the British admiral, Koster. Mistaking the gulls of Bayona by gulls of his own, Romana duped Bernadotte and finally succeeded in escaping from the archipelago with some 6000 men on British ships; the rest of the Spaniards were dispersed by Bernadotte or by the Danes (August).

Nevertheless, Gustavus failed to stem the tide of Russian conquest on the east. During the winter of 1807-8 the Muscovites made good their

held on Finland, and finally by a daring march over the ice succeeded in visiting the Åland Isles. The Swedes were now at the end of their resources. A malignant fever had raged among the crews of their fleet during an expedition to the Livonian coast; and few ships or men remained for the defence of Stockholm. The deep-seated discontent of the nobles had now spread to the army and the trading classes; and, when Gustavus persisted in useless efforts that transcended his abilities, the movement that aimed at his dethronement assumed national proportions. At length General Jönsensparre, commander of the Swedish army of the west, marched to Stockholm and compelled the King to abdicate (March 29, 1809). On May 14 the Estates of Sweden confirmed this action, and called to the throne the Duke of Sudermania, with the title of Charles XIII. A change soon took place in the constitution, the Estates regaining the control which they had lost in 1789, and declaring their right to meet every five years, even if the monarch did not summon them. Charles XIII being advanced in years and having no son, the Estates recognised, as his heir and successor, Prince Christian Augustus of Augustenborg, a connection of the Danish House. These events facilitated the signature of peace. On September 17 Charles XIII came to terms with Russia in the Treaty of Fredrikshamn, whereby he ceded Finland to that Power. In December, 1809, the Treaty of Jönköping closed the war with Denmark; and on January 6, 1810, the Swedish emperor signed at Paris a treaty with France, recognising the adoption of the Continental System by his Government, and the exclusion of British ships and merchandise, with a reservation in favour of the unrestricted importation of salt. In return Napoleon returned to Sweden her province of Pomerania and the island of Rugen.

A fatal accident to Prince Christian during a fit of apoplexy (May 28) once more raised the question of the succession to the throne, and that in a threatening manner. Count Fernow, who was unjustly suspected of complicity in the accident, met his death at the hands of the populace in Stockholm. In these untoward circumstances, the Swedish Diet looked round for a man of firm yet constitutional character who would guarantee Sweden against trouble within and war from without. Charles XIII, in his perplexity, wrote to Napoleon, who urged the claims of the King of Denmark to the Swedish crown. That monarch was, however, known to be unpopular in Sweden; and nothing came of the suggestion. Charles XIII wished for the nomination of the younger brother of the deceased Prince Royal; but he declined the honour. In truth, the majority of the nobles and of the people wished for a man of wider influence and greater governing powers. Who could reconcile the claims of peace, order, and national prestige as well as use of Napoleon's marshals? It so happened that, in the transactions which Swedish envoys had had with the French forces in Denmark and Holstein during the late war and the overtures for an armistice at its close, Örgel had

been greatly impressed by the personality of Bernadotte. Her tall frame and martial bearing, the combination of vigour and courtesy in her speech and demeanour, and the fervour that had marked his dealings with the people of Hanseburg and Holstein, alike served to inspire respect and adoration. His reputation spread across the North, and a few influential men called for him in preference to one of the less logical of Napoleon's policies. Finally Charles XIII and the Diet concluded in October decided to recognise Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, as heir to the Swedish throne (August 20, 1809).

Bernadotte accepted his willingness to accept the honour if Napoleon accorded his permission. The request surprised the Emperor and placed him in a difficult position. Bernadotte was related to Joseph Bonaparte by marriage, having wedded his sister-in-law, but Napoleon always manifested a dislike for the tall German. In 1806 he had sought to remove him to the United States as ambassador, after the battles of Austerlitz and Jena he unjustly accused him of slackness in the handling of his corps, and now he was on the point of sending him away to Rome as governor of that city, when the unexpected request came from Stockholm. To the Prince of Ponte Corvo he wrote on September 6 in veiled terms; but four days later he sent to the Prince a curt note (which has been greatly altered in the official Correspondence) signifying that intimation-was being drawn up to enable him to become a Swede, with a restriction appended binding him never to bear arms against France. As in duty bound, the Prince Royal declined to fetter his future action or that of his prospective subjects, and resigned his claim on the principality of Ponte Corvo, receiving 12,000 francs instead in lieu of it. In this grudging fashion did Napoleon recognise the installation of a new royal family in Sweden.

The spontaneous collapse of the old royal House of Sweden afforded one more proof of the weakness of the traditional monarchies of Europe. In nearly every case their rulers showed signs of mental instability or even of actual aberrance, a sure proof of the exhaustion of the stock or at least of its incapacity to withstand the strain of the new environment. Only in one State did the monarch take to heart the teachings of adversity, and allow his ablest advisers to remodel the national polity in accordance with the modified needs of the age. That State was the one which underwent the completest overthrow, but in the depths of its humiliation found the means of winning its way back to more than all its former glory. In truth, the regeneration of Prussia was due, not so much to the monarch whose mistaken policy brought her to that dire pass, but to certain of the leading men of Germany, whose instincts prompted them to offer their mental and administrative gifts on behalf of the one polity that could be called a national German State.

Never was there a deeper contrast between the actual and the potential in any commonwealth than in the Prussia of 1806-24. The

shorts of the Year at Erfurt had failed to secure the removal of the French garrisons from the three chief fortresses of the Oder, the utmost that he could wring from his ally, was a slight reduction in the French indemnity. As a set-off to this, heavier taxes were imposed for the provisioning of the French garrisons in these fortresses, and certain claims, urged by the duchy of Warsaw in regard to frontier questions and the confiscation of the property of Prussians in that duchy, were driven home by the French authorities and the King of Saxony with a pettish and brutality almost past belief. The total of the contributions exacted by the French from Prussia itself has been reckoned at \$61,252,500 francs; Dürcher estimates it at not less than a milliard. The bonds of the Continental System were drawn tighter every year, to the possible extinction of Prussia's maritime trade.

But, while Napoleon and his misrule were ruthlessly endeavoring to complete the ruin of Prussia, the mind of Germany eagerly bent itself to the work of endowing her with fresh vitality. Foremost among those who pointed the way to new sources of hope and strength was the philosopher Fichte. In the case of the new national movement, Fichte deserves as much attention as is usually bestowed on agents of destruction. Born in a village of Upper Lusatia, in 1762, he received University training at Jena; thereafter he lived for some time at Zurich; but he found the chief inspiration of his life, as was the case with so many other thinkers, in Kant's philosophy and in the stern ideal of duty which it set forth. He became professor of philosophy at Jena, but vacating his chair in 1799, owing to a charge of heterodoxy, he settled at Berlin. After a time of absence from that capital, mainly due to the political troubles of the subsequent years, he returned thither and expounded to the citizens of the ruined State the ideal of civic duty which he owed ultimately to the teaching of Kant. Rejecting the impractical cosmopolitanism of his earlier years, he now pleaded for a revival of patriotism of an intelligent but enthusiastic type.

Fichte began his course of lectures, entitled *Redes an die deutsche Nation*, at the close of the year 1807, when the French troops garrisoned the capital. In the earlier Addresses he pleaded for an enlightened system of education, which, lifting its people above the selfish pursuit of petty interests, should inspire them with a noble zeal for the common welfare. Selfishness and particularism, he claimed, had ruined Germany; only the adoption of a national system of education could ever drive deep-seated evils and inspire the people, irrespective of class and creed, with a love for the whole German race. In the North Address he pointed to Pestalozzi's methods as affording practical means of instituting a free and vitalizing education, and expressed the hope that the State would apply it to the training of the young of all classes. Next, referring to the idea of the nation, he claimed that it must take precedence over that of the State. A great lead the patriot to devote himself and all his powers and

belongings to the public good, and to offer up his life, if necessary, so that the nation, the one enduring entity here below, may live on. In other addresses he pointed out what Germans had achieved in time past under the stimulus of patriotism, and brought the people to prepare to show themselves worthy of their aims.

The language of the Addresses was too academic to produce any wide impression at the time. Even so, considering Napoleon's death of the principle of German nationality, it is strange that he did not accord to Fichte the honors voted out to Fahn for a much lighter offense. However we may explain this still, certain it is that the appeal struck home, when, shortly after the delivery of the Addresses, the Spaniards showed what a people in arms could effect. The events at Saragossa and Baylen seemed to bring Fichte's plea within the range of practicality; while, on the other hand, its connection with religion, ethics, and history gave an intellectual basis to the national movement in Germany, which was utterly wanting in that of Spain. The contrast between the sudden instinctive outbreak of passion and outraged pride in the German patriots and the methodical and intellectual preparation now adopted by the German patriots goes far to explain, on the one hand, the heroism of the Spanish movement, and, on the other, the harvest of mental and civic results with which modern Germany has enriched the life of central Europe.

In one direction Fichte's appeals had a speedy and noteworthy effect. The leading men of Prussia had been impressed by the mental quality which followed the collapse at Jena-Auerstedt. When fortresses were deemed to small bases of cavalry, something was clearly wrong with the moral of the people; and, in the days of despair that followed, every thinking man saw the need of building up the nation's life from the very foundations. As a system of national education promised to quicken the torpid circulation of Prussia, men were appointed to study the question. Some of them visited Pestalozzi's school at Yverdon, and brought back a report favorable in the main. Zeller, an enthusiastic disciple of the Swiss reformer, started a Normal School in Esslingen on Pestalozzian lines, which ultimately gained the approval of the King. German method subsequently improved on the somewhat hasty ideas and crude procedure of the west, so that eventually his system became fruitful of good in primary education. Equally important and more immediately effective was the reform of the *gymnasiums* or higher schools. The teaching hitherto had been for the most part lax, unsided, and unprepared. But when, early in 1809, Wilhelm von Humboldt was appointed to the Ministry of Public Instruction, the whole system speedily felt the influence of his learning, enthusiasm, and organizing power. Not that the subjects of education were greatly altered; in the *gymnasiums* of Prussia, as in the lycées of Napoleon, the classics still held the first place. The influence of Wolff and Nicholas forbade the entrance

increase of "modern" and "practical" subjects, but the change in spirit and in thoroughness of work was profound.

Most important of all, perhaps, was the establishment of the University of Berlin and Breslau. This new development, which for the first time brought culture into close touch with public life, resulted from the political changes of the year 1807. Until that time, Prussia possessed three Universities, Königsberg, Frankfurt on the Oder, and Halle, besides two smaller ones; but the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit robbed her of Halle. Two of the Halle professors went at once to Mamel and begged the King to establish a *Friedrichs-Universität* in Berlin. An order of the Cabinet appeared in September, 1807, declaring the need of founding an institution which should take the place formerly held by Halle. Königsberg was too remote, and Frankfurt on the Oder too poor, to provide the means of culture for the central parts of the monarchy. Circumstances therefore pointed to Berlin; but action was delayed, at first, because Stein was reluctant to expose a large number of students to the great temptations of the capital, and subsequently because Humboldt feared the overwhelming influence of the governing circles and the military caste at Berlin. As the work of national regeneration proceeded, the advantages of Berlin were seen to outweigh these objections, Humboldt himself daily declaring that the contact between learned men and the official and military classes must prove "intellectually refreshing, thought-enriching, and morally elevating" to the latter. Humboldt's report, conceived in this spirit, was published in May, 1809, and three months later appeared an Order of Cabinet assigning to the proposed University the palace of Prince Henry of Prussia at Berlin and a state subvention of 150,000 thalers (277,500) per annum. Fichte expressed the general feeling in his statement that this action was "the highest example of a practical respect for science and thought ever afforded by a State; for it was given during a time of the direst oppression, and under the greatest financial difficulties. It was not an act of display or eloquence that was sought for, but an instrument for giving new health and vigour to the nation." Steffens, professor of physics at Breslau, also wrote that such liberality would never have been shown in the old days, had any request been made to remedy the miserable condition of the University of Halle. Despite the poverty of the young institution, illustrious men gave their services from the outset—Fichte for philosophy, Schopenhauer (first Rector) and Savigny for jurisprudence, Schleiermacher for theology, Wolf and Böttgermann for classics and antiquity, Niebuhr for history, and many others. In the opening year 1810-11 as many as 418 students matriculated, and a proof of the patriotic spirit kindled and sustained by the new seat of learning was to be seen in the ardour with which professors and students rushed to arm in 1813.

The University of Breslau took its present form in the year 1811, when the old University of Frankfurt on the Oder was incorporated with

the Women Catholic College established by the Emperor Leopold I at Breslau in 1703. The new institution attracted less attention and fewer students than that of Berlin; but it served to further the work of permeating the mass of the people with the higher ideals of culture and civic duty which Fichte set forth in his inspiring phrases, "The cleansing of the stained and the divine in the world." On all sides the conviction spread that, if Prussia was to rise from her prostration, it must be accomplished (in the words of Bluntschli) "not by physical but by moral force." A conviction of this truth appealed to the ideal element then so powerful in the thought of Germany, and drew able men from the vast to all in the regeneration of the new national State left amidst the ruins of the old political system. It is noteworthy that among the men who helped to raise Prussia from her ruins may be none born to that name: Hegel was a Rhinelander, educated in Hanover; Hardenberg and Schlegelshorn were Hanoverians; Niebuhr was partly of Danish, partly of Hanoverian descent; Blicher came from Mecklenburg; Arnolt from Rügen; Gerdessen and Fichte were Saxons, but the new national instinct of Germany bound the feelings of all of them indissolubly to Prussia in the time of her overthrow.

The same instinct, itself an outcome of German idealism, also led to the formation at Königsberg of the Moral and Scientific Union, popularly known as the *Tugendbund* (June, 1808). Among its founders were Professors Krug, Bartholden, and Bärnk. The King, during his long residence at Königsberg, came to have more sympathy with the cultured classes, among whom the influence of Kant was still powerful for good, and probably this explains the carefully guarded approval which he bestowed on this society for "the revival of morality, religion, humane taste, and public spirit," so long as it did not interfere in the domain of politics and administration. Most public men, however, Stein included, refused to enrol themselves in its ranks, regarding its aims as unpolitical and visionary. Apart from its praiseworthy efforts in the direction of moral revival, the *Tugendbund* probably had for less direct influence on the course of events than has generally been claimed for it. It was declared illegal in 1809, but continued to work through secret agencies. Stein compared the self-Gothic fury of its members to "the rage of drowning sheep." It is, however, one of the weaknesses of practical statesmen that they are apt to underestimate influences which cannot be weighed on political scales; and it is improbable that that great class of quiet people, who before 1808 knew and cared nothing about public affairs, would have dared and achieved the mighty tasks of the year 1813, had they been merely passive material moulded by the effects of legislation and agitators. Only by the infusion of moral enthusiasm into a new and skilfully devised policy, could Prussia have acquired the strength and the tenacity of purpose displayed in the War of Liberation.

The first place among the men to whom Prussia owed the revival of

her power must be ascribed to Heinrich Friedrich Karl, Freiherr von und zum Stein (1757-1834). The son of an old family of Imperial Knights in the valley of the Lahn, he early showed signs of a strong practical capacity far in excess of the average of his class. At the University of Göttingen he learnt to appreciate the merits of British institutions; and probably it was the study of these, as well as the sturdy positive bent of his nature, that intimated his detestation for the pedantry of the Imperial Courts, amidst which his lot was subsequently cast. In 1788 the Duke of Prussia the Great induced him to enter the Prussian service; and for some years he served in the administration of mines and manufactures in the King's Westphalian lands. A diplomatic mission to Meine in 1788 and travels in England in 1788-7 enlarged his knowledge of men and affairs; but it was not until the year 1804 that he held office at Berlin as Minister of State for Trade. In this position he firmly withstood the degrading foreign policy of Scharwitz, but found all struggles against it thwarted by the Cabinet. After the disaster at Jena, when Scharwitz was suffering from a sharp attack of gout, the King called to Stein the portfolio of Foreign Affairs; but Stein declined on the ground of his inexperience for the position and his desire to see a change of system. In reality he wished to see the appointment of Hardenberg, the most outspoken opponent of France, and the complete abolition of the irresponsible Cabinet. In 1806 the King proposed a compromise on the latter point and permit in his criticism of Hardenberg. Stein was equally obstinate and somewhat overstepped the bounds of etiquette in his letters to the King. Finally Frederick William, shortly before the hurried retreat of the royal family from Elbing to Memel, dismissed him, adding that he was "a refractory, stubborn, obstinate, and dishonest official, who, proud of his genius and talents, far from regarding the good of the State, guided partly by caprice, acts from passion and from personal hatred and rancour" (January 3, 1807). For a time Stein passed into retirement. In the month of April, 1807, Frederick William was constrained to submit to Hardenberg the ministry of Foreign Affairs, with powers which embraced those of a chief of a responsible Cabinet. When the negotiations at Tilsit began, Napoleon refused to negotiate through Hardenberg, on the ground that he was a Hanoverian and very English in sympathy; he also named Stein among the three men whom he would gladly see in the Prussian Ministry. Some time elapsed before Frederick William brought himself to offer to Stein the ministry of Home Affairs; but, thanks to friendly mediation, the latter resumed office with extensive powers on October 6, 1807.

The foregoing summary will have shown the masterful nature of the man who now held in his hands the hitherto affairs of Prussia, and the exciting details of the events which placed him in power. Frederick William, after nine months of direct captivity, residing from his own



swearing policy, could not but give a wide liberty to the one able man whom Napoleon allowed him to choose as Minister, and the logic of events pointed with irresistible force to a complete reversal of the old system. The King recognised the fact by entrusting to Staele the control of all the civil affairs of the State, and the right of sharing in the deliberations of the Military Commission (October 4, 1807). Hardenberg had wielded considerable power over all departments of the public service; but it was Staele's dictatorship in civil affairs that put an end to the disastrous dual system, under which power was divided, in varying and indefinite proportions, between the King's Ministers and the Cabinet, consisting of the King's private advisers. In place of the latter body, there was now to be a *Collegiumministerium*, consisting of the chief Ministers, who wielded full powers both as regards collective advice offered to the King and the administration of their several departments. This administrative reform was completed by the Edict of November 29, 1808, which established, first, a Council of State, including the royal Princes, all the Ministers, and certain Privy Counsellors; and secondly a smaller Cabinet of Ministers alone. The more important affairs were to come before the Council of State. The ministerial departments also underwent a remodelling which removed the division of powers and crossing of functions that often paralysed the old governing machine.

Still more important in its bearing on the life of the nation was the Edict of Emancipation, issued at Monz on October 9, 1807, which abolished serfdom, with its tangle of personal obligations, throughout the Prussian monarchy. These great changes were to take effect on October 1, 1810. The work on the royal domains were also fixed by a decree of October 28, 1807. But this was not all. A conviction had long been growing that the wealth of the country would never develop until the medieval restrictions on the holding of land were abolished or profoundly modified. As the minister Staele phrased it, "he who has an estate has no capital, and he who has capital is not allowed to have an estate." In other words, the old families were in a rule too poor to cultivate the soil properly, and were not allowed by law to sell "noble" land (*Königsgut* or *adliges Gut*) to the burgher class. Similar limitations attended the holding of peasants' land (*Bauergrund*). The transfer of land from members of one class to those of another could only be legalised by the express permission of the King. Staele now decided to restore the principle of free trade in land, abolishing the restrictions derived from old feudal customs, and imposing only such safeguards as would prevent the serious dislocation of peasant holdings. But the Edict of Emancipation went even further than this. It swept away the laws and ordinances which prevented the noble from taking up occupations previously confined to the burgher class, as also those which marked off the colleges of the latter class from those of the peasantry. In short, it swept away the caste system in regard to

compensation, and facilitated the rise of a peasant to the status class and even to that of the nobles.

The framing of this edict was not, to any appreciable extent, due to Stein. The "Imperial Commission" recently appointed by the King had reported on the topics named above in a sense practically identical with the terms of the Edict of Emancipation, even before the accession of Stein to office. It is to the King, who had long been desirous of abolishing serfdom, and to enlightened advisers like Schulz, rather than to Stein, that the chief credit for originating the reform belongs; Stein, however, bore the official responsibility for the promulgation and carrying out of the edict, which aroused sharp opposition from the feudal nobles. After Stein's withdrawal from Prussia, Hardenberg carried through this measure and others abolishing certain monopolies, as trading, to their logical conclusion, by the drastic decree of September 18, 1811. Peasants and persons on feudal lands now gained complete possession of their farms or holdings, on condition that the land received one-third of the land in lieu of his former agrarian rights and claims for personal service. This decree again met with strenuous opposition from the privileged classes, but, in spite of their protests in the Chambers of Notables, which Hardenberg successfully overruled, he carried it through by royal authority. Thus the change from feudal tenure to freehold, which in France formed the chief practical outcome of the Revolution, was in Prussia distinctly due to the King's will and prerogative. The Cabinet rescript (first made public in 1853) which Frederick William sent to Hardenberg on September 6, 1811, leaves no doubt that the impetus towards this thorough agrarian reform came in a large measure from the King himself. That he and his Minister succeeded in carrying it through, in spite of the better protests of a large part of the nobility, was also indirectly due to Napoleon, who at the very same time was known to be planning the utter ruin of Prussia. Here, therefore, as in the reforms of Stein and Schubert, we may discern one of the epoch-making results of the Napoleonic exposure. Legislation, which would have been utterly impossible before 1806, was imperatively called for, if the crippled State was to gain strength enough to cope with revolutionary and Napoleonic France. Frederick William deserves greater credit than has usually been bestowed for discerning this important truth. Limited as were his views on foreign policy, he actively furthered the reforms which laid anew the basis of the Prussian State. In his adoption of this course, so different from that of Louis XVI before the Revolution, lies the chief cause of the startling divergence in the fortunes of the Houses of Hohenzollern and Bourbon.

Side by side with the legislation which renovated the social and commercial life of Prussia, there arose a new military system that was destined preferably to influence the fortunes of the kingdom, and ultimately of all Continental States. Here, again, the demand for

reform originated largely with the King. Frederick William had never shared the superstitious reverence felt by most of the officers for every detail of the military organization of the great Frederick. Long before the collapse of Jena, he had privately indicated many of its weak points; and his doubts as to the efficiency of the army probably explain in part the pitiable shifts of his policy in the years 1804-6. On July 24, 1805, that is, sixteen days after the signature of peace with Napoleon, the King appointed a Commission for Military Reorganization, with Schramhorst as president, and Gneisenau and Grolmann among its members. Boyen joined the Commission in 1806. Subsequently the King set down in writing thirteen suggestions with regard to reform, among them were the dismissal of incapable officers, the improvement of the system of promotion for deserving officers, extension of the facilities for the promotion of non nobles, diminution of the number of exemptions from military service, abolition of the custom of recruiting among foreigners, the formation of larger reserve districts (*Reservebezirke*), formation of divisions and corps, the drilling and use of cavalry and artillery in far larger units than before, together with various improvements in weapons, uniforms, drill, and tactics, so as to render the army and its dispositions on the field of battle. Similar ideas had occurred to Alvensleben, Blücher, and others; and few intelligent officers (York was an exception) felt any doubts as to the need of drastic military reform.

Frederick William here laid his finger on the weak points of the old system, and he gave a general though not unvarying support to the men who were determined to construct a truly national army from the ruins of the old organization, which placed a premium on noble birth and seniority among the officers, and relied almost solely on recruited men and foreigners in the ranks. First among the officers who now pressed for a thorough change was Gerhard Johann David Schramhorst (1753-1812). Born of humble parents in a village of Hanover, he early received a training in the military school at Wolfenbüttel. Thereafter he served with great credit in the Hanoverian army in the campaigns of 1793-4, and wrote some essays that displayed thought and originality. In 1800 he entered the Prussian service as first-lieutenant of artillery, and soon gave an impulse to the whole service by founding the *Artillerie-Gesellschaft* at Berlin. In April, 1806, he showed his zeal for reform by advocating the formation of a national militia. Having further displayed his useful powers at Albrecht, Lützen, and Eylau, he was able to lay down the truth brooded at him as a mere theorist, and he enjoyed the confidence of all who looked for searching and practical reforms. With him was Gneisenau (1790-1860), whose chance defense of Colberg also proved that study of the principles of the art of war was by no means incompatible with practical bravery and an inquiring intellect. It is impossible here to do more than summarize the chief features of the

system inaugurated by the Military Commission. It began by asserting the duty of every man to serve in the work of national defence. Schenklenb, in his memoirs of July 31, 1807, pointed out the need of having a small standing army of about 60,000 men, which could quickly be reinforced from a national militia; he further sketched a plan for passing a certain proportion of men quickly through the ranks and thence into a reserve. A month later he suggested that all men between the ages of eighteen and thirty should equip themselves at their own expense so as to form a national militia or reserve army. For various reasons, Frederick William decided to reorganise the existing army before venturing on any novel experiments. Accordingly the officers who had been guilty of cowardly surrenders were severely punished; many more were cashiered; while most received due recognition, and men in the ranks (thenceforth only Prussians) were treated as belated officers of a free State. While these practical reforms were taking shape, Napoleon formulated a demand, in a secret article of the Franco-Prussian Convention of September 8, 1807, that Prussia should limit her army to 67,000 men for at least ten years, and should not form a militia or civic guard. Owing to this action of the French Emperor, the reformers at Berlin devised the famous "Landwehr-system," (*Kriegergesetz*), so called because the cadres of stated intervals were filled with recruits and depleted by their passing into a reserve. The working of the system was kept as secret as possible. Nominally the total of the army was kept at 67,000 men; but by the year 1813 Prussia had as many as 150,000 men trained to the service of arms. The organization of the *Landwehr* belongs to the year 1812, and will be described later. Even when driven from power by Napoleon in the year 1806, Schenklenb continued unofficially to further the extension of the system which began to make the Prussian army, in the words of the Military Commission, "the wisdom of all the moral and physical energies of the nation." Herein lies the true grandeur of Schenklenb and his colleagues. They placed their trust not so much in an improved organization as in the growth of a new civic patriotism.

Closely connected, therefore, with the subject of army reform, is that of local self-government in Prussia. In order to understand the importance of the municipal reform of November 19, 1808, which laid the foundation of local self-government, the older method of control must be briefly outlined. Since the establishment of the Prussian War and Domain Chamber in 1792, the administration of the towns had fallen more and more under the control of the Crown. Under the plan of supervising officers of finance and cognate matters, the central Government frequently appointed retired officers to the posts of *burgemeister*, treasurer, or councillor, in order to lighten the demands on the army chest. The right of co-optation was allowed in certain towns; but, lest this privilege should lead to civic freedom, the municipal authorities

were subjected to the supervision of a tax administrator, whom *weiss* was for the whole of his district. *Weiss* had long seen the need of breathing into the towns of Prussia the civic life which had characterized the Free Cities in earlier days, and the reform promulgated in the Great Recess of Burg in October, 1807, made some analogous measures practically necessary if Prussia was to retain her place in the Germanic system. Accordingly *Weiss*, with the help of Schubert, Minister for Prussian affairs, drafted a scheme which received the King's sanction on November 12, 1808. The State still retained a general control over towns, especially in respect of the supervision of accounts and the nullification of new by-laws; but it now entrusted large powers to the citizens, and swept away the rights of lords of manors over towns and over villages with more than 500 inhabitants. Citizens were now required to take their due share in all civic duties, and, if elected, to serve as appointed under-pole of a town. The elected governing body was therefore to consist of a paid burgomaster, paid councillors, and unpaid members, these only being paid who gave all their time to public work. In large towns the chief burgomaster was to be chosen by the King from a list of three men nominated by the representatives of the citizens. Police-magistrates might be appointed directly by the State, or it might charge the locally elected magistrates to supervise affairs of police.

*Städte*, in very brief outline, was the statute which granted or restored local self-government to the towns of Prussia. Inaugurated by royal decree and through the action of a Minister who was soon to be chosen from office by Napoleon, it stands in the sharpest contrast to the French departmental system of 1793-94, that permissive child of French democratic belief. The most cautious procedure of the legislators of the north was destined to be absolutely justified. The memory of ancient civic rights, slowly surviving in some towns, and the new patriotism begotten by the teachings of the leaders of thought, helped to nerve the citizens of Prussia with a dogged resolve and a modern earnestness better suited to the making of free institutions than were the entente hopes and effusive demonstrations of the year 1793 in France. The lesson of civic freedom was quietly introduced into the torpid mass of old Prussian life; and its working, though slow, was thorough. Accordingly, among the many influences that helped the dove-trodden men of Berlin to accord a joyous welcome to their King and Queen on their memorable return (December, 1809), must be reckoned the new sense of civic dignity which the capital now enjoyed. Ideal subjects of the House of Hohenzollern the Berliners had ever been, save the tax-paying burghers of the past held up their heads as responsible citizens in a reformed commonwealth.

*Weiss* was unable to carry out his statistesimistic plan of extending to the country districts the principles of self-government which he had accorded to the towns. Already the success of one of his letters by a

French official showed the ultimate aim of these reforms to be that of a national revival which should in due course lead to the expulsion of the foreigner. At first the Emperor was inclined to dismiss these designs scornfully. "These Prussians are poor, miserable people," he wrote on September 4, 1806, to Schell, who was then holding down Prussia. But six days later he wrote to his minister in more threatening terms: "I have demanded that he [Stein] should be chased from the [Prussian] Ministry; otherwise the King of Prussia will not return home." Napoleon also sequestered Stein's property in Westphalia. Still Frederick William delayed complying with the imperial demands, until, in November, Dessart and other French officers warned the Prussian authorities that the French would not evacuate their country so long as Stein remained in the Ministry. At last the King fell, from Madrid. An Imperial decree of December 16, 1806 (quoted from the official *Correspondence*) declared "it would stain" as enemy of France and of the Confederation of the Rhine, sequestered all his goods, and ordered his persons wherever he could be taken by French or allied troops. A letter to Champagny of the same date (recently published by Lacretie) concluded with the order that, if Stein were captured, he must be shot. Napoleon's procedure was well enough known in such cases not to need the clearer interpretation given to Champagny. Stein heard the news of his danger on January 3, 1807, and at once set out by night for the Bohemian frontier, which he reached in safety. After more than three years of retirement, he was to take service with the Tsar and help in the westward march of victory that set in at the close of the year 1812. Meanwhile his place at Berlin was filled by Hardenberg (June, 1810), a man equally hostile to Napoleon but more able to bend before the victor than the adventurous Stein.

Among the many influences that served to build up the new national spirit in Germany, that of literature must take a high place. Dessart well remarked that only by means of their literature were the Germans a nation, and the perception of the same truth explains the efforts which Napoleon made to bring Goethe and Wieland over to his side at the time of the Erfurt conference. He succeeded in forwarding them by his power of conversation, by the tactical advantages that he posed on their works, and by bestowing on them the Cross of the Legion of Honour. The historian Johann von Müller also yielded to Napoleon's allurements, and accepted a ministerial post in the kingdom of Westphalia. But these exceptions, if such they can be called, had little effect. The younger men of letters chose more and more closely to Prussia in the time of her misfortunes; and during her hopeless efforts like those of Schell and the Duke of Brunswick-Olden in 1809 continued passionate longings for national freedom throughout large parts of Germany. Arnst, Kluit, Koser, Richter, and others expressed the national feeling long before it found free vent in the rising of 1813.

Why German sentiment should have clung so staunchly to Prussia is a question that eludes philosophic research, as all questions of sentiment must do. There was, however, one truly inspiring personality in the Prussia of that period, and those who seek to analyse the inscrutable instincts that move great masses of men may well question whether the single figure of *Queen Louise of Prussia* did not count for more than all the promises of good government held out to Germans by Napoleon. Her grace and beauty, the radiant happiness of her life in its early phases, the gladness and purity which she diffused in the Court circles of Berlin, the queenly serenity with which she bore the misfortunes and insults of the months succeeding Jena, her patient efforts at Tilsit to awaken some generous impulse in the man who had slandered her, and finally the deepening glow of her later years, all conspired to thrill every German heart with admiration and pity. Her return to Berlin amidst the enthusiastic homage of its citizens lifted for a brief space the clouds that gathered over her, but the trials of the past and the hopelessness of the situation in the year 1810, when Napoleon threatened to seize Schlegel, told too deeply on that sympathetic and sensitive nature. Little by little her spirit sank under the burdens heaped upon her people by the conqueror; and in the month of July of that year death came to end her sufferings of mind and body.

In comparison with the long life-struggle of Prussia, the fortunes of artificial States like the kingdom of Westphalia and the duchy of Warsaw possess only a slight and passing interest. They owed their existence to the fact that Napoleon, unable, for the diplomatic reasons stated above, to annex Prussia to the Confederation of the Rhine, was determined to dominate her on the west and on the east by the creation of two considerable States subject to his control. Of these new creations, the kingdom of Westphalia comprised the Prussian lands to the west of the Elbe, Brunswick, Electoral Hesse (Hesse-Cassel), and other smaller districts. In the most westerly of the districts torn from Prussia the rule of the Hohenzollerns had not yet taken deep root. Despite the dull and oligarchic rule of the former Elector, the Hesseans resented the connexion with Prussia; while in Brunswick the wild sovereignty of the Duke was everywhere regretted. Nevertheless Napoleon hoped to win over the inhabitants by the reforms which are described in other chapters of this volume. The new Constitution of Westphalia was not imposed to the needs of the people, but everything depended on the monarch. Here Napoleon was unfortunate. In vain did he inform the King, Jerome Bonaparte (November 18, 1807), that the right of just laws and good administration in Westphalia would do more than the greatest victories to consolidate the Napoleonic system in Germany. In vain did he seek to inspire him with the ambition to do great things and the persistence that overcomes obstacles. Jerome had neither ambition nor persistence, except in the direction of display and luxury.

The scanty resources of the kingdom were wasted on worthless frictions. The pay of the troops was in arrears, and in the spring of 1809 a serious mutiny broke out. The inability of the King to stop the progress, first of Schell, and afterwards of the Duke of Brunswick-Goth, made a profound impression. Immermann has recorded his own painful feeling of participation at these events, and the determined belief of the people at Magdeburg that Schell was not killed at Strehlen but would come back to cut off the French pole. These incidents cost Napoleon to the quick. He overhauled his brother with reproaches (April 23, 1809). "Your kingdom (he wrote) has no police, no finances, and no organization. It is not with display that the foundations of monarchies are laid. What is happening to you now I fully expected. I hope it will teach you a lesson. Adopt ways and habits suited to those of the country which you govern." Similar evidence might be quoted from several quarters to show that the failure of Napoleon's efforts to decentralize central Germany resulted largely from the follies of his brother Jerome. It was, however, also due to the exigencies of Napoleon's dictatorship. His Continental System hindered commerce, and imposed crushing burdens on the trading classes; the conscription aroused increasing detestation, as larger and larger bodies were raised to fight the Emperor's battles; and the trend of public opinion set steadily away from Paris and towards Berlin.

The other State whose creation was due to Napoleon's desire to complete the isolation and subjugation of Prussia was the duchy of Warsaw, not officially styled a Grand Duchy till 1809. It consisted of the Polish lands which Prussia had seized in the three partitions, with the exception of the Silesian district, which went to Russia, and the city of Danzig, constituted by the Treaty of Tilsit a free city under the protection of the Kings of Prussia and Saxony. Frederick Augustus, King of Saxony, received the new duchy for himself and his heirs. It contained upwards of 2,500,000 inhabitants, nearly entirely Polish. Oginski states in his memoirs that the small extent of the new State, and especially the wantonness of the Silesian district, struck Polish patriots with despair. Chartoryski, however, asserts that many of his countrymen looked on the establishment of the duchy as betokening the future restoration of Poland. In this hope they were disappointed. Napoleon had promised Alexander at Tilsit that the name Poland should never be revived, and after 1809 his desire not to offend the Habsburgs gave efficacy to this promise. Not until the Peace of Schönbrunn, by which the Grand Duchy acquired the Polish lands of Austria southeast of Warsaw, did it gain definable frontiers; on the other hand, from the outset, the connection with Saxony, the right of sending troops and stores across Silesia, and other concessions wrong from Prussia, to some extent diminished its military weakness.

The Constitution of 1807 borrowed some of the forms of that of Saxony



1791, but little of its spirit. It was based in part on a draft presented to the Emperor by Polish magnates at Dresden in July, 1807; but in its final form it only partly met their wishes. In regard to religious worship it secured fuller toleration and freedom. The King, however, was vested a power far greater than that accorded in 1791. He nominated the eighteen members of the Senate—six Bishops, six Palatines, and six Castellans. Furthermore, he and his viceroyal ministers could override the advice of the popular Chamber, the Chamber of Nobles, and he alone could dissolve it. The Diet, consisting of these two Chambers, was required to meet every two years, on convocation by the King; but it had no right of initiating laws; this lay with the King and his Council of State, consisting of five Ministers and a Secretary of State. The members of the popular Chamber were chosen by electoral colleges or districts, those of the nobles sending up sixty members and those of the commonalty. The Napoleonic departmental system was introduced, along with the Code Napoleon. But the essence of the new Constitution lay in the stipulations, laid down by Napoleon himself at Dresden, that Prussia should have a resident or army at Warsaw. This definitely deprived the King-Duke of all functions as regard to foreign policy; and, when it further appeared that Frederick Augustus could not name a viceroi to act at Warsaw on his behalf, this further limitation clearly placed the executive power of the new Constitution in the hands of the French resident, that is, in those of Napoleon himself. As in the case of Danzig, where the joint protestants of the Kings of Prussia and Saxony was a diplomatic fiction in face of the control vested in the French military governor, so also the political machinery of the new duchy served merely to disguise the indisputable fact that the management of government was the will of Napoleon. It is therefore difficult to credit de Pratz's story that Napoleon once accused himself of two capital errors in his dealings with the duchy—that of sending a principle French officer as ambassador, and that of not having made himself King.

The application of the principles of the French Revolution to the duchy at Warsaw naturally proved to be somewhat half-hearted and artificial. Serfdom was abolished in theory, but, as no land was forthcoming for the freedmen, they remained virtually in their old position. Civic equality in the eyes of the law likewise proved to be scarcely compatible with the deep-seated prejudices of Poland. Nor was it marred on, when the aims of Dąbrowski's government clearly were to make the duchy the eastern bastion of the Napoleonic system. Military affairs alone received much attention. The forces were to be raised to the total of 80,000 men; and the generosity of four Polish nobles enabled to equip six regiments within a short space. The enthusiasm, however, was partial and short-lived. Even at the outset, many patriots shared the distrust with which Kosciuszko had always regarded Napoleon's Polish policy. He now refused to serve the Emperor until he declared to favour

of the restoration of Poland. That declaration never came. On the contrary, the Emperor took care to dull Polish aspirations, witness his instructions of March 23, 1806, to Davout at Warsaw: "Maintain harmony with the Russians as much as possible, and hold in check your Poles, who are hot-headed." The Emperor consented to reduce the financial burden of the Grand Duchy by taking into his pay 8000 Polish troops destined for Spain. Some 2000 were already serving under the French eagle. Despite this slight alleviation of its burdens, the new State felt the financial strain acutely. Battered by war and reluctantly burdened by the support of French troops, it was in no condition to bear the restrictions of the Continental System, which greatly hampered, even when it did not cut off, the export of grain and timber to England. Another grievance, slighter in reality but more galling, was the apportionment of nearly seven Polish domains to Napoleon's marshals and generals. Some of these were of great extent. Davout received the principality of Lwów with a rental of 4,051,200 francs; Lwow-Gut of Saxe with 2,174,200 francs; in all, rentals to the value of 55,584,452 francs were bestowed on the palatines of the Empire. The Peace of Schönbrunn (October, 1809) detached from Austria and annexed to the Grand Duchy an additional territory of about 900 square leagues and some 1,500,000 inhabitants. The army was, however, increased to 60,000 men, and by the year 1810 to 85,000 men. The financial situation became worse than ever, the deficit for the year 1811 amounting to 21,000,000 francs.

Nevertheless, Napoleon possessed in the Grand Duchy a political asset of the highest value, such as his German policy never presented to him. In spite of all his melodramatic appeals to the memory of Chlodwig, he failed to arouse the Teutonic imagination; and, if we inquire why he consummated a political act which achieved only a mediocre success among that home-loving, sentimental, and politically backward people, the answer would seem to be that he never touched the deepest well-springs of hope. For his reforms, so far as they really served their needs, the Germans were thankful. But his efforts in this direction were seen at an end, and the people of the Rheneish Confederation, after recognizing the benefits of the *Cole Napoleon* and of his administration, had little to look forward to but an increase of taxes, a greater conscription, and the loss of the comforts of life under the operation of his commercial decrees. In their minds, the name of Napoleon called up no vision of national greatness and glory in the future. With the Poles it was different. Their imagination turned to the sphere of politics with an eagerness sharpened by the humiliation of recent times and by the memory of their former greatness. The appeal to the example of Stanislas was an appeal to no *dim simulacrum* such as the name of Chlodwig conjured up. It called forth visions of a real and reliable polity. Their temperament and their misfortunes therefore ally

disposed *him* to see in Napoleon the Messiah of their race; and, having marked the disastrous ingratuity of his plans and the grandeur of his ambition, they refused to believe that the anomalous situation which he created at Warsaw could be anything more than a temporary shift in his progress towards a consummation worthy of his power, the re-establishment of the Kingdom of Poland in its ancient splendour. In that hope, ever baffled but never crushed, lay the secret of Napoleon's power in eastern Europe.

A survey of the period of the Napoleonic supremacy reveals the fact that, despite the seemingly complete overthrow of the European system at Tilsit, affairs tended speedily to revert to a state of equilibrium. It is true that Canning's wiser plans for an alliance with all the Scandinavian States ended in complete failure, Denmark ranged herself on Napoleon's side; and, as the progress of events rendered Sweden from Great Britain, Napoleon and Alexander became supreme in the Baltic lands. It is also indisputable that Napoleon by masterful diplomacy held France at his feet and kept the French and allied forces withdrawn from the Elbe to the Niemen. But the very magnitude of the means then engaged for the commercial stranglehold of Great Britain led both Austria and Russia to adopt precautionary measures in which lay the seeds of future war with Napoleon. Central and eastern Europe was, as it were, rolled up on itself, and began to find new means of resistance to the conqueror. Moreover, the eagerness with which he extended his political system over the south of Europe made an unconscionable foe of the Vatican, and led to the Spanish rising with its immense consequences—the postponement of the plans for the partition of the Ottoman Empire, the preservation of Prussia, the encouragement of the new national movement in central Europe, and the Austrian challenge of the year 1809. For the complete success of his designs against England, Napoleon needed not only peace on the Continent, but the acquiescence of governments and peoples in his supremacy. Thereoforthis became impossible; and it remained to be seen whether, with the findings of fear and hatred now working against him in Courts and cottages, even the Emperor could succeed with his vast and complex experiments, the Continental System.

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE WAR OF 1809.

The war between Austria and Napoleon in the year 1809 was no mere fortuitous conflict. It arose almost spontaneously, as a historical necessity, out of the three hundred years' contest between France and Austria for European supremacy. In the eighteenth century the struggle against the supremacy of Louis XIV culminated in the war of the Spanish Succession. A century later, in the war of 1805, the House of Habsburg once more gathered its forces in order to break down the tyranny of Napoleon, which weighed so heavily on central Europe. But the war of 1809 has a character of its own; it was the first time since 1792 that in any continental State the whole force of a nation was united for military ends. Bearing in mind the almost simultaneous national stirrings in Spain, Tyrol, and northern Germany, we may regard the years 1808 and 1809 as the starting-point of the popular reaction against the despotism of Napoleon.

The Spanish rising in 1808 gave Austria the decisive signal to take up arms, a year later, against the French Emperor. The signal came from abroad; it found the ground prepared at home. The domestic reasons for the step taken by Austria date back to the Peace of Presburg (December 27, 1805). That treaty, notwithstanding its stringent conditions, left Austria, though shorn of the prestige of a German Emperor, a great position in the concert of the Powers. It was, in the first place, the overrider of Prussia, but, above all, the alliance between Napoleon and the Tsar, completed at the Congress of Erfurt, which doomed Austria to political isolation, and thereby exposed her to the danger of annihilation by Napoleon whenever it should suit him to attack her. The first who fully grasped this danger was Count Stadion, the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, a man of large views and conspicuous political ability, and an ardent patriot, who combined with great energy of character a devotion to the narrow-minded Austrian bureaucracy. It was he who, with the active support of the courageous Emperor, Marie Louise Beatrix, and of Count Chloasse Metternich, then Austrian ambassador in Paris, finally succeeded in urging his Imperial master to

the point of war. Metternich believed that the French people were tired of war, and unlikely to support Napoleon much longer, so that, in the event of a conflict, there was reason to expect a popular revolt against the Napoleonic régime. Strange to say, Metternich found some support in Talleyrand, who, behind the scenes, was indirectly encouraging Austria to fight. The decision, apart from military and financial considerations, was not an easy one for Austria, seeing that the general attitude of Europe offered no certain prospect of her finding allies in the ensuing conflict. Before, however, we describe the struggle, we must briefly consider the general political situation; for war is simply "the carrying-out of diplomacy by forcible means."

In the spring of 1805, Napoleon's violent and despotic interference in the internal affairs of Spain, at that time his ally, convinced the opinion prevalent in the Court of Vienna, that the French Emperor's list of conquest was limitless, and that, after the overthrow of Spain, it would be Austria's turn. Napoleon had not been backward with friendly acts, and even with open threats, against that country; he had in secret his notions that preparations for war had been going on for some time on the Iberian. According to Count Stadion's view, it was simply a question of gaining sufficient time for the completion of military preparations, and, if possible, for a fresh coalition against France. Archduke Charles, who was superintending the reorganisation of the army, was of the same opinion, at least in principle. The memorial addressed by him to the Emperor Francis on April 14, 1805, is specially interesting. He therein solemnly adjured his Imperial brother, above all things, to introduce into the public administration a more harmonious system. Such a change, unfortunately, did not take place, but something was done to facilitate the preparations for war. Among other measures, the formation of a *Landwehr* was ordered by the Imperial edict of June 3, 1805. In this force were enrolled all male subjects, from eighteen to twenty-five years of age, who were capable of bearing arms, and not already serving in the standing army. The edict called forth from Napoleon a more than ordinary burst of anger. On August 18, in Paris, at the reception of the diplomatic corps, there was a violent scene between him and Metternich. The Emperor tried to reproach Austria as a disturber of the peace, and threatened a war of extermination if her preparations were not instantly stopped. He also referred to England as the "invincible head" which was pushing forward this war. As a matter of fact, since the death of Pitt, there had been no intimate relations between London and Vienna.

In a second interview with Metternich, Napoleon endeavoured to efface the impression of his menaces by more amiable phrases; but Metternich was too experienced a diplomatist to be misled in such a way. He knew perfectly well that, between the two interviews, had not news arrived from Portugal, when, in consequence of the landing of British troops,

the French under Jansot were hard pressed. On the strength of this news, he sent word to Vienna that, in view of the development of affairs in the Italian peninsula, Napoleon could certainly not be meditating any immediate attack on Austria.

The Congress of Erfurt, which followed on these events, helped to drive the Austrian difficulty into the background in Napoleon's mind. Count Stadion, on the other hand, did his utmost to force the Emperor Francis to an energetic decision. He met, it is true, with opposition from most of the other ministers, and even Archduke Charles used all his influence to secure delay, urging that it was better to put off the war a little longer, until the military and internal affairs of the State should be on a more settled footing. The war party, on the other hand, could count on the support of the nation. Indeed, throughout purely Catholic Austria, recent events—the occupation of Rome by the French, the seizure of the Pope, and his appeal for help to Catholic Christians—all served to increase the general determination of Napoleon.

Early in December, 1805, councils were held in the Hofburg in which Metternich's representations turned the scale in favour of war. These representations (contained in three memoranda, two of a political nature, the third headed *Arms Armées: guerre d'Espagne*), starting from the assumption that Napoleon's supremacy was a permanent danger to the existence of Austria, led up to the conclusion that, in view of recent events in the Italian peninsula, now or never was the moment for Austria to strike. A deep impression was made by Metternich's estimation that, in a war with Austria, Napoleon would not have more than 100,000 men at his disposal. Stadion had arrived at similar results; he, indeed, placed the number as low as 150,000. These calculations, it may here be observed, proved later to be incorrect; the number had been underestimated. Archduke Charles considered the views of Stadion and Metternich too sanguine. He reiterated his protest against an early declaration of war, and suggested the end of March as the earliest possible date for the commencement of hostilities, if war should eventually be declared.

It was the object of the Court of Vienna, in the interval that remained, to seek the support of those Powers whose interests might presumably incline them to the side of Austria. But the prospect of forming a new Coalition was far from feasible. Among possible allies, the first was Great Britain, the traditional friend of Austria and the most replaceable enemy of the Napoleonic system. But, as has already been stated, no close relations existed at that time between the Governments of the two countries, and even in Vienna it was admitted that, in the most favourable circumstances, the utmost that could be counted on from Great Britain was a subsidy. That she would also intervene by means of a military diversion on land (as she afterwards did at Walcheren) could not at that time be foreseen. It was after the outbreak

of the war that Count Starobinski was despatched to England by a Viennese Cabinet, to conduct negotiations which had hitherto been carried on through the Hanoverian Ministry.

There was some room for hope that France would be won over. The so-called "Bellevues," who after the catastrophe of 1806 had been busy on the political, military, and social regeneration of Prussia, such men as Stein, Schumacher, Gneisenau and others, backed as they were by a profound hatred of Napoleon felt by the population of northern Germany were ardently in favour of the Austrian alliance. At the same time it was hardly enough that Prussia would be drawn to Austria's aid even after Stein's resignation, the war party in Berlin refused to pledge itself to do so; and in January, 1806, a convention was actually concluded in Vienna by Major von der Golts, in which it was agreed that Prussia should place 80,000 men in the field. But it did not mean with the cautious character of King Frederick William III, any more than with those formal pledges by which he had bound himself to Napoleon in the convention of September 8, 1805, to form so bold a resolution—a resolution made more difficult, it is true, by the Franco-Russian alliance. During his stay in St Petersburg in the beginning of January, 1806, he was strengthened in his tendency to remain neutral and, in the end, he rejected all binding arrangements with the phrase "Without Russia I cannot join you."

That Austria should join itself, to any dispassionate judge of the situation, has appeared out of the question. Her friendship with France had gained her Finland and the retention of the Danubian Principalities. All the same, various diplomatic attempts were made to lure the Emperor Alexander from Napoleon's side. But in vain. On March 2, 1806, the Tsar duly informed Count Schwarzenberg, the Austrian ambassador, that he would fulfil his obligations to France, that is to say, he would dispatch an auxiliary force to help her against Austria. Nevertheless there was still some ground for the hope that Austria would not carry military action too far. As for the minor Powers, Denmark was on the side of France; Sweden was occupied by the war with Russia; and the smaller German States had, through the Confederation of the Rhine, become the vassals of Napoleon and the adherents of their former Emperor.

Thus, when on February 8, 1806, war was finally decided upon by an Imperial Council under the presidency of the Emperor, Austria found herself alone, without an ally, pitted against the most powerful State and the greatest military genius of the time. She was still alone, when on March 2 Mathiessen declared in the Council that the movement of the French troops in Germany, and the mobilizing of the Rhineland contingent, had compelled the Emperor Francis to place his own army on a war footing. Formal declaration of war there was now. Its place was taken by a lengthy official report, issued by the Court of Vienna and

widely circulated, and by a stirring proclamation, addressed to the army and the nation.

France, from a military point of view, was then in the zenith of her power. By force of numbers, military experts, admirable organization, and masterly leadership, the French army was in the hands of Napoleon a terrible engine of war. In the winter of 1806-7, by means of a conscription voluntarily carried out, the nominal strength of the army (never actually reached) attained the number of 600,000 men. This included field-forces about 300,000 strong in Spain, 100,000 in the interior of France, 500,000 drawn entirely from the Rharod territory on the right bank of the Rhine, and about 60,000 in Italy.

At the same time, one fact must be clearly borne in mind, that the French army of 1806, as regards both its internal cohesion and its military discipline, was not the equal of the Grand Army of 1805, which Napoleon himself described as "the best army he ever commanded." The causes of this falling-off were various. In accordance with his widening schemes of supremacy, the Emperor was possessed by a sort of rage *de nombre*; and the army, both officers and men, thus lost in quality what it gained in quantity. The financial resources of France were also so severely strained by incessant wars that the clothing, equipment, and provisioning of the troops left much to be desired; and pay was frequently in arrears. Moreover, many officers in the higher ranks of the service were beginning to be tired of war, and longed to enjoy their hard-won honours and positions in peace and quietness. Napoleon therefore was driven to economize in the more lavish items of rewards, so that his paladins might have something left to fight for.

But these defects were of but slight importance compared with the brilliant military qualities of the French army. Looking back on the overwhelming victories of the last ten years, it might well regard itself as invincible, so long as Napoleon was at its head. For pure fighting quality the infantry stood indisputably in the front rank. We shall see later what marvellous deeds were done, especially at Aspern and Essling, by the French infantry (including the German auxiliaries there engaged). In any case, the mass of the French infantry must be regarded as superior to the Austrian, and the tactical skill of its leading was most decidedly greater. The French cavalry was brave, numerous, and well mounted; and it was commanded by a large staff of distinguished officers. Its weakness lay in the ruler's lack of care for his horses, which led to large numbers of animals dying on the march. But, as was proved by its brilliant charges at the battle of Aspern, the cavalry, when it came into action, was extremely efficient. The artillery had attained a pre-eminent place in the French army; and Napoleon, who had himself risen from this branch of the service, knew how to handle it as a masterly fiddler. In the war of 1806, the "grand battery" of Wagram became the classic instance of successful handling of large masses of field artillery.



The military resources of Austria, with a population only half as large as that of France, were very inferior to the French. According to official calculations, there were available, in the spring of 1809, 265,000 troops of the line and 516,000 of the reserves. But these numbers were never reached. The actual strength of the field army, at the outbreak of war, amounted to no more than 168,000 men, including 15,000 militia. It is true that the army had been in every respect reorganised since the catastrophe of 1805. Archduke Charles had then taken upon himself the functions of Minister of War, and to his determination and practical energy was mainly due the improvement in organisation and tactics that now became apparent. New service-regulations were introduced, equipment and arms were perfected. But the real change aimed at was to raise the spirit of the troops. Such words as "People," "Freedom," "Fatherland," were heard for the first time in the army-words which, however, before long were again to be excluded from the language of Austrian policy. In 1809 a lofty sentiment of patriotism permeated the army, especially the German portion of it, and it was this universal enthusiasm for the fatherland which inspired its heroic conduct in the battles of Aspern and Wagram.

Among the various branches of the service, ancient tradition had allotted a leading place to the thirty-five regiments of the Imperial cavalry, which (except at Maastricht) had invariably distinguished itself in war. The infantry, numbering 70 regiments and nine *Jäger* battalions, was somewhat clumsy in action, but admirable in discipline, and its grenadiers formed a picked body of troops, which remained unengaged at Aspern and Wagram. The field artillery, consisting of four regiments, was well trained, and during the campaign of 1809 superior to the French in the number of its guns.

The reorganisation of the Austrian army commenced in January, 1809. On February 15, 1809, the strategical concentration began. The plan of operations was to attack the French troops under the command of Bonaparte in central Germany, together with the Rhinebund troops (in all about 150,000 strong), and to defeat them before Napoleon could bring up his reinforcements. The Austrian army in Germany was under the command of Archduke Charles, who was appointed commander-in-chief. The "army of Lower Austria," under Archduke John, was to proceed simultaneously against the French forces in Italy and Dalmatia, while a third army, under Archduke Ferdinand, was to invade the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. In accordance with this plan of operations, Archduke Charles assembled, towards the end of March, his army corps in western Bohemia. This position was opposite to the centre of the enemy's masses of concentration, and close to northern Germany, in which a rising was expected. Two army-corps were also concentrated in Upper Austria in order to invade Bavaria on both banks of the Danube. Archduke John had orders to invade north-eastern Italy from

Wittels-Liebich with two army-corps, and to dispatch a column to Tyrol, to form a nucleus for the expected rising in that country, which bore awfully the Russian yoke. A detachment was to advance into Dalmatia and cover the rear of Archduke John's army. Archduke Ferdinand's army-corps was to move from Cassau and to occupy Wismar, as, to reach, from thence, the Elbe above Bremen. Clearly, this plan of operations did not lay on the side of comprehensive.

On the French side, the situation did not admit of plans so definite in their aim, not only because the French army was at first strictly limited to the defensive, but because, scattered as it was over a wide extent of country, it could only proceed to the next of war by sections. Napoleon had, it is true, completed his military preparations by the middle of January, 1806. While still in Spain, he sent orders to the princes of the Rhineland to place their contingents on a war footing. Troops were sent from France; and the Imperial Guard was despatched from Spain to Germany. The French troops under Davoust, then dispersed over northern Germany, received orders to march into Bavaria. But these orders were insufficient to secure to the Emperor at the outbreak of war those two most important factors of unconquerable superiority and initiative. At the beginning of April, the entire force which he could dispose of at the various seats of war (exclusive of Spain) amounted to only 165,000 men (French and Rhineland troops) in Bavaria; 24,000 (Pruss) in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; 35,000 in Saxony; 37,000 in Italy north of the Po; and 20,000 in Dalmatia. In Bavaria the French army was not only inferior in numbers to the army of Archduke Charles, and far weaker in artillery, but it was also seriously dislocated. And in Bavaria lay the crux of the whole war.

Archduke Charles' original plan of operations had to be altered even before its execution began. The Archduke had meant to take the field at the end of March. But, as all the troops had not yet arrived on the scene of action, and as news had come that the French army of the Rhine was approaching Batisbon, the commencement of operations was put off till the second week in April, while the main army advanced from Bohemia to the Bessarabia-Poliss line. Here, on the evening of April 9, were finally marshalled 116,000 men, forming a front scarcely twenty-eight miles in length. Besides these, 50,000 men under General Bellegarde were at Tachau, and 10,000 under General Jellachich at Salzburg. In all, 176,000 men crossed the Bessarabia frontier on April 10. The Austrian offensive found the French army of the Rhine not yet assembled. Davoust was engaged in carrying out the directions sent by the Emperor from Paris to Berthier, who was then at Strasbourg and was temporarily entrusted with the conduct of operations. These directions ordered a concentration upon Dannewitz. At the same date the various divisions of the French army, numbering 92,000 men, distributed in five groups, were drawn up

on the Inn March-Ratisbon-Wurzburg (a line 115 miles in length), behind which 70,000 men lay between Augsburg and Donauwörth.

Archduke Charles had meant by rapid marches to reach the Inn in the direction of Landshut, while Bellegarde was to march upon Ratisbon, and Jellachich upon Munich. It would have been quite possible for the Austrian main army to reach the Inn by April 14, instead of this, owing to the defective arrangements of the commissariat, it advanced very slowly, and accomplished only half a normal march daily. Hence lay one of the principal causes of the later Austrian reverses. It was the most valuable of all considerations to time; and the French generals knew how to handle it so sensibly that by April 15 the various divisions of their army were already drawn down together in the direction of Donauwörth. Then, all of a sudden, Balthier interfered disastrously in the course of operations, with a view to effecting a concentration at Ratisbon. A change of orders became necessary, proving the truth of the adage: "Order—counter-order—chaos." To be sure, Balthier might have said he was only acting in obedience to Napoleon's commands; but Napoleon did not leave Paris till April 15, and even he, at such a distance, was not in a position to make arrangements in accordance with the actual conditions of things.

Consequently, when the Emperor entered Donauwörth only on April 17, he found the situation far from favourable, since the disposition of the French forces made it possible for Archduke Charles to attack and defeat the scattered units one by one. But the Archduke, whose advanced forces had won several unimportant successes between the 11th and the 14th, had in the meanwhile become "killed" *sic* with the pole-mat of thought." Although, on the 16th, he had driven the Bavarians out of Landshut, and thus possessed himself of the line of the Inn, he abandoned his design of breaking through the enemy's front, and decided on the 16th to attack the French left wing under Durnast at Ratisbon, maintaining the defence against the Bavarians on the right.

With the personal intervention of Napoleon the course of operations underwent a complete change. In the end, his energy succeeded in rectifying the strategic blunders of Balthier. But even here, as in the *Moravia* campaign, Napoleon's merit has been much overrated. But for the remarkable tactical achievements of his marshals and the blunders of Archduke Charles, the "*Ratisbon campaign*" (as the military movements of April 10-23 are called) would have had a different issue. It was, above all, a serious mistake on Napoleon's part that he miscalculated the date when hostilities were likely to commence. He did not expect them to begin till a fortnight later, and he ought to have been much earlier on the spot.

The Emperor had originally intended to concentrate his forces on the left bank of the Danube, at a point further to the west, between Augsburg and Ingolstadt; but, having reconnoitred the enemy's position,

be decided, on April 12, to effect his junction on the left bank in the neighbourhood of Abensberg. The orders relating to this movement were conceived, it is true, in masterly fashion; but, as ought to have been foreseen, they became impracticable, in the most important details, when on the 18th the Austrian commander learned of his intention of making a determined attack, with all his available forces, on the French left wing. This wing consisted of four divisions under Deroot, whom Napoleon had directed to approach the main army by marching to Moustadi in a westerly direction. Such a march, with the Danube in the rear and a vastly superior enemy in front, could only be carried out as a flank movement, one of the most difficult of all military operations. Napoleon himself would have been the first to condemn any other commander for attempting a movement so contrary to all the rules of war. Moreover, recent researches have shown that Napoleon gave this order without knowing how Deroot was situated; it was, therefore, an order based on false assumptions. Deroot, in spite of magnificent generalship, succeeded, after a severe battle at Hassen on April 18, in escaping the overthrow that threatened him, but this was chiefly if not entirely owing to the fact that, at the last moment, Archduke Charles failed to bring his active force (which was far superior to Deroot's) unexpectedly into the field. Thus the Marshal succeeded in joining Lefebvre's corps, which on the 18th had also fought with equal success at Abensberg against isolated detachments of the Austrian army. If the events of the 18th meant no decided victory for the French, they had great influence on the whole future course of the campaign, seeing that, from this point onwards, Napoleon altered his tactics, acting solely on the offensive, while Archduke Charles confined himself to the defensive. Now, as Moltke said, "the offensive alone is real generalship"; and this was proved by the later incidents of the campaign of 1809.

On April 20, Ratibon, where only one French regiment was posted, fell into the hands of Count Bellegarde, who formed with his two army-corps the extreme right wing of the Austrian army, and had till now been operating by himself on the left bank of the Danube. But the possession of Ratibon had no further influence on the course of the operations, for on the 21st Napoleon with his united forces fell upon the Austrian left wing, and in the battle of Abensberg inflicted on it a decisive defeat. The following day Napoleon pursued the heels against the Austrians left as it was retiring upon Landshut, and cut it off from the main army. Deroot advanced simultaneously upon the right wing and forced it to retreat. But the decisive blow against that part of the Austrian army which was under the direct command of Archduke Charles was not struck till the battle of Eckmühl (April 22). Here, in spite of a stubborn resistance, the Austrians were beaten; and a general retirement along the whole line of front became inevitable. This, however, could take place only by the separation of the army into two bodies.

The left wing, under Hiller, disappeared in a north-westerly direction towards the Inn, while the main army under Archduke Charles, going north, attempted to gain the left bank of the Danube. This it succeeded in reaching on the 11th by way of Raasdorf, which the French, after an obstinate defence on the part of the Austrians near-garaged, stormed on the evening of the same day.

Thus ended the five days' campaign of Raasdorf, in which the Austrians lost nearly 60,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Austrian army was broken up. Its condition after the defeat was such that the French Emperor had no further opposition to fear in his march on Vienna. On the morning of April 22 Archduke Charles himself wrote to his Imperial brother: "Napoleon's position grows steadily stronger, and I shall be very lucky if, after yesterday's defeat, I succeed in bringing the war with honour across the Danube. I have given your Majesty an accurate account of my position; and I must add that against such an enemy nothing more can be expected from what is left of this army."

As a commander-in-chief Napoleon remains to this day unequalled in the marches following-up of victory. Gradually pursuing Hiller's division of the Austrian army, the French Emperor appeared before Vienna on May 12. Three days later he rode into the Imperial city, which had offered only a feeble show of resistance. Meanwhile, Archduke Charles, who had reassembled his army, approached the Danube from Raasdorf in the direction of Vienna, and about the middle of May took up his position in threatening proximity on the left bank. His intention was to cross to the right bank, and so threaten, if possible, the French communications. This plan, however, was frustrated by Napoleon, who was fully determined to win a decisive victory by a vigorous offensive. The battle was to be fought on the Marchfeld, where the Archduke had effected a junction with the troops under Hiller—that historic field where Rudolf of Habsburg conquered the Bohemian King Ottokar, and thereby founded the power of his House.

Napoleon's plan of attacking Archduke Charles on the Marchfeld was bold in the extreme, because he would first have to cross the Danube, and then to fight with the river in his rear. On May 18 he had gathered together 70,000 men north-east of Vienna. Having placed himself freely on the left bank of the Danube at Aspern and Essling, he commenced operations by transporting his army by means of four military bridges to Lobau, an island formed by one of the numerous arms of the Danube. From Wieselburg, a hill commanding a view of the wide plain of the Marchfeld, Archduke Charles had watched the movements of the French. He quickly brought his troops into order of battle, and determined to fall with his full strength upon the feeble force which Napoleon, who did not believe the Archduke to be so near him, had transported to the left bank of the river.

These troops did not amount to more than 12,000 infantry, with 900 horse and 22 guns, under Marshal Desaix. Against these, about noon on Monday in Whitsun week (May 21), 80,000 infantry, 15,000 horse, and 500 guns, formed in three columns, advanced to the attack. But, in spite of all their courage, the Austrians failed to take Aspern and Essling, the two points d'appui of the French. Aspern was defended by Massena with Maitton's division, Essling by Marshal Lannes with that of Bernart. Repeated attacks were made on these positions, only to be repulsed in every case by the indomitable defenders. On the other hand, the attempt made by Napoleon to break through the centre of the enemy's line by a great cavalry charge failed signally, owing to the steadiness of the Austrian infantry. Equally unsuccessful was a second attack of the combined French cavalry, made about eight o'clock in the evening upon the Austrian horse. When it gave back, Aspern was only partially in possession of the Austrians, while they had been altogether unable to force an entry into Essling. Nevertheless, the Austrian army held the French (as Massena, the defender of Aspern, expressed it in his memoirs) "closely hemmed in by a ring of fire and steel"; and during the night the battle repeatedly flared up afresh.

At 2 a.m. on the 22nd Massena recommenced the bloody work with a vigorous and unexpected attack on the Austrians at Aspern, and drove them from this severely contested position. Further fighting took place at Essling, which finally remained in the hands of the French. At seven o'clock Napoleon began to deploy the forces massed between Aspern and Essling for a combined attack. During the night fresh bodies of troops, the 1st corps, under Lannes, the greater corps, under Grouchy, and the Imperial Guard, had crossed the Danube; so that in all about 40,000 men, with 600 horse, pressed forward against the Austrian lines. Before the tremendous onset of the French, who advanced in close order with the regularity of men on parade, some of the Austrian battalions began to waver, when Archduke Charles, seeing the banner of the 24th regiment, flung himself into the fray. His heroic example inspired his troops; and the advance of the French infantry was checked. Suddenly the French regiments of horse, after overflowing the enemy's cavalry in a magnificent charge, finally retired before the advance of the Austrian grenadiers. In the main the battle came to a standstill.

At seven o'clock the news reached Napoleon that the enemy had set on fire and destroyed the largest of the military bridges. This was disastrous news. It might mean the annihilation of the French army, if the Austrians succeeded in taking Aspern and Essling; for in this case the French retreat across the Danube would be seriously impeded. A furious conflict therefore again broke out round the two villages, whose position was now marked only by heaps of unsmoking ruins. The struggle for Aspern and Essling is one of the most remarkable and

also the most sanguinary combats in military history. At 5 a.m. the French were back Esling, which they had lost, and they held it till the end of the battle. Aspern, on the other hand, fell finally into the hands of the Austrians later in the day. But their strength also was exhausted. They were no longer able to hamper the retreat of the enemy, who, the same evening and during the following night, crossed over to the island of Lobau, after having with immense labour succeeded in retreating the bridges. The losses on both sides were enormous. The Austrians had lost from 22,000 to 25,000 men, the French from 18,000 to 20,000, the gallant Marshal Lannes being among those who perished.

The battle of Aspern made a powerful impression on both friend and foe. For the first time, the price of victory had escaped the majestic invincible Emperor. This fact remained unaltered by the beautiful victory gained by Napoleon on May 26, in which he estimated the French losses at 4000, and declared that on May 22 he "recovered master of the battlefield." On the other hand, there is some ground for the reproach brought against Archduke Charles of having let slip the opportunity offered him by the critical position of the French army, which was forced to wait several days on the island of Lobau without food or ammunition. There is justice in this accusation as regards the attention of the field; but afterwards there appear to have been political reasons for the delay. At the end of May the Prince of Orange made his appearance at the Archduke's head-quarters, as confidential envoy of the Prussian Court, with the promise of help from Prussia. In the beginning of June it seemed likely enough that King Frederick William III, under the pressure of the war party, would actually decide on taking part in the war. But when, at K<sup>önigsberg</sup>, on June 16, the Austrian ambassador, Baron St<sup>eu</sup>rgartenz, delivered letters to the King, both from the Emperor Francis and Archduke Charles, and endeavored to obtain a definite engagement, the King deferred his decision in the hope that things might become clearer in the future. St<sup>eu</sup>rgartenz returned with his relation unaccomplished.

Between the stroke a seven weeks' armistice was arranged, which was used by both to obtain reinforcements. In the beginning of July an army of 160,000 men—partly French, partly troops of the Illino-Geschw<sup>ere</sup>, and including 50,000 horse—was marshalled on the island of Lobau, ready to repeat the attempt of the previous May. The French now had a numerical superiority, for Archduke Charles had but 120,000 men, including 55,000 horse, though he certainly held a strong position behind the R<sup>hein</sup>schach with the Marchfeld before him. The artillery was slightly superior in numbers to the French.

In the night of July 4-5, amid thunder and lightning and in torrents of rain, the French columns began to cross the Danube on the four bridges. On July 6, at midday, their approach completed, they advanced in close columns from Gross-E<sup>ns</sup>ersdorf against the Austrians, who at

was in the evening repulsed with heavy loss on account upon the heights of Wagram. But the real attack did not take place till the following day. Napoleon had determined to direct it against the enemy's left wing, while the Austrian centre was to be broken simultaneously by a charge of densely-packed masses of cavalry and infantry. Archduke Charles had also decided to take the offensive, directing his main attack upon the French left, which was to be surprised at early dawn. But the order reached his generals too late, and the Archduke was obliged to change his plan. At 6 A.M. he pushed forward his centre, and fell upon the French in the village of Aspern. The struggle for the possession of this place was bitter and prolonged, resembling that for Aspern two months before. Fortune alternated. In the end the village remained in the hands of the Austrian grenadiers under the hero General d'Aspre. On their right wing also the Austrian columns pressed forward victoriously by Sackenhausen and Breiteneder to the backs of the Danube. At this moment eastern luck smiled for the French, but the Emperor, hurrying to the centre of the fight, ordered 100 guns, the famous "grand battery," to be massed at Sackenhausen to check the Austrian advance. Soon afterwards he launched against the enemy a solid column, consisting of 30,000 infantry and 6000 horse, moving in one compact mass under Marmont's command. Though the French eventually succeeded, with heavy loss, in attaining their object, it was not at this point that the issue was decided. This took place in another part of the field, near Marignaf-Monachel, where Marshal Davout beat the enemy's collected left wing under Prince Rosenberg, rolled it up, and so tore a breach in the Austrian front. Their right wing was also forced back by Massena at Aspern. Everywhere limited to the defensive, with no prospect of the long-expected help from Archduke John (who was to have advanced from Pressburg and fallen on the enemy's right flank), Archduke Charles reluctantly gave, at two o'clock, the order to retreat.

Though a defeat for Austria, the battle of Wagram was one of the most brilliant feats of arms in Austrian history. The Austrian losses, in the two days' fighting, amounted to 24,000, killed and wounded. Those of the French were estimated at 18,000. On the following day Archduke Charles drew off his army in good order in the direction of Krems and Igls, pursued, though but feebly, by the French. There was more fighting at Krems on July 16 and 17, but no success on the 18th put an end to further hostilities. The Emperor Francis at first refused to sanction this; but on the 17th, at Komorn, he reluctantly consented to the capitulation.

We must now turn to review the course of the war elsewhere. At the outset of the struggle, Austria was compelled to reckon on a conflict not only with the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, but also with Russia, since



with those States were allied with France. Consequently, in March, 1863, a force of 25 battalions, 44 squadrons of cavalry, and 76 guns (30,000 men in all) were concentrated, as a *Völk army-corp*, in western Galicia, and placed under the command of *Archduke Ferdinand*. On April 15, the *Archduke*, then far from *Novo-Moscow*, commenced operations, aiming at the first place at the capture of *Warsaw*. This enterprise was open to the strategic objection that it exposed the right flank to a Russian force stationed on the *Pruth*; but it was not expected that the force would push forward with speed or decision. In addition to 40,000 Russians under *Prince Galitsin*, the Austrians had to face 17,000 Poles and 2,000 Saxons, whom *Prince Poniatowski* had assembled near *Raawa*, a day's march south of *Warsaw*.

*Archduke Ferdinand* advanced rapidly, beat *Poniatowski* at *Raawa* (April 19), and occupied *Warsaw* (April 22), the stronghold at *Praga*—an suburb of *Warsaw* on the right bank of the *Vistula*—remained, however, in the hands of the Poles. Early in May *Ferdinand* took the offensive, and on the 24th, after a successful combat, occupied *Gomel*, at which point the Austrians had intended to cross the *Vistula*. The *Archduke*, finding himself unable to advance further against the main Polish army, determined to make a demonstration in the direction of *Thorn*, in order to divert the attention of the enemy from Galicia. The plan failed, however; for *Poniatowski* led his troops up the *Vistula*, occupied *Lublin* (May 16) and *Sandomir* (May 18), and on the 26th started *Zamois*. At the same time the Russians advanced towards *Lemberg*, while a strong Polish force approached *Warsaw*. Thus threatened on all sides, the *Archduke* was forced, on June 3, to evacuate the city, and to withdraw to *Opatoff*, in the upper valley of the *Vistula*. Although the Austrians made some successful raids from this point, the further advance of the Russians from *Lemberg*, and the presence of 22,000 Poles, strongly posted near *Raawa*, made the *Archduke's* position untenable. Early in July he fell back upon the line *Vinsky-Zarnowicz*, but soon afterwards received orders to retire upon *Olinda* by way of *Crasow*. On July 18 the news of the armistice of *Enayen* put an end to hostilities in this quarter. The Austrian Government has been blamed, with some justice, for undertaking the Polish campaign at all. The diversion of the war lay, in any case, with the main army under *Archduke Charles*; and Poland was so far distant that events in that country could have no serious influence on the issue. On the other hand, the 50,000 men, who fought bravely but uselessly under *Archduke Ferdinand*, might well have turned the scale at *Aspern* or *Wagram*.

Now was this the only deficiency which stood in the way of Austrian success. It has been mentioned above that, on the afternoon of July 5, *Archduke John* was vainly expected on the battle-field. Till that time he had been independently conducting the operations of the army of lower Austria, consisting of 40,000 men, 5000 horses, and 120

guns, which had crossed the Italian frontier at Turin on April 9. On April 16, at Sals, he came upon a Franco-Italian army of 56,000 men, led by Eugene de Beauharnais, Viceroy of Italy, and defeated on it a decisive defeat. He followed up this blow by another at Caltan on the 20th. But the bad news from Germany obliged the Archduke to retire to Wiltsch early in May. After a series of collisions, the issue of which was unfavorable to the Austrians, he had to chamber Comblan in the Vinty (who in the meanwhile had received considerable reinforcements), and to withdraw into Hungary. On June 7 he arrived before the fortress of Raab, followed by Eugene, who was now attempting to cover the movements of the main French army towards Hungary. In Croatia and Dalmatia elsewhere had been fighting with Marshal Nicolson's corps, ending in the retreat of the Austrians.

On June 18 the Archduke again challenged the fortress of Raab, but was beaten and obliged to retreat by way of Komorn to Presburg, whence he was summoned to take part in the battle of Wagram. It was his own fault that he arrived too late for effectual interference. In any case, it is doubtful whether Archduke John, who could bring no more than 15,000 men into the field, would have been able to turn the tide of war at Wagram.

At the beginning of the campaign, Archduke John was also commissioned to deliver Tyrol from Bavarian rule, under which it had fallen by the Peace of Presburg. He dispatched General Chasteler with 14,000 men, who were to push forward up the valley of the Drava by way of Belian towards the Brenner and from the mouth of an army to assist the general attack of the loyal Tyrolese. Popular levies speedily rallied on all sides round their self-constituted leaders, attacked the feeble Bavarian garrisons, and drove them, in many cases after obstinate fighting, to leave the country. In four days the whole of northern Tyrol was freed; and the Imperial flag waved once more in Innsbruck. General de Chasteler now advanced to Trient and even as far as the Lake of Garda. He was, however, compelled to hasten back again to northern Tyrol, the recovery of which had been undertaken by the Bavarian General Wrede, who invaded the country with strong forces from the north and east about the beginning of May. In spite of the heroic efforts of the Tyrolese, who in their mountain valleys fought the delayed enemy with rifles, bayonets, and rocks, the Bavarians made progress and occupied Innsbruck on May 13.

General Wrede now dispatched part of his forces to join the French main army, but he had no sooner done so, than the towns sounded again the call to arms. On May 28, 25,000 Tyrolese under Andreas Hofer, the shepherd of Füssen, and such popular leaders as Spertlacher and Peter Hasper, appeared before Innsbruck, which, after a fierce battle on the Ischberg, fell the same day into their hands. For the second time the Bavarians were compelled to evacuate Tyrol. But in the Tyrolese

refused to recognize the terms of the armistice of Znaim, the full weight of the French Emperor's fury was turned against the little country, which, in its consequent loyalty, believed itself strong enough to defy even a Napoleon. From all directions strong columns pushed into the Tyrolean valleys. But everywhere they met with so obstinate a resistance that they were forced to draw back; and on August 18, after a sanguinary conflict on the Isèreberg, the Tyrolese for the third time marched victoriously into Innsbruck. As "commander-in-chief to Tyrol," Hofer now undertook not only the military but also the political direction of affairs. Europe beheld with amazement the triumphant resistance of the Tyrolese, who in very deed had proved the truth of Schiller's words:

"Überall in dem people,  
Wo sie zu finden waren, nicht mehr zu all."

Yet the bitter struggle was in the end to be crushed by sheer brute force, through the enemy's numerical superiority. Napoleon, furious at the repeated failure of his arms, gave orders to the Viceroy of Italy to invade the country from the south, while the Bavarians poured into it from the north and east. The conflict raged with alternating fortunes in the hard-fought land, for even after the Peace of Schönbrunn (October 18) the Tyrolese did not abandon the struggle. But, when Hofer, after the so-called fourth battle on the Isèreberg (November 1 and 2), was compelled to retreat, he himself led his fellow-countrymen gave up the unequal contest. Nevertheless he countermanded the order, and soon more and forth the call to arms. But to alter the fate of his country was beyond his power, although the sanguinary strife was prolonged till December, incessantly renewed, like the battles in the Peninsula, with extreme bitterness on either side. At length Andreas Hofer was betrayed into the hands of the French; and, after a trial by martial law, he was shot at Mantua, on February 11, 1810. His maintenance his heroic demeanour to the last, and himself gave his countrymen the word to die. The result of the Tyrolese, their heroic fight for their Emperor and for the deliverance of their country, will remain for all time one of the noblest pages in modern German history.

The *deging* of Austria against Napoleon gave the signal for several efforts in Germany to shake off the French yoke. At the end of April, 1809, in Bonn, which had suffered heavily through the bad government of King Jerome, there was a general rising under the leadership of Baron von Dornberg, a country captain. It was, however, suppressed with much bloodshed. Equally unsuccessful was the attempt of some officers, secretly in the Prussian service, to surprise the fortress of Magdeburg.

More important attacks to the enterprise of the Prussian major, Frederick von Schill, who already in the campaign of 1806-7 had won a

reputation for gallantry. On April 25, 1809, he left Berlin at the head of his regiment of Hussars, and crossed the Elbe at Wittenberg, in order to carry the insurrection into Hesse and Westphalia. On May 5 he beat the French troops who had been despatched against him from Magdeburg, on the Elbe; he captured the small fortress of Dömitz in Mecklenburg on the lower Elbe, meaning to move thence to Stralsund, where he intended to await the arrival of English ships. On the march thither, having meanwhile received reinforcements, including four guns, he fell (May 27) upon a body of Mecklenburg troops, which he put to flight, taking many prisoners, four standards, and two guns. On the following day Stralsund, after a brief resistance, fell into Schill's hands. But on May 31 some Danish and Dutch troops appeared before Stralsund and stormed it, after a fierce fight in which most of Schill's volunteers were killed or wounded. In the mêlée Schill himself met with a soldier's honorable death, and on September 14, eleven officers of his corps, who had been taken prisoners, were tried by martial law and shot, by Napoleon's orders, on the ramparts of Wismar. Although this attempt was doomed to failure, it at least served to rouse the spirit of patriotism throughout the length and breadth of northern Germany, and to kindle hatred against the alien rule of the French. Round Schill and his brave band poetry and legend soon wove a web of popular glamour, which deepened the feeling of common nationality throughout Germany.

The same may be said of the heroic adventure of Duke Frederick William of Brunswick-Cöln. At the outbreak of the war, he had formed a volunteer corps in Bohemia; and at its head, together with some Austrian troops, he invaded Hanover. On June 11 they occupied Dresden, and after several successful combats, forced the Saxon and Westphalian troops under King Jerome to retreat. After the surrender of Zoenys, the Duke conceived the bold plan of fighting his way to the mouth of the Weser and thence taking ship to England. On July 28 he started from Götting with 5000 men, and, reputedly beating back the French troops, won his way to Brunswick, which he entered on July 30. On the following day he and his "Black Troop" (so called from their dark uniforms) again defeated the enemy, who had pressed in hot pursuit to the very gates of his capital. Surrounded on all sides, the Duke was forced to leave Brunswick, whence he reached the lower Weser, and embarked with his men on board British ships at Emden. His little troop subsequently fought with much honour under Wellington in Spain.

If it was only indirectly that England then did a service to the "good cause," she had in the meanwhile, independently of events in Spain and Portugal, taken direct action in the war by the expedition to the island of Walcheren. In April, 1809, Count Starckenburg had been hastily sent to London as ambassador from the Austrian Court, to persuade the British Cabinet, not only to grant a subsidy, but to

undertake a military diversion on the German coast. After lengthy negotiations, Canning granted a monthly subsidy of £150,000. On the other hand the British Ministry declined the plan suggested by the Austrian Government for a landing at the mouth of the Rhine with a view to causing an insurrection in southern Germany. They determined instead on an expedition to the Scheldt. From a military point of view this plan was certainly not a happy one; it was chiefly dictated by political and commercial considerations. The chief point with Great Britain was to render Antwerp inaccessible.

The expedition did not leave the English harbours till July 25. It was in five divisions. A fleet of 58 ships of the line, 28 frigates, and a large number of gunboats, under Sir Richard Stretton, escorted the land forces, which numbered nearly 40,000 men, under Lord Chatham, who was commander-in-chief. On July 26 the army landed on the island of Walcheren; on the 31st Middelburg, Veere, and Zeeuwsche capitulated. On August 1 General Fraser captured Fort Stanie. The French squadron retired up the Scheldt to Antwerp, and found safety under the shelter of its guns. The British troops now advanced to the siege of Flushing, the most important point on Walcheren, defended by General Monnet with 3000 men. On August 3 General Hope occupied the island of South Beveland; but the attack upon Calvaneel, opposite Flushing, failed. Flushing was by that time not only besieged from the land side, but bombarded by the British fleet from the sea.

Meanwhile the French had recovered from their first shock of surprise caused by the landing on Walcheren; and troops were rapidly despatched from all directions for the defence of Antwerp and the Scheldt. Marshal Bernadotte took over the supreme command. On August 15, however, Flushing was forced to capitulate. The British forces now attempted to pass on up the Scheldt; but the river was so well guarded by its forts that they could make but little way. Meanwhile the French fleet had been carried up the river beyond Antwerp, where it was out of reach; the French fortifications had, by dint of great energy, been placed in a fair condition for defence; and a large body of troops stood ready for action in the open field. The moral and military commanders on the British side were unable to agree as to the further course of operations, and the troops suffered terribly from the malarial climate of Walcheren and South Beveland. On September 3 the British ships made another attempt to run up the Scheldt, but without success; and on September 6 South Beveland was evacuated, after a council of war (August 26) had decided that the expeditionary force under Sir Elphinstone Cotes should concentrate on Walcheren. On Sept. 14 Lord Chatham returned to England.

The French took no offensive measures, but left the destruction of the enemy to the climate and to sickness. Walcheren fever, as it was called, made terrible ravages among the British troops, so that at the end of December hardly half of the five fleets (the largest that had

—or yet aided from English harbours) were able to bear arms. On December 23 the remainder, after destroying the fortifications of Flushing, left Walcheren, and returned home. In England there was universal indignation over the result of this expedition, which had cost so many brave soldiers a useless death, and swallowed up a large sum of money. In Parliament fierce attacks were made upon the Government; but the commission of enquiry failed to come to any conclusion, except that there had been a want of unanimity among the commanders. Eventually the discussion led, not only to a rupture, but to a duel between Caning and Cauldrough, and both gentlemen resigned office.

During many months the peace negotiations, which had been begun at the outset of the expedition, made no progress. More than once they were on the point of being broken off, and a renewal of the war, for which the Emperor Maximilian I., Archduke John, and Count Stadion were very anxious, was expected. But presently Stadion's influence began to pale before that of Metternich, the result being a disastrous decision in the conduct of affairs, inasmuch as, since Wagram, Metternich had gone over to the peace party, and had ended by becoming a keen supporter of the Napoleonic system. He was upheld by Archduke Charles, who, immediately after the unfortunate issue of the Russian campaign, had urged the conclusion of peace. But, after the armistice, serious differences of opinion arose between the Archduke and his imperial brother, in consequence of which the former resigned the supreme command and retired into private life—an irreparable loss to Austria and her army.

In the last week of July the preliminary for the peace negotiations began. These were opened at Altona on August 15 between Metternich, Nagent, and Champagny. But their course was anything but smooth. It was found impossible to accept in toto (on this point the Emperor Francis stood firm) the conditions of Napoleon, who demanded, in the first place, the abdication of the Emperor Francis, as well as large concessions of territory. In the middle of September it looked as if the Emperor of Austria had determined to continue the war, especially in a secret-Frenchman essay, Colonel von dem Kamelebs, had declared the willingness of his sovereign to join Austria under certain conditions. Eventually, however, the arguments in favour of peace prevailed; and on September 25 the Emperor Francis despatched Prince Liechtenstein with Count Bubna to Napoleon's head-quarters in Vienna, there to conclude peace. Peace was signed at Schonbrunn on October 14.

The Peace of Schonbrunn laid very severe conditions upon Austria. She ceded to Napoleon, for the Princess of the Confederation of the Rhine, Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, and a large part of Upper Austria,

to Napoleon, for his own use, Austrian Poland, Transylvania, with parts of Carinthia, Carinthia, Croatia, and Dalmatia—which districts were temporarily placed under a single government as the "Illyrian Provinces"; to Saxony, the whole of western Galicia, and part of eastern Galicia in Russia. She recognised the changes made, or to be made, in Spain, Portugal, and Italy; she adhered to the Continental System; and she paid a large indemnity in money. By a secret clause she undertook to reduce her army to 150,000 men. This treaty relegated Austria to a place among the Powers of the second rank. Her attempt to chastise Napoleon's supremacy on the Continent had abjectly failed. Metternich thereafter took into his hands the conduct of affairs. With Stadion's retirement Austria lost a statesman of the first class, a man whose views were in harmony with the spirit of his time, who would have guided, not only the foreign, but also the domestic policy of the Austrian Empire into happier paths. The system which Metternich established was very different. So early as the autumn of 1805, he was already spinning the first threads of the intrigue which led to the marriage of the Archduchess Marie-Louise with Napoleon; and down to the year 1815 he steadily pursued a policy, in regard to foreign affairs, of acquiescence in the supremacy of France; while, in regard to domestic government, he from the outset displayed the reactionary tendencies which were in the end to prove disastrous to Austria.

The war of 1805, unfortunate as was its immediate issue, had one notable result. It destroyed, in the eyes of Europe, the halo of invincibility that had surrounded the head of Napoleon. It marked the beginning of the national awakening, the first step towards the overthrow of Napoleon's power.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM.

The proclamation of the Berlin Decree against British commerce was one of those dramatic strokes by which Napoleon sought to double the effect of his actions. The popular imagination was awed by the suddenness with which the conqueror turned aside from the task of completing the ruin of Prussia in order to launch his thunderbolt against the heretofore invulnerable islanders, and to launch it, too, from the capital of Frederick the Great. In Napoleon's career the element of the melodramatic frequently obscures itself; but those who have observed the workings of his statesmanship over a long term of years know that the stage grandeur is but the cloak in a carefully prepared situation, when the minds of all observers are in a state of tense expectancy. It is no exaggeration to say that the Berlin Decree of November, 1806, was the climax towards which Napoleon's policy had long been working as one of its best-marked lines. His power as a statesman lay in his skill in adapting to present needs the most practical among the ideas and theories woven by the brains of the former generation; and the events already described enabled him now to apply them to a large part of the Continent of Europe. The Berlin Decree constitutes, perhaps, the highest example of a union of the practical and theoretical in statesmanship. Overwhelmed by the suddenness of the blow, contemporaries could not see that it was but the outcome of thoughts and efforts, whose beginnings had long been observable. Briefly stated, the idea which took form in the Berlin Decree was to subject Great Britain to complete commercial isolation from the Continent in order to compel her to surrender at discretion. But this idea was by no means new. It had its beginning in the Mercantilist theory of commerce, in the teachings of Rousseau on national industry, and in the speculations of the Physiocrats.

It is impossible here to trace in detail the development of these ideas from the time of their inception down to the revolutionary era, when some, at least, became political actualities. Some general remarks only can be made. French statesmen who thought about the wider interests of commerce belonged with scarcely an exception to the



Mercantilist school. From the time of Colbert to that of Vergennes, the greatest statement was he who could increase the internal resources of France, and not her free trade all dependence on the foreign market alone secured safe of set purposes in the direction of free trade with foreigners; and his action was speedily reversed. In concluding a treaty of commerce with Great Britain in 1763, Calonne and Vergennes were probably influenced solely by the belief that moderate duties would bring in a larger revenue than the prohibitive duties formerly imposed; and that treaty cannot be looked on as a triumph of Free Trade principles in France. The rebound towards the older fiscal methods in and after 1763 was overpoweringly strong, and, after the outbreak of war in February, 1793, public men of all shades of thought were ready to adopt any conceivable means in order to ruin British commerce.

The political theories of the age previous to the Revolution also served to convince the thinkers of France that the struggle with Great Britain would be easily won. The perfect State, according to Rousseau, was one that relied for all its needs and could do without foreign trade. The ideal commonwealth was "that which can subsist without other nations, and without which every other nation can subsist." Subsequent events emphasized the contrast here implied between the life of a self-sufficing agricultural community and that of a commercial State such as Britain or Holland. The agrarian reforms of the French Revolution tended to make France more self-sufficing, while Great Britain, under Pitt's able guidance, was fast becoming the purveyor of the world.

The lessons taught by Rousseau in regard to ethics and legislation had also been set forth by the Physiocrats in the sphere of economic theory. The teachings of Quesnay and of his followers rested on the assumption that the only true source of national wealth was the land, and that States would prosper in proportion as they developed agriculture and raw materials. Manufactures might be productive of refinement and utility, but could not add to the stock of national wealth, inasmuch as they did but change the form of existing material. Agriculture alone, therefore, was capable of producing a clear gain to the community; manufactures could not yield it, for they were "sterile." These views had no small influence on the leaders of thought in France before the Revolution.

As a result of these three direct influences, there was a general tendency in 1789-93 to exalt agriculture and depreciate commerce. It was helped on by the cult of Lysurgos, to which Saint-Just gave so much vigor. It was probably the appeals to the legendary life of Sparta that were most effective among the militant Jacobins who came to power in 1793; but the speeches of members of the Convention contain many passages which show that England was not only hated as the shade of corrupting commerce, but also deplored on the ground of economic and political unsoundness. Some even of the Girondins

took this view. Thus, on January 13, 1793, Kervant, in presenting the official report of the Committee of Defense, used these words:—"The credit of England rests upon British wealth, the real riches of that people are scattered everywhere. . . . Asia, Portugal, and Spain are the most advantageous markets for the productions of English industry; we should shut those markets to the English by opening them to all the world. We must attack Lisbon and the Azores, and carry an auxiliary army to Tippeco Sultan. The Republic of Italy offer you maritime prizes, the loss of which will tell on English commerce." In pursuance of this policy, the Convention, on September 31, 1793, excluded from French ports all goods that were not brought by French ships or the ships of neutrals; and on October 9 and 10 all merchandise produced in Great Britain or her colonies was proscribed throughout the French Republic. At the same time Clootier declared that the possession of the mouths of the Rhine was essential to the success of France in her new enterprise.

The Decree of October 31, 1793, carried the policy of commercial war to still greater lengths. The preamble stated that it was the duty of French legislation to encourage French industry, and to exclude every product manufactured by the enemy. The Act carried this into effect, and further declared that any ship laden either in whole or in part with British goods might be seized in any French port. A large number of goods were to be considered as British, namely, cotton, woolen, and woollen stuffs, "English" carpets, buttons, cutlery, hardware, saddlery, tanned leather, refined sugar, pottery, etc. None of these might be exposed for sale, under pain of seizure. The same prohibition applied to the products of India unless accompanied by certificates of the Dutch and Danish companies, duly vouch for by the French consuls.

Thus, the forerunners of the Continental System are clearly traceable in the thought and policy of France long before the advent of Bonaparte in power. He was at once the pupil, the agent, and the master of the men who had long cried, in impatient wrath, "*Delenda est Carthago*"; and no small part of his political influence resulted from his ability to give effect to their views. At the close of his early campaign, he scanned the horizon for further means of carrying out the goodlier designs sketched in outline to the Convention as the threshold of the war. On February 23, 1796, he reported to the Directory that four courses were possible in the war against Britain—first, to attempt an invasion; secondly, to seize Biscay and Hamburg; thirdly, to make an expedition to the Levant; lastly, failing all of these, to make peace. In that year he attempted the third of these schemes. Its failure served only to popularize the methods of commercial war; and, according to his future minister, Molleau, the means for the prohibition of English trade was never greater than at the beginning of the Consulate.

The Peace of Amiens brought about an interruption of steadily

trading relations. On the renewal of war in 1800 the First Consul seized Hanover, and sought to control Hamburg. After the failure of his schemes for the invasion of England and his triumph over Austria at Austerlitz, he resorted to the plan of controlling northern Germany. By officially offering Hanover to the Court of Berlin, he sought to rouse Prussia under what he now termed his "cont-system." The expediency of leaving Prussia to take his side having failed, he used force against her in order to secure the same result. As a vector he borrowed from Berlin the famous Decree soon to be described is dated. The responsiveness of Russia in the field afforded him still wider opportunities; and the Peace of Tilsit gave him the prospect of avenging against the mistress of the seas forces weaker by far than had ever entered into the conception of the war of 1793. Yet, in reality, the Continental System ranged a empire in the ranks of the Anglophobes of the Convention: and the Napoleonic Empire of the year 1807 (it was, in a sense, only so) relied on the strength of the plan which has been thirty years old.

The political and military events of the years 1800-5, which led up to the Berlin Decree, having been already described in previous chapters of this volume, it is needless only to glance at a few of the accompanying incidents which show the trend of Napoleon's policy. The importance which he attached to the coast of the North Sea is seen in his determination to control Holland at all costs, in the speed with which, after the outbreak of war, he overran Hanover, and in the means that he adopted for the coercion of the Hanse Towns. On every occasion when Prussia put in a claim for those cities during the bargaining of the years 1800-5, it was set aside. The conditions which he attached to his offer of Hanover to Great Power at the time of the discussions at Schönbrunn (December, 1800) point in the same direction. He insisted that, if Prussia acquired that electorate, she must exclude British commerce from all her lands. In vain did Frederick William III seek to escape from the cruel alternative of war with Napoleon or war with England. On April 1, 1806, he reluctantly issued an edict which excluded British ships from the ports of Prussia and Hanover.

In point of fact this, rather than the Berlin Decree, was the event which definitely inaugurated the Continental System. It is true that Napoleon had already compelled neutral States to exclude British commerce—the Ionians, in the Treaty of Florence with the kingdom of Naples (March 28, 1801); but the present was the first occasion on which a great Power bent beneath the pressure of his commercial policy. The consequences were immediate and far reaching. The Grenville-Fox Ministry at once placed an embargo on some 500 Prussian ships then in British harbours, declared the coast from the Elbe to the Eux to be in a state of blockade (April 5, 1806), and thirteen days later launched a

declaration of war against France. An Order in Council of May 16, however, declared that the ports of the north-west of Germany and of Holland would not be closed to neutral ships, provided that they did not come from, or were not sailing to, one of the enemy's ports, and carried none of her goods and no contraband of war. Only on the coast between Ostend and the mouth of the Seine would the blockade be strictly enforced. On May 31 the British Government further declared that it would stop no ship in the Baltic Sea, and on September 23 it threw open the navigation between the Eux and the Elbe. It clearly was the intention of the British Government, while upholding its rights, to subject neutrals to as little inconvenience as possible. The causes of friction between the United States and France and England having been discussed in a previous volume of this work, they need not be further referred to here.

Such was the state of affairs when, on November 21, 1806, Napoleon launched his Berlin Decree. The preamble stated that, whereas Great Britain did not recognize International Law as observed by civilized nations, but extended her hostilities to ships engaged in commerce, to peaceful individuals, and to their property, on board merchant ships, and declared ready to be blockaded on which she had not a single war-ship—measures which acted at raising the world's commerce to the advantage of her own—therefore Napoleon had resolved to apply against her the measures of her own maritime code. Accordingly he declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, and prohibited all commerce and correspondence with them. All British subjects found in any country occupied by French or allied troops were liable to imprisonment, their merchandise and property being also considered lawful prize. Half the proceeds of such acts of confiscation were to be used to indemnify merchants for losses sustained through captures made by British cruisers. The Decree further declared that no ship coming from Great Britain or her colonies would be received in French or allied ports, and ordered the confiscation of ship and cargo whenever false statements were made on this head. The Decree was communicated at once to the Governments of Spain, Naples, Holland, and Sicily, and its adoption was expected as a sign of friendship to Napoleon, while every Government that made peace with him was thenceforth expected to comply with this and the later enactments of his Continental System.

The British Government, seeing in this Decree a deliberate attempt to cut off British trade with the Continent, retaliated by the Order in Council of January 7, 1807. The preamble stated that, whereas the French Government, in violation of the usages of war, sought to prohibit the commerce of all neutral nations with Great Britain and the acceptance of her merchandise by them, His Majesty would be justified in enforcing a similar prohibition of all commerce with France. He would, however, restrict the retaliation, and accordingly ordered that no vessel

should be permitted to trade between two ports where British ships were excluded; any ship so trading would be warned to discontinue her voyage, and, if she persisted, would be captured and become lawful prize. Napoleon replied to this Order in Council by a Decree, dated Warsaw, January 25, 1807, which ordered the continuation of all British merchandise and British colonial products owned in the Hanseatic cities—an action which led to the renewal of the British blockade of the coast between the mouths of the Elbe and the Rhine.

The provisions of the Treaty of Tilsit (July 7, 1807) having brought Prussia, Russia, and Denmark into collision with Great Britain, the King's Government adopted severer measures against the States that were included in the North league. An Order in Council of November 11, 1807, declared that, whereas the Order in Council of January 7, 1807, had not had the desired effect of compelling the enemy to withdraw the decrees against British trade or of inducing neutral nations to stop pass to procure their withdrawal, but they were being enforced with increased rigour, His Majesty therefore ordered that, with certain exceptions, all ports where British ships and goods were excluded should thenceforth be subject to the same restrictions as regard to trade and navigation as if they were actually blockaded by a British naval force. That is to say, the Order renewed the legal validity of a blockade which in most cases would be merely fictitious. All trade in articles produced by countries excluding British ships and goods, or by their colonies, was to be considered unlawful; and all ships trading to or from the said countries or their colonies, together with all merchandise and produce belonging thereto, were thenceforth to be lawful prize. Neutral ships that, prior to receiving notice of the present Order, had set sail from any port excluding British goods, and were destined for another port hostile to Great Britain, were to be warned by His Majesty's ships or provisions to discontinue such voyage and to proceed to a British port; if they disregarded such warning, they might be seized and confiscated. The same Order in Council granted certain exceptions in favour of neutral ships; but, in a later clause, it threatened the penalty of confiscation against any ship on which were found French "certificates of origin," that is, whose papers declared the cargo to be non-British. This clause must be pronounced harsh and overbearing.

A second Order in Council, also of November 11, 1807, laid out certain indemnities to neutral ships to trade with Great Britain. It relaxed the stringency of the old Navigation Acts in a way that had been foreshadowed by the statute of George III, "for permitting certain goods imported into Great Britain to be carried in warehouses without payment of duty"; it also allowed (but did not compel) neutral ships, which, owing to the operation of the foregoing Order in Council, had been obliged to put to sea a British hulk, to discharge goods from an enemy's country on the usual conditions, so far as concerned duties and

"dowberke." Merchandise thus imported might also be landed and thereafter re-exported on the receipt of an official certificate. A third Order in Council of the same date declared the sale of ships by a belligerent to a neutral to be null and void at law. Orders in Council of November 22, 1807, extended trading facilities to neutral ships plying between British ports and hostile ports in the West Indies or America, also between the Channel Islands, the Isle of Man, Gibraltar, or Malta, and any hostile port not actually blockaded by British ships. It was further decreed on the same date that the ships of France, Lübeck, and Portugal, which had been captured or were liable to capture, owing to their compliance with French demands, should be released or held to be not subject to detention or seizure.

An examination of the text of these Orders in Council, which differ widely from the narrative of fact too often presented as history, serves to show that the British Government, while pressing severely on all States which freely placed their resources at the disposal of Napoleon, yet sought to lessen the hardships of those to which the Continental System was imposed by force. The facilities granted to neutrals were clearly of such a kind as to disprove the charge that George III's Government deliberately sought to ruin neutral commerce. On the contrary, it sought to attract neutral ships to British harbours, but only on conditions which counteracted Napoleon's decrees. The aim clearly was not to ruin neutral commerce, but to make the Continental System odious to neutrals.

Information touching the Orders in Council of November 11, 1807, reached Napoleon at Milan on December 18. During his tour in Italy he had received news of the triumphant entry of his troops into Lisbon, the arrival of the Russian squadron in the Tagus, Alexander's declaration of war against Great Britain, and the departure of the greater part of the British force from Sweden. His letters and his actions of December 7-17 show that he expected the speedy collapse of England's power. The second Milan Decree, that of December 17 (the first is unimportant), must be read in the light of this belief. The preamble stated that the British Order in Council of November 11 subjected all neutral ships, not only to the right of search exercised by British cruisers, but also to a forced stay in a British port and a compulsory import on the cargo, and that such conduct would "demonstrably" the ships of every neutral Power and enter with injury every nation that allowed it. Napoleon therefore decreed that every ship undergoing such search or compulsory voyage to a British port was thereby demoralized, and would be considered lawful prize if captured by French or allied vessels, any ship, of whatever nation, sailing from any British port or from coastwise occupied by British troops, would count as good prize if taken by a French war-ship or privateer. The Decree asserted that these measures, being designed as a just retaliation for the barbarous rule adopted in London, would not apply to nations that caused their ships to be

resolved to rule in the interests of the Dutch. By his care of the dykes, the canals, and the commercial interests of his people, and by his mitigation of the conscription, he succeeded in earning the gratitude of his subjects and the respect of the Emperor. His chief difficulty lay in the finances, the public expenditure being three times as great as the revenue; and his appeals to Napoleon for financial relief met with no more reply or recommendations to effect a reduction of the state debt.

But the chief cause of friction lay in the application of the Continental System to an essentially maritime State. Louis had to bear many bitter reproaches for his failure to seal up the Dutch coast against British merchandise. "You attack too high a price to popularity in Holland," wrote Napoleon on December 3, 1806. "Before being dead, you must be the master. You have seen by my message to the Senate and by my Decree that I mean to conquer the sea by the land. You must follow this system." During his sojourn at Erfurt in October, 1808, the Emperor threatened to close the mouths of the Rhine and the Scheldt unless Louis put an end to all trade with England; at present, wrote Napoleon, a hundred ships a month left the Dutch shores for those of the enemy.

By the end of the campaign of 1809 Napoleon had resolved to annex the kingdom outright; and in November of that year he wrote to Champagny to that effect. In his declaration of policy to the Legislative Body, he stated that Holland was crushed between France and England, and that she formed a necessary outlet to one of the great arteries of the Empire. On December 28, 1809, Louis (then at Paris) received an aural communication (omitted from the official *Correspondence*) to the effect that he might retain his crown if he would prohibit British commerce, maintain a fleet of fourteen sail of the line and seven frigates, and an army of 25,000 men. The letter warned him, however, of the probability of the annexation of Holland as the most fatal blow that could be dealt to England. In order to double the force of this threat, Napoleon on January 5, 1810, attacked the island of Walcheren, ordered his troops to invade Holland, and finally occupied Breda and Bergen-op-Zoom. The Dutch prepared to resist; but Louis, protesting with ill-effects, bent before his brother's demands, thus staring off for a moment the inevitable blow.

Meanwhile Napoleon, being desirous of using his hold on Holland in order to browbeat the British Government, urged Louis to set on foot negotiations through the medium of a Dutch banker, Labouchere, son-in-law of the banker Baring, with a view to intimating England by the prospect of the entire annexation of Holland. Louis returned to his kingdom on April 11, 1810; and the negotiations began. Labouchere had some interviews with the Marquis Wellesley, Channing's successor, who saw through the design. Nevertheless he allowed the negotiation to proceed, even though Labouchere had no official credentials. The affair was resolved, memorable by the intrigue secretly carried on by Fouché,

the French Minister of Police, who sent over an agent named Fagot, and afterwards sought, through the medium of a financier, Curvier, to sound the British Ministry on the subject of a possible accommodation. Napoleon was enraged when, at the end of May, he discovered the unpunished effrontery of his Minister. He disgraced him and ordered him to live in retirement in his abbeyside of Provence.

These negotiations delayed but did not avert the doom of Louis and of his kingdom. Even while they were still on foot, Napoleon insisted on the cession of the lands south of the Rhine, the observance of a more stringent fiscal decree, which had been promulgated on May 10, and the confiscation of several American ships which Louis had allowed to enter his harbours. Under these provocations, the patience of Louis and of his subjects gave way. Disturbances took place, in the course of which an insult was offered to the coachman of the French ambassador in Amsterdam. At once Napoleon withdrew his ambassador, instructed the *chapel d'affaires* who remained to "keep the quarters open," and sent his troops into Holland. For a brief space Louis thought of calling his people to arms, but, on his councillor pointing out the hopelessness of such an effort, he resolved to abdicate. After drawing up the deed of abdication in favour of his son (the elder brother of the future Napoleon III) and writing a touching farewell to his councillors, he set out secretly on the night of July 1, and fled to Toplitz in Bohemia. An Imperial edict of July 8, 1810, decreed the annexation of Holland to the French Empire. The French commercial decrees were at once put in force, and colonial produce was confiscated.

The annexation of Holland and the consequent cessation of Anglo-Dutch commerce added to the depression everywhere felt in Great Britain. To increase the trials of the people, the harvest of the year 1809 was a nearly total failure; that of 1810 having been deficient, there was no reserve of corn; and in August, the price of wheat averaged 115 shillings the quarter. Most fortunately, Napoleon did not adopt the device of stopping the export of grain. As is shown by his letters of February 8, July 16, and August 4, 1810, he suspended its exportation from his States only when he heard the approach of dearth; when reassured on this point, he sought to increase his revenue by allowing the export of corn, subject to a considerable duty, even to England. He confined his hostility almost entirely to the exports from England. Ships that received his license to export French, Polish, or Italian corn or other produce were not allowed to bring back goods from England, except such as were needed for the French and allied armies.

As a result of these curious arrangements, England survived the first of dearth, which might otherwise have become actual famine. Owing to the consideration of Napoleon's commercial system, the continued of tropical lands which Great Britain enjoyed, and the policy embodied in the Order in Council of November 11, 1811, vast stores of goods



accumulated in bonded warehouses at her ports. Ultimately this circumstance was destined to tell favourably on the nation's industries, but for the present it embarrassed the mercantile interest. The official report, dated March 7, 1813, of the parliamentary committee appointed to inquire into the distress of the autumn and winter of 1812-3, traced it partly to the excessive amount of goods then imported, which had helped to bring about a sharp fall in prices, ranging from 40 to 80 per cent. in Lancashire goods. It further stated that the opening of new docks and the granting of facilities for placing goods in bond had attracted capital customers to an unprecedented extent, and that the province of Saxony and of the newly conquered colonies came almost wholly to British harbours. "From Europe the importations from places from which the British flag is excluded have been immense."

The tone of the report is clearly optimistic. It sought to minimise the present distress, and contented to state that in November, 1810, the number of bankruptcies had been 878, nearly three times the average number. Nevertheless, in the main, its conclusions were justified by events. The facts which it adduced as to the increase in the value of the exports of cotton goods (from £8,660,000 in 1808 to £18,615,725 in 1810) showed that this industry was successfully grappling with the strange conditions of the time, and had found in the new colonial markets a recompense for the partial loss of those of Europe. Indeed all disinterested observers could see that the stores of colonial and tropical merchandise brought to British harbours would enable manufacturers, with the recent acquisition of Watt, Crompton, and Cartwright at their disposal, to produce goods whose abundance, excellence, and cheapness would more than counteract the effect of the Napoleonic Decrees.

Napoleon failed to notice the operation of these wider causes that made for the triumph of England in the commercial war; he saw only her present debilitation. In the English newspapers he read of the misery and discontent of a large part of her operatives, the spread of machinery, and the rapid growth of taxation and of the National Debt. Moles, Minister of the French Treasury, states that nearly all the Emperor's advisers pointed jubilantly to the fact that British merchants lost 50 per cent. on exchange in their trade with the Continent, as a sure sign of the forthcoming collapse of that Power. This consideration probably furnished Napoleon with another inducement in favour of allowing corn and some other products to enter her ports. His great aim was to deplete the stores of bullion in London, lower the rate of exchange, and in every way undermine British credit. Finally, the old Jacobin *Chancé* as to the inherent artificiality of England's position induced him, in the latter half of the year 1810, to adopt in succession three measures, which, as appeared, must inevitably have proved in the end. These were the *Tranche* of August 5, the *Exportation Decree* of October 18 and 27, 1810, the annexation of the north-west coast of Germany at the close of 1810.

The first of these devices arose, apparently, from a growing conviction that, despite his efforts to keep neutrals from trading with his enemy, all colonial products brought to Europe came from British colonies, being fraudulently sent by British merchants under cover of neutral flags. In his curious letter of August 20 to Lohann, Napoleon states that in reality there are no neutral ships, for they all "pay homage" to the English and transgress his rules. He also admits, in a letter of September 2, to Davoust, that the "certification of origin" means nothing; they are all forgeries. Accordingly, he determined to tax all colonial imports. On the accession of Holland and the confiscation of British goods, he had allowed Dutch merchants to send their colonial products into France on payment of a duty of 20 per cent. ad valorem, and they evaded these rules of these terms. This seems to have convinced him that fast class of goods could everywhere bear the same high duty, and that its imposition would serve to check smuggling on the coast and frontier, benefit the revenue, and equalize prices. Therefore, while staying at the Tuileries, he devised the tariff of August 5; but its existence was kept secret and for a short time disguised. It subjected every kilogramme of these articles to the following duties—American cotton 5 fr.; Levant cotton 4 fr. if imported by sea, and 5 fr. if imported by land; other cottons 3 fr.; man-sugar 3 fr.; refined sugar 4 fr.; China tea 9 fr.; green tea 4 fr.; other tea 1 fr. 50 c.; coffee 4 fr.; indigo 9 fr.; etc. The average duty was about 50 per cent. ad valorem. In order to suppress this tariff on his subject States, he sent secret agents to watch the chief trading centres of Germany and Poland, and to prepare for the seizure of illicit goods. He also sought to induce Prussia and Russia to adopt the same tariff, citing the great benefits that must accrue to their treasury, solely at the expense of British merchants and smugglers. Frederick William obeyed his behest; but the Tsar refused to go beyond the terms agreed on at Tilsit. Napoleon further announced that all depots containing such wares and situated within four days' distance of the frontiers of the Empire were liable to seizure; and he accordingly confiscated great stores of merchandise at Stuttgart, Frankfurt, Bern, and elsewhere.

Fortune placed a great power in his power during the autumn. A large convoy of ships, which were nominally neutral but were laden with British goods, had sailed for the Baltic, in the hope of gaining the admission to Russian, Swedish, and Prussian ports that was still usually accorded. A long spell of easterly winds and the political uncertainty of the time kept them for some weeks near the Sound; whereupon Napoleon urged the Baltic Powers to make up the ships and cargoes. On October 19 he threatened to march against Prussia if she did not comply; and four days later he wrote to the Tsar in terms almost equally urgent, stating that England was in extremities, that her 600 merchant men, now wandering about the Baltic, had been refused admission by Prussia, and that similar action on the part of Russia would help to end

the war. Alexander yielded to the instance of his ally, and confiscated many of the ships; Prussia and Sweden acted in the same way. A memorial sent by British merchants to the Tsar, and dated May 8, 1806, states that the cargoes then confiscated in Russia were valued at £1,500,000, and that this was the first occasion on which commerce between the two States had suffered serious loss.

On October 18 and 22, 1806, Napoleon issued the famous *Continentalism Decrees*. The first ordered that all British manufactured goods found in the Napoleonic States should be seized and publicly burnt, the second established forty-one tribunals for the trial of persons guilty of introducing alien wares and for the reward of informers and others who helped in their seizure. These Decrees provoked great discontent. At Frankfurt the French parties held the chief points of the city while the seizure and burning of goods went on, and everywhere men prepared to do without colonial goods rather than pay the exorbitant prices which the licensed dealers were compelled to charge. Hitherto the Continental System had not brought actual privations to the trading classes and their patrons. Indeed, some towns near the coast of the North Sea had even benefited from the contraband trade in British goods. Stettin, an eminent citizen of Danzig in the duchy of Westphalia, states in his memoirs that in the years 1806-9 long trains of waggons used to bring these wares from the coast through that city on their way into central Europe and France, and that King Jerome himself consisted at this profitable contraband trade. But the seizures and burnings of British goods in the autumn of 1806 altered in an era of terrorism and war, which reached its climax for all true patriots when the north-west of that kingdom was annexed to the French Empire, along with the whole of the north-west coast of Germany, including the free city of Lübeck (Dec. 10, 1806).

This event, together with the absorption of the Republic of Venice, resulted from Napoleon's determination absolutely to control the trade centres of northern Germany and the Rhine and into Italy. He found from the reports of Darcot at Hamburg that British and colonial merchandise came in from Holstein and other small islands, while the coast of Oldenburg was a favourite resort of smugglers. The Emperor now pushed the policy of "Thorough" against Great Britain to its logical conclusion, in the manner described. The official statement accompanying the decree of annexation avowed that that measure was "commanded by circumstances. The immense stores at Heligoland threatened ever to flow into the Continent, if a single point remained open to English trade on the coasts of the North Sea, and if the mouths of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems were not closed against it for ever." None of the Emperor's acts caused more alarm than this. By the same reasoning, any coast-line of Europe where British goods were smuggled in could be annexed forthwith. Prussia was in no position to offer a protest, but the Tsar soon manifested his assent at the summary

dethronement of his brother-in-law, the Grand Duke of Oldenburg. As will appear later, the Oldenburg affair, coming at a time when Alexander was beset by the complaints of his mercantile classes at the stoppage of all trade with England, paved the way for the war of 1812.

The growth and completion of the Continental System, having been traced, it remains to sketch, as fully as limits of space will permit, the relaxations of their land and maritime codes which both combatants permitted themselves to make under the guise of licence. These were first granted by the British Government, which in the year 1806 began to allow neutrals to trade in a manner ostensibly forbidden by the Orders in Council. The practice being found to be convenient for the export of British merchandise, as many as 8000 licences were granted in the year 1807; in the year 1809 the number exceeded 14,000, and in the following year, 18,000. The greater number were allotted to neutrals or merely nominal enemies, as Sweden, Prussia, and Russia, which were thereby freed from search and detention by British cruises at sea. On arriving at their destination, the masters could produce their *actes de passe*, which freed ship and cargo from confiscation under Napoleon's edicts. This soon led to the practice of having two complete sets of papers, those only being produced which procured immunity from confiscation whether at sea or in harbour. A judge in the British Court of Admiralty stated in 1809 that the whole carrying trade of the world was being carried on under licence, chiefly in hostile bottoms. The protests of British shipowners against this system and the capture of nearly 500 merchant vessels in the Baltic in the autumn of 1810 led to its decline after that time. Justice Millmore, a severe critic of the system, blamed it as being contrary to the British Navigation Laws and unjust to honest neutrals, especially the United States, and as tending to foster bad faith and to place dangerously wide powers in the hands of officials. He states that licences were often sold by British exporters to their clients abroad, as much as 700 *francs* being paid for one by a merchant at Amsterdam. The merchants of Hull, in a memorial to Parliament (1810), also complained that licences granted to our enemies had been the means of transferring to them a great part of the trade of that port. The only defence for the practice was that the Orders in Council could not be carried out rigidly, and that licences facilitated British trade with the Continent, though at the cost of seven tenths to British shipowners.

Napoleon adopted somewhat analogous expedients in the years 1809-10; but his licences were granted mainly for the export of French, Italian, German, or Prussian merchandise on ships of those countries. In August, 1810, at the time of the Tariff Tariff, he extended the system, allowing the importation of sugar, coffee, etc., into French harbours, on condition that French manufactures of at least equal value were exported. Thereafter he and his officials strove to stimulate trade

by these means; large bribes were given by merchants for the grant of licences on favourable terms, and the silk trade derived some benefit from these exemptions; but the whole system speedily became a synonym for misapplied activity, favoritism, and corruption.

The varying influence exerted by the house system of the two consulates on their maritime and fiscal policy makes it difficult to come to any clear judgment on the efficacy of that policy in either case. The facts as to the internal economy of the French Empire at the close of the struggle (1800-1) are even more difficult of interpretation. The working of the Fiscal Decrees varied greatly at different times and places, according to the demands allowed by the Emperor and the compatibility of officials. The official statistics respecting commerce and industry are also open to suspicion. Freedom of the press did not exist; and the papers ventured openly to complain, or to petition against privations.

There is another disturbing factor that makes it difficult to form a conclusion as to the causes of French prosperity in the years 1800-18. In a land where the shackles of the old agrarian system and the trifling of taxation had crippled the working classes at every turn, prosperity was certain to increase as soon as the revolutionary legislation had time to take effect. For various reasons this did not take place until the time of the Consulate. The Napoleonic Empire therefore gathered the harvest sown by the men of 1793. The violence of the war now thrown open to the operations of commerce, contrasting strongly with the restricted provincial areas existing before 1793, was another condition highly favorable to national prosperity; but it might be argued that the remarkable vitality of France during the Empire was due not so much to the Emperor as to the members of the Constituent Assembly, who struck the shackles from agriculture, industry, and commerce. In and after the year 1806 Napoleon imposed railroad-of-restrictions on foreign commerce, even on the operations of the corn trade, the operations of which he held to be "the most important and the most delicate" duty for a ruler. The whole fabric of the Continental System, set off as his conviction that, in the words of his Minister, "Chaptal, he could make marriage generous like a millionaire." The history of similar "artificial" trade to show that such a policy is harmful in the main, however much it may stimulate particular industries.

The impact of Napoleon's forced intelligence upon the industries of his 45,000,000 subjects led unquestionably to some beneficial results. When his Decrees practically excluded colonial wars, he sought to make the Empire entirely independent of them. Most characteristic and reasonable was his action in regard to sugar. When it seemed that sugar must become an expensive luxury (it sold at six francs the pound in Paris in 1810) he charged his chemists to derive a substitute. The result is well known. A slight success was achieved in the making of grape-sugar by the chemist Prevost, but the experiments of Berzel,

Isenard, Delacroix, Chaptal, and others led to a noteworthy success in the perfecting of the somewhat defective process of manufacturing sugar from beetroot already attempted by Richard in Germany. As soon as the new methods were known to be practically successful, Napoleon issued a decree (March 23, 1811), whereby 30,000 *hectares* (about 80,000 acres) were to be planted with beetroot for this purpose, six experimental schools being also founded for the instruction of cultivators in the details of culture and manufacture. The most suggestive clause of the decree, however, is that in which he ordered the entire prohibition of cane-sugar coming from "the two Indies" on and after January 1, 1815, because it might be assumed to be of British origin. Similar orders having extended the production of a kind of indigo from wood, the same decree ordered the cultivation of wood on a large scale, the founding of four experimental schools in connection with that industry, and the entire exclusion of the indigo of the two Indies after the above-mentioned date. Other efforts, more or less successful, were made to thrust upon manufacturers throughout the whole of the Empire the use of certain Italian products.

Some districts benefited by these Protectionist methods, and their gratitude was loudly proclaimed through the official press. The attempt, however, to force the produce of the Mediterranean by way of the Alpine passes to Marseilles and Genoa and thence throughout central Europe was clearly foreshadowed to failure. A German, Eiken, who travelled down the Rhine in 1812, describes the stagnation of trade owing to the interfering trade regulations that prevailed; and from other sources it appears that the districts which now form the Rhine Province pointed to clinging to trade with Germany and reaped little benefit from the opening up of commerce with the French Empire. Baron Pasquier will sum up the result of Napoleon's experiment in the statement that prices, even in its vagaries, produce memorable results, and that French industry and perseverance, supported by a million bayonets and an auxiliary force of dynamite, and thanks to the relief now and again afforded by the Imperial loans, succeeded in meeting the needs of an enormous organization.

The success of the Continental System and with it the fortune of Napoleon depended, however, not so much on France as on her subject lands and allies. Unless every one of them consented to sustain the burthens which it imposed until Great Britain surrendered, the whole experiment was doomed to failure. Napoleon, with his usual discernment, had always assigned the first importance to a complete control of the coast of the North Sea, and secondly to those of the Baltic, a fact which determined the general trend of his diplomacy after the renewal of war with England. Even down to the close of the campaign of 1812 he clung tenaciously to Hamburg, as being the natural inlet for British goods into central Europe. It will be well, then, briefly to review

the condition of that free city while under his control. At first the trade of Hamburg suffered little from the French occupation, which began in 1806. The French Minister, Bourgeois, was found to be open to bribes; and the consuls of the nations bearing his name must that he did good service to his countrymen campaigning in Poland in 1807, by granting permission to German merchants mostly to procure 25,000 cloaks from England. He is said to have received altogether the sum of 520,000 francs from the city, besides a million more from merchants for licences and licences granted by him. Moreover, the proximity of the Danish part of Altona presented facilities for the smuggling of goods into Hamburg; and the sympathy of the whole population with the struggle rendered the Berlin and Vienna Decrees almost inoperative down to the year 1809. Lloyd, a British resident, states that most of the imports came in from Altona and other parts of the coast in waggon. Women also smuggled wine, beer, and coffee.

The advent of Duroc as commander of the French army in that part of Germany, and the Napoleonic Decrees of the summer and autumn of the year 1809, subjected the city to the severest hardships. In the following year more than 300 ships lay dismantled in the harbour; out of 425 sugar refineries only one remained at work; and all the cotton-printing works were closed. The more rapacious of the French officials seized goods which seemed to be of English make, even when satisfactory certificates of origin were forthcoming. Where all honest means of livelihood languished, informers plied a brisk trade. Employees, in order to spite their masters, were known to mix British goods with others in order to procure the condemnation of all. In short, all the conditions that stog the operations of trade sagged supreme in Hamburg. The authorities of the conquerors completed its misery. French officials seized the Treasury bonds, and confiscated a fund containing the savings of the old and the poor. The fate of the great free city was one of unqualified severity; but everywhere throughout Germany the Continental System produced feelings of exasperation and fear, which had no small share in bringing about the War of Liberation.

The northern States naturally suffered most from the exclusion of colonial goods. Italy and France could supply several of the articles prohibited by Napoleon's Decrees; but the north Germans, Swedes, and Russians found no palatable substitutes for tobacco, coffee, and sugar. The influence of this fact on the formation of political opinion may readily be imagined. The movement of those peoples was directed, not against the British merchants, whose ships or smuggling sloops occasionally hovered off the coast, but against the Emperor who forbade the importation of the comforts of life or placed them beyond the reach of all but the most wealthy. Further, it must be noted that the export trade of those lands had consisted mainly of bulky articles such as timber, pitch, hemp, iron, corn, etc., sent to England. These were not adapted

in contraband trade, as were the mills and factories of southern China. Consequently the export trade all but vanished, except when Napoleon, for revenue purposes, allowed occasional shipments from Denmark.

Several circumstances served to make Sweden the centre of important political questions resulting from these economic facts. As has been already mentioned, Marshal Bernadotte became Prince Royal of Sweden and here-appeared to the throne in August, 1818. The throne of the King speedily seemed to him the chief place in the Government. It soon became clear that he was indisposed to support the policy of the Continental System, which had been forced on Sweden in the spring of that year. War existed between England and Sweden in November, but in both countries there was no desire to resort to hostilities which were to the interest of Napoleon alone. Thanks to the combined tact and courage shown by Sir James Saunderson, the British commander in the Baltic, little harm was done to Swedish commerce, and the way was left open for reconciliation. Napoleon, on the other hand, frequently showed his distrust of the Swedish Government, probably because Bernadotte was already raising the suspicion of Norway from Denmark. The Emperor warned the King of Denmark of overtures in this connection, and proved his commercial decrees rapidly on Sweden. On March 25, 1811 (a date which marked the adoption of the harshest measures towards all the Baltic States), he asserted that, if a single cargo of colonial goods was landed in Swedish Possessions, French troops would march in and establish the Imperial dominion.

Meanwhile Alexander I had offended Napoleon by tearing the clause of December 31, 1810, which virtually allowed the entry of colonial goods into Russia and prohibited the import of certain articles of luxury. When Napoleon approached his ally with this breach of the Treaty of Tilsit and sent troops eastwards, Russia and Sweden naturally drew closer together and laid the basis of that agreement which took definite form in the alliance of 1822. During the year 1811 the Two gradually abandoned the system prohibiting the entry of British goods, and the conclusion of peace between England and Russia in July, 1812 (as also between England and Sweden), virtually put an end to the Continental System. Already the British Government had repealed the Order in Council, but too late to avert war with the United States. Commerce, however, began to follow its normal course in Europe, the downfall of the Continental System being assured by the campaigns of 1812 and 1813. The great commercial experiment broke down where Nature might have been expected, namely, in Russia, Sweden, and northern Germany.

If we may judge from the spoken and written utterances of Napoleon, he could never bring himself even to consider the possibility of failure. With his love of control and his passion for the handling of vast masses of details, he faced the problem of managing the commerce and industries of Europe as hopelessly as he confronted its stuporuous



conflict, the expedition to Moscow. Very characteristic was his reply, on March 26, 1811, to a deputation from the General Council of Commerce and Manufactures in France, on the occasion of the birth of the King of Rome. After twisting the deputation with its lugubrious opinions, he proceeded to justify the Continental System and stated that in about six months his sword would pierce England to the heart. As for his tariff, it would remain unchanged, for it did the utmost harm to British trade. The French Empire would soon produce enough sugar, indigo, and, perhaps, cotton, to do without imports of those articles; and Europe would no longer need trade with England and the colonies. Then, turning to the manufacturers, he blamed them for making too many goods and at too high a price. They had France, Italy, Germany, and a part of Spain open to them; that ought to satisfy their wants if they paid attention to the demand. As for England, she would soon be bankrupt. Austria was actually unbroken, and Russia was following her in that path. France alone had stores of bullion in the Bank. The whole address illustrates his persistent illusion on the subject of commerce. That vice councillor, Mollien, often noted that his master had failed to grasp some of its essential facts, and the Emperor's letters could prove that he believed the extreme decrease of colonial wars in Europe to be more harmful to the English reader than to the continental consumer—a notion as mistaken as his suggestion that the confiscation of these products would be a good way of replenishing the coffers of France, Westphalia, and Naples.

The course of events was to prove that nothing could shake his belief in the efficacy of these suicidal devices. State after State was flung into the crucible of his mighty experiment; yet the looked-for result never came. Finally, in his constant straining after the one final expedient that must secure the ruin of England, he came to the death-grapple with Russia. It is difficult to believe that this was the man who, in other domains of thought, soared at telegrams. He himself was the chief telegraph, the supreme dupes, of the age. As he looked round on the Europe of his day, he took no count of the mighty forces of the industrial revolution that then were giving England with the strength of youth and were connecting all parts of the world by indissoluble ties; what he beheld was a mirage conjured up by his wild fancy and boundless optimism.

Having reviewed the causes that determined the final hostility of the peoples of the north and centre of Europe to Napoleon's policy, we may now glance briefly at the influence exerted by the combatants on certain points on the fringe of the Napoleonic system. While the French Emperor had the advantage of the central position in his commercial warfare with England, his efforts were necessarily confined to the unbroken and to certain outlying parts of Europe. She acted

from Heligoland, from one or two of the Danish and Prussian islets, the Channel Isles, Lisbon, Gibraltar, Sicily, Malta, Corsica, and various parts of the Turkish Empire. These were, so to speak, several points constantly held out against the central mass, and, according to the laws of supply and demand, their power to wound increased automatically as the master of the Continent strengthened the barriers separating it from the outer world. The occupation by the Sea Power of these points of vantage produced, in most cases, few if any noteworthy results of a political character. But the peoples of Sicily and Turkey were affected by the great conflict in several ways. This chapter will therefore conclude with a brief notice of their history during this period.

The British occupation of Sicily was destined to exert on the Italian people a far more abiding influence than that resulting from the long-continued presence of our forces in the Iberian peninsula. For this fact the two following reasons may be assigned. The Sicilians felt towards their royal House, that of the Spanish Bourbons, none of the sentiments which the Spaniards and Portuguese felt for their respective dynasties; and the political instincts of the bourgeois of Palermo and Messina were more akin to those of the British people than to the traditional policy of Ferdinand IV of Naples and his spirited Queen, Maria Carolina. The character and career of that ill-matched pair having been already described in a previous volume, it is needless to describe again the career which defied the affections of their subjects. Like other islands, the Sicilians had always been remarkable for their clinging to ancient liberties. The preservation of their Parliament was to them far more precious than that of the dynasty. The Queen scarcely expressed the contrast between Naples and Palermo in a letter from the latter place to her daughter. "This is a different country; people are constitutional; the King has not a vote without the consent of Parliament, everything, including justice, is under dissimilar regulations and stands on a totally different footing; but we must put up with it." The Parliament, it is true, was of a feudal rather than a democratic type. It consisted of three Chambers, barons, clergy, and tenants of the Crown, the last named to some extent representing the chief towns. The Chambers met and voted separately; in the House of Peers the greater barons had several votes apiece. Parliament had the right of assembling at least once every five years; and during the session a committee of three from each Chamber supervised national expenditure and the carrying out of laws.

Such was the framework of government in which Ferdinand IV and Maria Carolina found themselves placed by the events of the year 1806, which deprived them of the mainland. The efforts which Joseph Bonaparte put forth to gain Sicily would doubtless have been crowned with success, but for the presence of British forces at and near Messina. The danger to the Bourbons was increased when Joachim Murat came

to the throne in place of Joseph Bonaparte. The "born soldier" dignified his accession by a vigorous effort to retake Capri, with superior forces he succeeded in overpowering Colonel Hudson Lowe's small garrison and compelling it to surrender (October, 1808). This and other adverse events failed to damp the ardour of the Queen for the recovery of the mainland. The volcanic passions of her earlier years had now sunk into a daily glowing hatred, the extreme of spite, of her many disappointments, and of her resentment at the domineering indifference of the King. She spent large sums in stirring up revolts in Calabria; she maintained a small army of spies to watch every event on the mainland; she secretly helped to equip the privates that preyed on Neapolitan garrisons, and was consequently forced to have had no small interest in the spoils. In her growing rage at her impotence, she sent a brigand chief with 500 galley slaves to overthrow a sovereign who had Napoleon's lips on at his back, and there are grounds for suspecting her of complicity in attempts at political assassination at Naples. Above all she fanned animosity of the populace that held back Sir John Stuart, commander of the British force in Sicily, from supporting them and entering. Variable as all else, she showed unwavering dislike to the British commanders who succeeded Sir Sidney Smith on that station; in fact, hostility to England on points of detail tended to become a strong motive at the Bourbon Court as hatred to Napoleon had been on the ground of principle. The efforts of an Anglo-Sicilian expedition against the Neapolitan coast in the year 1809 having ended in failure, the Queen was reported to have set on foot intrigues with Murat's agents with a view to the eventual restoration of the mainland to Ferdinand IV, Murat securing compensation elsewhere.

The truth on this matter will perhaps never be cleared up. That either Napoleon or Murat and his consort seriously entertained the thought of restoring Naples to the Spanish Bourbons is incredible. The Emperor's correspondence shows that he never lost sight of the need of conquering Sicily; and, if King Joachim ever entertained the overtures of Maria Carolina, it was merely only with the aim of weakening the Anglo-Sicilian alliance. That Queen, however, with her usual processes of self-deception and intrigue, kept up secret communications with Naples and the Court of Vienna through the years 1810-1, in a way that aroused the gravest suspicions of the British Government. The United Kingdom had acquired the right to some measure of control over the policy of the Court of Palermo, Sicily by providing the naval and military support which alone enabled that Court to exist, and secondly by the terms of the treaty of alliance signed at Palermo on March 26, 1808. These prescribed the furnishing of all possible means of mutual support by both parties in the present war, the maintenance by Great Britain of a force of not less than 10,000 men in Sicily, and the payment of a yearly sum of £200,000 to its Court, as well as the conclusion of

an early date of a treaty of commerce on conditions favourable to British trade. The Sicilian Government also promised not to make a separate peace with Napoleon, while Great Britain consented not to come to terms with him unless the interests of His Sicilian Majesty were safeguarded. Obviously the protecting Power had the right to insist on the due observance of this treaty; and, when the Queen was believed to be intriguing with her nominal enemies, when further her politicians captured a British merchantman and great difficulty was experienced in obtaining its release, friction between the parties was inevitable.

Despite the increase of the British subsidy to 2,400,000 in answer to the increasing appeals of the Queen, her extravagance was such as to provoke a serious conflict with the Sicilian Parliament. That body met at Palermo on January 22, 1811; and Ferdinand, the champion of the Queen's desires, proposed that it should increase the subsidy to the Queen from 2,000,000 scucos to 3,000,000 scucos (the scuco was then equal to 12s. 6d.), besides making further donations to the Queen and to the infant daughter of the Crown Prince. To these demands the Parliament, especially the Chamber of Peers, demurred; they had long been harassed by the favour shown to Neapolitan courtiers and by the exclusion of Sicilians from the Government, and now realised these annoyances at the heavy share of the State by granting only one-half of the required sum. Like Charles I of England in similar circumstances, Ferdinand dissolved Parliament, only to find its successor still more refractory. Thereupon the Queen urged him to adopt various illegal expedients, including even the sale of monastic lands through the medium of lottery tickets. To these measures Parliament opposed an unwavering resistance, with the result that on July 19, 1811, Ferdinand arrested five of the national leaders, including the able and determined Prince of Belmonte. A deadlock now ensued, fatal to industry and commerce, and jeopardising the very existence of the State.

It was in these circumstances that the British ambassador, Lord Amherst, retired in favour of Lord William Bontick, who was to combine with his diplomatic duties those of commander of the British troops. The urgency of the crisis called for some man of concentration of power in the hands of a strong man. Great skill and tact, however, were needed to dissuade the Queen of the notion that the English were about to seize Sicily and either keep it themselves or use it as a prize in some diplomatic game of exchange. Unfortunately Bontick lacked the qualities of charm and graciousness that were needed to win over the Queen to a true view of the situation. Stiff and unapproachable in manner, he offended Maria Carolina from the outset, so later he offended her subjects. Meeting with firm resistance at Court, he called for London, and came back in December, 1811, armed with yet other powers, which enabled him to stop the British subsidy until the terms of the treaty of 1806 were assented to. Financial needs and a

threat that Palermo would be occupied by British troops finally induced the King and Queen to capitulate, Ferdinand agreeing, on the pretext of illness, to hand over the government to his son, whom he named his *after* age (January 14, 1815). The Crown Prince at once restored the *lancieri* to favour, repealed the illegal taxes, and appointed more papable Ministers. Yet Bontade's suspicions of the Queen remained unabated, and when, in the month of March he required further proofs of her correspondence with the French, he insisted on her removal into the interior of the island.

Meanwhile Castlereagh, who had succeeded Wellesley as Foreign Minister in Downing Street, deemed the time to be ripe for the application of British institutions to Sicily as an article to the Napoleonic reforms which were beginning to take root in the Peninsula. Reluctant as the Crown Prince was to introduce a foreign Constitution, yet his desire for cordial relations with England, in order to attempt the conquest of Naples while Murat was absent in Russia, brought him to acquiesce in Bontade's suggestions. Accordingly the Parliament which met at Palermo in June, 1815, proceeded to discuss and finally to adopt a Constitution which was modelled closely on that of Great Britain.

Had this Constitution been promulgated under more favourable conditions, it would probably have taken firm root, but this was impossible amidst the disputes and anarchy of the year 1812. The abolition of feudal privileges annoyed many of the leading families, and their discontent enabled the Queen to make one more bid for power. She spurred on the King to give up the arrangements of his country-seat and to resume his authority. Ferdinand obeyed. On March 4, 1813, he suddenly appeared at the palace at Palermo, and announced that, having recovered his health, he intended to resume the government. Again Bontade intervened, and threatened that, unless the Constitution was respected, the British alliance would cease forthwith. The Prince of Belmonte and Ruggiero Settimo also resigned their office. Under severe pressure from both sides, Ferdinand listened to the advice of his son-in-law, the Duke of Orleans, and promised to withdraw to the country. Bontade, however, now insisted on the departure of the Queen from the island, an expedient which had already been more than once discussed. After long and painful disputes, she left Sicily with her son and a few attendants, proceeding to Constantinople, Odessa, and finally to Vienna. From there fate frowned upon this unhappy woman, great only in her misfortune. As she was about to return to Palermo and triumph at the fall of her many enemies, the hand of death intervened and laid her low at the castle of Belvedere (September 7, 1814).

In the meantime the overthrow of Napoleon led to the resumption by Ferdinand of his old governing power (July 4, 1815). There being now no reason for the former strict control of Sicilian affairs, Bontade was unable to prevent the ultra-royalists from working havoc in the

affliction of 1832. It was however little more than a rumour. But, the tale of reaction rolled over Italy, that memory was held dear; when the Sultan in 1848 let the touch of revolution that was idle to be passed on from capital to capital, their veteran leaders, agitate *Sultans*, summed up their experience of the past and their aim for the future in the cry "Separation from Naples, or our English mission of 1832."

The mighty force of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era, which turned some of the greatest States of Europe, led to strange shifts fortune in the Ottoman Empire. That corner of the Continent red as it were a great tide-ebb, which changed according to the rise and direction of the main current of events. The survival of this rule in Europe never seemed more hopeless than in the years 1798-1801 and 1798-1801, and again in the period after the Treaty of St. Yvet. Yet Turkey emerged from this catastrophic epoch almost unscathed, perhaps even stronger than at its beginning.

The accession to power of Selim III in 1789 occurred at a time unequalled calamity, brought on by the persistent attacks of Russia II of Russia and Joseph II of Austria. In vain did the old Selim set an example of austerity and vigour, and call his whole people to arms against the infidels. The Moslems were several times routed by Suvaroff and Langeron. Only the death of Joseph II (1790)

the conclusion of a timely Russo-Turkish alliance saved Turkey a overwhelming disaster. The new Habsburg ruler, Leopold II, a to equitable terms with her at Sistova (1791); but Catherine II died an heavy sacrifice in the Treaty of Jassy (1791), namely, the loss of all the Turkish lands east of the river Dniester, the Sultan

virtually acknowledging the suzerainty of Russia over Georgia, Armenia, and Mesopotamia. Even this success seemed to the ambitious ruler merely a stepping-stone to the longed-for conquest of Constantinople, but the crisis in the affairs of Poland and Prussia drew off her arms towards central Europe almost down to the time of her death (1796). Her son, Paul I, at first adopted a peaceful policy, then clinging to Selim a time of respite for the many reforms which were rapidly called for.

It is difficult to conceive the disorder of the Sultan's dominions at that time. His authority over the Moslem States of northern Africa of the slightest. The rise of the Mamluk power in Egypt left only shadow of authority in the hands of the Turkish Pashas at Cairo. Wahabites were masters of nearly the whole of Arabia. The Druses other tribes of the Lebanon district were virtually independent, at

the savage Greeks put to death the Sultan's messengers with impunity; and taxes were generally withheld by the Pashas of Bagdad, Mosul, and Aleppo. In Europe the Pashas of Wallach long defied

the Sultan's authority; and the sultanas Ali Pasha had made good his independence in Albania. The Sclavians and Greeks felt the pressure of their pasha's rule, but surely that of the Sultan. Worst of all, Russia accorded her protection to the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia; and the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji (1774) had given her the right to champion the claims of all the Christian subjects of the Porte. As the custom of farming out the taxes placed immense power in the hands of the local pashas, boys, and agas, as well as of the money-lenders whom they employed, the Sultan's authority was liable to be thwarted in every conceivable way. The armed forces of Turkey, paid and unpaid, were a source of weakness rather than strength. By far the most important among them was the privileged Order of the Janissaries, comprising some 100,000 members, though many of these were not liable to service in the field. They considered their membership as hereditary, generally appeared in the ranks only on pay-days, and showed authority in the towns where they were settled. They had long possessed valuable trading rights, and, in fact, claimed to represent and enjoy the rights of the old Moslem conquerors, especially against the Christian empire.

During the opposition which the Janissaries were certain to offer, Selim now began to reorganise his armed forces on the European model, and introduced some uniformity in regard to arms, drill, and discipline. The opening of closer diplomatic relations with France in 1796, when, for the first time, the Porte despatched an ambassador to reside at Paris, enabled the French ambassador, Adrien Dubouché, to take with him to Constantinople armed officers, together with well-mounted pieces of artillery. But little progress was made. The Janissaries refused to make any change in their traditional methods, and the rupture with France, brought about in 1798 by Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition, stopped all progress, except in the organisation of the Turkish artillery. Greater success attended Selim's efforts to improve the civil administration. By curtailing the power of the Grand Vizier and the pashas who governed provinces, he somewhat strengthened the fabric of government and the productivity of the revenue; but his efforts to abolish the farming of taxes led to no general result. He established regular embassies not only at Paris, but also at London, Vienna, and Berlin.

Despite Selim's efforts, Turkey was wholly unprepared to meet the dangers resulting from Bonaparte's expedition; and without the aid of Russia she would probably have lost both Egypt and Syria. Scarcely freed from that danger, she was on the verge of others equally serious at the beginning of the year 1801, when Bonaparte and the Duc d'Angoulême prepared for an invasion of Asia Minor preparatory to the conquest of India. Once again, however, the restoration of the balance of power in Europe served to avert the projected partition of the Ottoman realm. Peace was concluded with France at Amiens (March 25, 1802), when the

Republic recognised the integrity of the Turkish Empire, procured the renewal of the former "capitulations" between the two Powers, and gained the right of sending French ships into the Black Sea. In one quarter the war had not been unfavourable to the British power. The fall of the Mamelukes (an event furthered by the political manoeuvres of several of their chiefs by the Turks) paved the way for the gradual advancement of Turkish authority in Egypt. The death of Saitur Pasha at Acre in 1804 also had a similar effect on Syrian affairs. On the other hand, the successes of the Wahabites in Arabia and their capture of Mecca and Medina in 1804 spread abroad the belief that the innovations of the Sultan were displeasing to Allah. Nevertheless Selim proceeded with his military reforms. In the year 1804 he organised the artillery, and placed it on a footing of privileges superior to that of the Janissaries; and in March, 1805, he decreed that the finest youth of the Empire should be taken, even from the Janissaries themselves, and enrolled among the Nizams or regular infantry. The privileged corps fairly refused to obey this decree, and in some cases killed those who strove to put it in force.

Selim's difficulties at this time were increased by a formidable rising of the Servians. Galled by the oppressions of the Janissaries and encouraged by promises of help from Russia, the distressed rebels rose under the lead of Kara George and Miloosh Obrenowitch, killed a plot of the Janissaries for a general massacre, and captured some of the strongholds of Turkish tyranny in their land. Their revolt was directed firstly against the turbulent Janissaries of Belgrade; and they sought to prove that it tended to strengthen the Sultan's authority in the province. Selim, however, could not side with Christians against the Infidels; he arrested their depredations, and ordered Ali, the Pasha of Nissa, to disarm the whole population. The Christians scorned all thoughts of surrender, now that the Sultan was threatened by hostilities from Russia and by a general uprising of the Janissaries. Kara George defeated the pasha; and in the campaigns of 1806-7 the Servians not only drove back other Turkish forces but finally succeeded in capturing Belgrade and the remaining Turkish strongholds. At the close of this War of Liberation, military and governing powers were allotted to military chiefs, or *retbas*, among whom Kara George enjoyed a preeminence corresponding to his prowess and material skill. A *Shaykhiana*, or General Assembly of warriors, formed the ultimate source of authority; it deposited administrative and legislative power to a Senate of twelve members; and by degrees a civil magistracy was established for each district. The nobility with which a formerly down-trodden people cast off its yoke and established its own institutions stands in marked contrast to the helplessness of the Sultan's Government and the hereditary opposition of his privileged classes to all reform.

In the midst of these troubles, the able French diplomatist, General



Schubert, arrived at Constantinople (August 9, 1805). Napoleon's instructions (dated June 20, 1805) directed the envoy to form a Franco-Persio-Turkish alliance against Russia, and to urge the Sultan to keep a firm grasp on Mekkah and Wallachia. Schubert soon succeeded in touching Turkish pride on the latter question; and, despite the threats and protests of the Russian and British envoys, before deposed the hospodars of those provinces (August 24). This amounted to a declaration of war against the Tsar, who speedily sent an army across the Pruth and reduced Bucharest (December 27). In February, 1807, a British fleet under Admiral Duckworth forced the passage of the Dardanelles but failed before Constantinople. Equally unfortunate results attended a British expedition to Egypt. Meanwhile the campaign in the valley of the Danube languished. The main forces of the Russians were always directed against Napoleon; and Selim's efforts were thwarted at the outset by the selfish obstinacy of the Janissaries, who intercepted and routed a force of Mameluks. Elated at this success, the mamluks determined to aid themselves of the reforming Sultan. With the help of a fawning traitor, the Egyptian Memon Pasha, the Janissaries of the capital marched to the seraglio, which was undefended, deposed their master, and placed on the throne Mustapha IV, the son of Abdul Hamid I (May 29, 1807). His tenure of power was short. A truce with the Russians in August having set free the forces of Bessarabia, the Pasha of Bessarabia, that officer marched to the capital with the intention of restoring Selim, only to be failed at the last moment by the murder of the deposed ruler at the hand of Mustapha's eunuchs. After wreaking vengeance for this crime, Bessaraber raised to power Selim's young cousin, Mahmud II (July 28, 1808), whose firmness and ability enabled him ultimately to carry out many of Selim's reforms.

His difficulties seemed overwhelming at the outset. The news of Selim's deposition, which arrived during the conference at Tilsit, furnished Napoleon with an excuse for a complete change of front; the Franco-Russian compact aimed at the aggrandizement of the Turkish Empire. Motives of policy alone led Napoleon to defer the undertaking to a time when France should be firmly established on the Atlantic coast, in Italy, and in Spain. As has been already shown, the Emperor's aim of using the naval resources of Spain for the furtherance of his Eastern schemes set in motion the great events of the Spanish rising, which brought salvation to Turkey. The Emperor's policy at the Congress of Erfurt also served to prolong the time of respite; while, on the other hand, the Turk's growing fear of his western rival held him back from the prosecution of vengeance measures against the Turks. Great Britain, also, after coming into collision with Russia, had no intention of posing hostilities against the Turks; and, thanks partly to the friendly services of Austria, came to terms with the Porte in the Peace of the Dardanelles (January, 1809).

While, however, the diplomatic situation underwent an almost miraculous change in favour of the new Sultan, he failed to cope with the internal disorders. Sir Robert Adair, British Minister at Constantinople, reported the utter disorganization of the government, of the finances, and of the armed forces, whose three branches were not stayed even in presence of the enemy. At the close of the war with Austria, Alexander sent larger forces to the Danube; and the end of the campaign of 1809-10 saw him master of the river-fields on that river. In the following year the prospect of war with Napoleon imposed pressure on the Russians; but no considerations of patriotism put an end to the state of civil parties and the unexpiring portents of the Janissaries. On both sides, therefore, there was a readiness to come to terms; and, after lengthy negotiations, the Treaty of Bucharest was signed (May 28, 1812). The Sultan thereby ceded to Russia the Moldavian lands to the east of the Pruth, and promised to grant an amnesty to the Serbians. He insisted, however, that the Serbian frontier should once more be garrisoned by Turkish troops; and to this the Tsar consented. The Serbians, who had put forth great efforts on behalf of their co-religionists, thus saw one great result of their War of Liberation bagged away by their avowed champion.

Thus, by a singular concurrence of events, Turkey more than once during this period escaped a doom which seemed inevitable. Alone among the great Powers of the Continent, she escaped the grinding pressure of events which compelled them to recognize their governments, their states, and even their politics. Whether, in the *long run*, she would have been driven to employ the same healing process, is very questionable. What is certain is that the close of the great States drew no new sources of strength from the strains and calamities of the time. Even the peculiarities of the Continental System, which might have given a great impulse to the trade of Turkey, as the only neutral State in Europe, led to no noteworthy result. The passage of stores of contraband goods through Salonica and the Albanian ports into central Europe served to invigorate the maritime instincts of the Greeks and Albanians; it beathed no new life into the torpid frame of Turkish industry. Above all, the Ottomans themselves felt none of those longings for reform which were implanted by the events of the Napoleonic era among the peoples of Germany, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and were destined to triumph over the reactionary forces of the succeeding age. Devoid in regard to legislative advancements, the life of Turkey was barren also of those popular impulses, which, under wise guidance, strengthen the fabric of the State and invigorate the whole nation.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE FRENCH DEPENDENCIES, AND SWITZERLAND.

Napoleon told Bonaparte in August, 1800, that it was his policy to govern men as the majority wished to be governed. "It is," he said, "by turning Catholic that I finished the war in the Vendée; by turning Mussulman that I established myself in Egypt; by turning Ultramontane that I won the Italian sword. If I governed a people of Jews I would rebuild the temple of Solomon. So, too, I would speak of liberty in the free part of San Domingo, while I would confirm slavery in the *lieu de Bourbon* and in that part of San Domingo where slavery now exists." Such flexibility was undoubtedly a safer recipe for empire than the rigid propaganda of the Revolution. Administration must be adapted to men's needs, and these in turn are shaped by climate, locality, and historic forces. A good administration does not expect the virtues of humanity to be regular; it expects it to be irregular, and gently fits itself into the indertations, trusting to time and some patient process of friction to plane down uncomfortable angles. It has fixed principles, but it applies them with charitable modifications. It is well-constructed, yet, pre-bounded. It has its professional code of honour, of which it is proud. Checks and counter-checks do not obstruct its activity. It has the courage of its opinions and strikes hard at waste, inefficiency, and old abuses. It is served by every variety of trained and untrained experience. It is neither radical, nor conservative, but knows when to be the one, and when the other. To build up an ideal bureaucracy capable of governing foreign peoples, both European and coloured, in such a way as to command their confidence and respect, is no easy task. It requires a high standard of public morals, a passion for public improvement, a vigorous equipment of fact, an ever-going good-humour coupled with strict attention to detail, an instinct which may be called propaganda on the part of the governing nation, and a readiness to learn and be guided on the part of the governed. Such a confidence of happy qualities is necessarily the result of complex forces, and cannot be contrived by any one mind.

The French Empire at its zenith stretched from Lilliput to the Euxine and from Brest to Rome. It was divided into 120 departments, 66

of which were alien to France in race, language, and temperament. Dutchmen and Belgians, Germans and Italians, Cossacks and Spaniards, were swallowed up in the great machine; and even and above these alien departments of the Empire there were the usual principalities and kingdoms, all of which were ultimately controlled from Paris and made to contribute to the military and financial strength of France. It may well be asked how a country which had managed its own affairs so badly as to experience ten years of internal disorder could accomplish such a task as the civil government of these miscellaneous regions.

The French administration under Napoleon had behind it the possibilities of a God, and the acceptance of a system. It believed in that English contemptuously called "French principles," not with a passive traditional acceptance but with the zeal of a convert who with infinite struggle has reestablished his inner life. The best of Napoleon's servants regarded themselves as missionaries of some higher civilization which it was their duty to diffuse through the world, and in this movement was acted the force of Napoleon's character and genius. Distinctive in himself, he added to good insight to his end, he was a sure judge of men, and when he had picked his team he drove it hard. His eye was every where. His appetite and memory for detail were such that directly work nearly escaped him, and he knew how to inspire and to encourage as well as how to frighten and to coerce. Nor was this all. Connected with the movement which acted on the will, there was a great illumination of the intelligence. Almost every question relating to the fabric of society or the government of men had come up for discussion during the French Revolution. During experiments had been made, great disasters endured; and a rich experience was crowded in a narrow space of time. The new generation was more sober, more practical, more critical of vague ideas, and yet fully capable of being started by the large horizons which Napoleon unfolded to France.

Another factor was, that the French Government, having a coherent body of principles to administer, based in almost every part of central Europe a state of opinion either favorable or not violently unfavorable to their acceptance. This was not only so mainly due to the fact that French principles could easily be explained and have a self-evident and exposure due of rationality about them. It was largely due to the long historic possession which Europe had received for the acceptance of French supremacy, to the general diffusion of the French language which prevailed in all the large towns in Holland, Germany, and Italy, and to the continuance of the feeling that France was the mistress of the arts and sciences, and the center of European intelligence. There were other reasons of equal weight, among which may be mentioned indifference to the displaced rulers, (except reconquest), some foreign war and civil ferment, and the overwhelming ascendancy of the French

On the other hand, the Napoleonic system laboured under several great disadvantages. The Revolution, while increasing the material power of France, had spread great demoralization through political life; and, although this was to a considerable extent corrected by the return to orderly government under Napoleon, it was far from nullified, and did much to diminish French rule abroad. France was depleted of her art treasures; soldiers and civilians made fortunes by blackmail; bribes were accepted even by men in the highest places. Another great disadvantage was due to the war, and to the peculiar policy which the war forced Napoleon to adopt. On every new dependency and on every new dependency the war imposed a heavy tribute of men and money, and, in order to ease the French taxpayer, the dependencies, in addition to the expense of their own losses, were forced to contribute to the support of the French army. Thus, while higher and more expensive standards of civil government were being introduced, the budgets of the vassal States were burdened by a military expenditure out of all proportion to the other items of the account. It is true that improved financial methods, the abolition of privilege in taxation, and the conversion of monastic wealth, yielded larger resources to be raised with less loss to the taxpayer. But it must be remembered that the decline of the volume of resources due to the Continental Blockade diminished indirect sources of revenue; and that in every dependency a considerable portion of the state domain was reserved for the benefit of French generals and other servants of the Empire. The object of these donations was to give to the military and official class a strong pecuniary interest in the maintenance of the French conquests, and to create in every vassal State a group of families attached to the Imperial connection. The result was to create an embarrassment to the local exchequer, and to aggravate the impression that the dependency was being exploited for ends which were not its own. The Continental Blockade was another and most burning consequence of the war, leading as it did not only to great material losses, but also to the irritating intrusion of French custom-house officers. If the dependencies had been thoroughly incorporated in the French fiscal system, freedom of trade with the great French market might have offered some compensation. But they experienced all the disadvantages and none of the advantages of a fiscal connexion with the Empire. They were not allowed to compete with the French manufactures, and they were compelled to lower or diminish their barriers against French wares.

There was another drawback incident to the national temperament. Freedom of the best kind did not really go abroad except in pursuit of military glory, and when abroad was generally anxious to come home again. Now were they apt at picking up the colloquial use of a foreign language, partly because they regarded any foreign language as an inferior kind of poison, and partly because they expected foreigners

to talk to them in French. Napoleon was well aware of these drawbacks, and hoped to create in the *ministres* attached to his Council of State a body of young, intelligent, enterprising civilians, drawn from every part of the Empire, versed in affairs, sufficiently wealthy to be above pecuniary temptation, and ready to go anywhere and do anything at a moment's notice. Had the Empire lasted ten years longer, the Council of State, with its brilliant number of *diplomates*, would probably have become a great academy of public virtue.

Napoleon, who created so many States, institutions, armies, and empires, gave, through his high administrative gifts, a frequent source of disaster, distrust, and even danger to the men who worked under him. He was very selfish, constantly altering the boundaries of States, and rearranging the map of Europe. He was very inquisitive, employing hundreds of spies and police agents, and receiving secret reports even as to the conduct of his own brothers. He was often very harsh and unfeeling, and always brutally direct both in his written and spoken words. He therefore sustained, though perhaps only in the last four years of his Empire, the impression that none of his political creations would be enduring, that he suspected his own agents, and that pity and benevolence had no place in the conduct of affairs.

The Italian Republic, whose formation and early history date to 1803 has already been described, made a beginning which impressed one person at least as unpropitious and ill-conceived. Count Meli, the Vice-President of the Republic, was not a man of sanguine temperament; and some deductions must be made by readers of his quarrelsome correspondence. It would appear, however, that the blessings of self-government were inadequately appreciated by those for whom they were intended, and that, while the Electoral Colleges regarded the franchise as a burden, the College of the Deputies resented the connection with France. The legislators preferred the salt to the marshroom, and, through their factions and careless conduct, had greatly fallen in public esteem. Good poets and good clerks were difficult to discover. The "passive unanimity" against France was almost universal. With these complaints directed against his countrymen, Meli combined criticism of the Napoleonic system. In January, 1804, he pointed out that the Republic was paying a third of its revenues to France, that the department of Osons alone sent to Paris one-sixth more revenue than had been raised by Austria from Milan and Mantua together, and that local expenses were augmented in the same proportion. Out of a budget of 90,000,000 francs, 4,000,000 were spent upon fortifications, 20,500,000 upon the French army, and 22,500,000 upon the Italian army. Moreover, while Meli desired apparent freedom, Napoleon refused to lower his own tariff in favour of the Italian Republic.

Nevertheless some progress was made towards the organization of

the State. The ministers were hard working and capable, and carefully chosen from the different provinces, and the government, if not popular, was free from the taint of partiality. A Vorlesung project was sent to Bologna, a Vorlesung to Modena; and this principle of selection, based on the desire to obliterate local divisions, was unerringly acted upon by the French in Italy. A gendarmerie, organised on the French model, proved to be a most efficient instrument for the suppression of brigandage and other forms of crime. The conscription was introduced; and a native army was rapidly formed, in which the Romans proved to be the most vigorous element, having a strong imprint of their dialect upon the new and common language of the camp. In September, 1803, 6000 Romans were ordered up to the coast of the English Channel. In the following July the Republic was inspired to make a voluntary gift of 1,500,000 francs towards the war.

Still Bonaparte was dissatisfied. In 1804 he became Emperor of the French; and that the head of an Empire should also be president of a Republic seemed to him anomalous. He was not actively pleased with Milan, and despatches reflected that a French prince in Milan would have more authority than an Italian nobleman, especially in military affairs. It may perhaps also have occurred to him that a kingdom of Italy would revive historic memories and national hopes, and therefore enlist a larger stock of active sentiment from the Lombard people than they were willing to give to the Republic. He determined therefore to revive the old Lombard monarchy, and to offer the crown to his eldest brother. The plan would fall in with other parts of a great scheme which was now shaping itself in his mind—the scheme of a number of allied and tributary kingdoms governed by members of the Bonaparte family. But Joseph and Louis both preferred their chances of succession in France to an Italian crown; so Napoleon took the crown himself. On March 17, 1805, a Constitutional Statute was issued, which called the Emperor of the French to the throne of Italy. But the kingdom was to be kept distinct from the Empire; and upon the conclusion of peace Napoleon promised to resign it to his natural or adopted son. To a deputation of the Republic he promised that he would make the new kingdom free and himself go to Milan to take the Iron Crown.

Napoleon's visit to northern Italy in 1805 was like the passing of a hailstorm over parched land. Wherever he went he poured out ideas, schemes, improvements. He was crowned King with great pomp in Milan Cathedral, and then nominated his step-son Eugene Bonaparte to act as viceroy. He told the Italian legislature (June 7) that good and splendid results always proceeded from a uniform and simple system, and that to this end he had simplified the administration. The Code had been given to Italy; and the Council had been asked to prepare a judicial system which should secure to the Italian people all the advantages of strong judicial benches, public procedure, and fair trial.

The jury, however, would not be admitted. To enhance the credit of the currency, the public debt was to bear the name of "*Monte Napoleone*." Public instruction was no longer to be departmental, but based on a uniform policy for the whole kingdom. Departmental expenses were to be apportioned, the richer departments being forced to contribute to the needs of the poorer. "*My people of Italy,*" he continued, "*is of all the peoples of Europe the least heavily taxed*"; and he assured his hearers that no new charge would be laid upon them. Measures had been taken to provide the clergy with a suitable endowment; and, though some monastic establishments had been suppressed, it was his intention to protect those which were of public utility, or which supplied the place of the secular clergy. "*The Italians should remember that arms are the principal support of a State. It is true that the youth who live in idleness in the great towns should learn to fear the dangers and dangers of war.*" Eugene was reminded that he must study to please the Italian "*Cultivate these languages; let them be your principal occupations, distinguish them in a particular manner at festivals; approve what they approve, love what they love.... Your grand interest is to trust the nation well, to know them all, their names, their families.*" He was rarely to preside over the Council of State, to speak little, to work twice a week with his ministers, to distrust spies, to write every day to the Emperor, to surround himself with young Italians, to study the history of all the towns in the kingdom, to be incessant with department officials, to visit the fortresses, and every week to report on the state of each camp—how many were on the sick list, how many on the active list, where they were quartered, how went the conscription. An experienced French publicist, Mijaux, was deputed to guide his footsteps.

Every one in Milan liked Eugene. He was not clever or experienced, but he was frank and manly, loyal and laborious, with a gift for the right word; a born professional soldier rather than a statesman, but even so a statesman above the average of Italian rulers. He served Napoleon well, and was well served by his subjects. Indeed it was said in after-times, when the Austrians rebel in Milan, that if you met a clever-looking man in the streets, or heard of any one as a back-slover, as subscribing for instance to the collected edition of *Athena*, he was sure to be an ex-civil servant of the Viceroy. The bureaucracy was so numerous, there was such a thrilling air of improvement and economy, of adventure and high politics, in the kingdom, that the whole tone of society was raised up. It was observed, for instance, that the Milanese aristocracy became more conventional and flung away less money in carriages and theatres, and that in spite of heavy taxation they were richer at the end of the reign than at the beginning. It was observed that house-building proceeded rapidly, though the tax rose from 92,000,000 francs in 1805 to 144,000,000 in 1809. The public works carried out by the Government, the canals and roads, the ornamental



households and gardens, constituted in themselves a kind of education. The Po was cleared of floating brushwood, so that it became navigable by night; the cathedral of Milan was finished; every important town received some embellishment. The prison and sanitary legislation was far in advance of earlier standards. Agriculture was encouraged by schools, machinery disseminated, public order enforced by a stricter police. The comparative prosperity of northern Italy from 1800 during the later portion of Eugene's rule, and the subsequent recrudescence of acts of violence, have been noted by Sir Samuel Romilly.

It is true that the government was a despotism. The legislature, which was somewhat obstructive, was suppressed for criticising the first budget of the kingdom; and afterwards (March, 1808) a Senate was formed upon the French model to take its place. Being mainly composed of government officials, and mostly qualified to register the acts of the sovereign and the Council of State, this body was both servile and useless. Nor was there any outside criticism. The press was kept down with a firm hand; and the faintest attempt at political comment was severely punished. *L'attorno*, the editor of a fashionable Milanese weekly, was put into a madhouse for hinting at the immorality of Bonaparte.

Yet the play of higher upon lower minds, if discouraged in the sphere of politics, was fortified in other directions. The great vice of Italian education had long been the sacrifice of solid learning to frivolous accomplishments. The French rule gave a more serious and practical bent to the Italian intellect. Special schools were instituted for music, agriculture, engineering. *Lycées* in the French style were planned in every department: at Milan, Bologna, and Venice, academies of art were created which were to elect a commission *dell'arte*, charged with the duty of embellishing cities; military education became quite as serious, and far more scientific than it had been elsewhere, even in Prussia; and the study of military history experienced a renaissance. The effect of the army upon the country was profound and far-reaching. It helped to obliterate provincial and social distinctions; it provided a career for talent; it rescued the rich from their lethargy, and formed an admirable school for patriotism; it restored to the Italians their self-respect. At the Bologna manoeuvres, in the *Aspromonte* campaign, at the siege of Salzig and Strassburg, in the difficult fighting in Catalonia, at the battle of the Randa, and in the Moscow campaign, the Italian troops proved themselves inferior to none. Officers returning from the wars believed in the union of Italy.

The kingdom of Italy was successively increased by the addition of Venice in 1806, of the Marches in 1808, and of Italian Tyrol in 1810 Dalmatia, which was ceded to Napoleon together with Venice, was in the first instance placed under the control of Eugene, but afterwards (August, 1807) transferred to Marmont; and, when three years later Austria was stripped of her remaining Illyrian provinces, these were

added to the command of the Governor-General of Calabria. Whatever may have been Napoleon's original intention when he appointed Eugène, when he arranged for his marriage, and when he adopted him as a son, he showed clearly by his subsequent conduct that he did not intend a Bonaparte to rule over a united Italy. For not only did he establish a French viceroyalty in Naples, but side by side with these two Kingdoms he built up "a French Italy," an Italy annexed to the Empire, which seemed likely to swallow up the whole peninsula. Indeed, in 1807 he frankly told Eugène that, if he did not show zeal in the Continental Blockade, his Kingdom would be annexed to France.

Of these Franco-Italian provinces, Piedmont was the wildest specimen. It was, as Bonaparte explained, a 600-day's journey for France, and its hardy subalpine population, trained to the barack and the camp, afforded an additional reinforcement to annex it. Accordingly, from 1800 to 1804, Piedmont, divided into six departments, was administered as a French province by French men. The French tongue, which had formerly been forbidden, was now official; and a bilingual newspaper, the *Courier de Turin*, was provided by the Government, to educate the shopkeepers and the natives in the language of their conquerors. The Piedmontese debt was taken over by France; tithes and feudal dues were suppressed; and the French fiscal system was introduced by Gratin in all its vigorous completeness in 1805. But here, as in Lombardy, the First Consul was determined that the anti-clerical democrat, who had triumphed at the fall of the Sardinian House, should triumph no longer. General Masséu, who governed the Piedmontese departments from 1805 to 1808, was, though married to an Egyptian, himself well-born, and ardently sought for the grace of the Piedmontese nobility. With all his estimation, his debts, and his amours, Masséu rendered some substantial service to the province, organizing as he did a much-needed system of poor-relief, and completely stamping out brigandage. Napoleon, too, visited Piedmont in 1804, and was prolific in policies. Bread was to be cheapened; rivers were to be bridged; fortifications were to be demolished; and Turin, under the new administration, was to assume "the popular and paternal physiognomy of a French town." Three years later, wishing to reward the Piedmontese for the loss of a Court, he created the post of "Governor-General of the departments beyond the Alps," and appointed his brother-in-law Camille Borghese to hold it. Borghese was a young, good-looking Roman, without intellect or parts, and would have been unequal to serious responsibilities. But as a gaily flung throw to attract the nobility of Piedmont and Liguria (for the Geneva departments were placed within his sphere), Borghese could serve the Emperor's turn. He was instructed to speak French, to hold levees and give audiences, to write to the Emperor every day, and to take his orders from the ministers in Paris.

Piedmont had always been noted for carbon production. It was

very monarchial; it was very clerical; it was very military; and it was very un-Italian. If the Bourbonian House was to be ruled, conversion to France was as acceptable a destiny as any other, though there was a party who favoured a connexion with the Italian kingdom. Being military in their tastes, the Piedmontese were not averse, as were other Italians, from the conscription; and the name of Napoleon was revered by many a veteran long after the Empire had passed away. Though many noble families still secretly hoped for a Bourbonian restoration, many accepted office and title from the French. Eight Piedmontese entered the Senate of the Empire; nine at least sat in the Legislative Body; two were in Napoleon's Council of State. Water carriers flattered the professional class; popular festivals and military reviews excited the people. Though the taxes were heavy, though the use of the French tongue was a source of hardship in the country districts, though the anti-clerical policy of the later Empire went against popular sentiment, and many parts of the Code were contrary to tradition, there was no serious opposition to French rule.

The boundaries of French Italy were eventually expanded by the conquests of Parma and Piacenza, of Treviso, and of the remaining portions of the Roman State. In 1800 Marcus de Saint-Mary was sent as resident to Duke Ferdinand of Parma; and, after the Duke's death in October, 1802, he was named as administrator of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla. Marcus abolished torture, improved the judicial system, and prepared the way for annexation, which was formally proclaimed on Sept. 25, 1805. In 1806, after a peasant revolt had been crushed by Joux and the public debt liquidated by Gaudio, the duchies received the designation of "the department of the Taro," and were placed under the general government of Piedmont and Liguria.

The kingdom of Etruria, created three years later, was a more important addition to the Empire. Founded in 1801 for Louis, the wealthy and ambitious son of Duke Ferdinand of Parma, Etruria had experienced nothing but humiliations and disasters. The policy of the Court of Florence was controlled by Napoleon, who quartered his troops in the country, abetted the *Vommi de' Medici*, proscribed the remnants of its Code, and insisted upon the closure of Livorno to English vessels. The kingdom was overrun with French soldiers; and the Queen Regent, whose husband had died in 1802, was overruled by the French resident. But, though powerless to oppose French schemes, Marie-Louise was not the woman to support them. She had all the inertia, all the stupidity, all the slight repugnance of the Spanish Bourbons. While Napoleon was plunging deeper and deeper into his struggle with the Papacy, the Queen Regent of Etruria was the patroness of ascetic and the plaything of dissipation; and her rule appeared all the more lifeless and dark, when compared with the active proceedings of Eliza Baciocchi in the neighbouring principality of Lucca. Herself able and libertine, an

admirable ruler of her tiny State, Eliza both melted and despaired, annoyed and depreciated her Spanish rival. Her strictness and aspirations were no secret to Napoleon, who, having created the kingdom of Etruria to obtain colonial concessions from Spain, now came to view it as "a delusion in the Italian peninsula."

On October 27, 1807, a secret treaty was signed with Spain at Fontainebleau, in virtue of which the bar of Mare-Louise was to surrender Tuscany for a principality in Portugal. When all had been settled, the Queen Regent was informed that she had ceased to reign, that she must pack up her goods and spend the rest of her life as a prisoner and an exile. On May 30, 1808, Tuscany was gifted to France, receiving three places in the Senate and twelve in the Legislative Body. In the meantime an Extraordinary Junta had been appointed to organize the country. It was headed by General Masson, and contained among its members Chabon, the experienced prefect of Brescia, d'Ansky, the *l'aunder*, de Gervais, editor, philosopher, administrator, and philanthropist, and a young Piedmontese named Cesare Balbo, who was destined to make a mark in the annals of Italy. It was explained that the object of the annexation was to extend the French coast, to aid naval recruiting, and to enable a military port upon the scale of Toulon to be constructed at Spezia.

Seven months and eighteen active volumes of ordinances sufficed to convert "the mother of modern civilization" into a little French frontier town. A French prefect was sent to Florence; the country was carved into three departments, Arno, Ombrone, and Mugello; the Leopoldine system of justice and administration was swept away. The Italian language was however admitted into official acts and documents — *una vita concussa* duly appreciated; and in time many prominent Tuscans rallied to the new government. In March, 1808, "a General Government of the Departments of Tuscany" was created upon the model of that which had been established in Paris. The Grand Duchy of Tuscany, as it was now called, was given to Eliza Bonaparte; and it was hoped that the formation of a grand-ducal Court would bring consolation to Florence for the extinction of the Medici and the expulsion of the Bourbons. The powers of the Grand Duchess were limited to transmitting the orders received from the minister in Paris to the intendant of her Tuscany, the director of her police, the chief of her staff, and a general of division (her own husband), all of whom were named by the Emperor. When Eliza attempted to neglect or amend the instruction of a minister, she was reminded that as a French subject she was liable to arrest.

Of all the Italian States, Tuscany had least to gain and most to lose by the imposition of the French system. Her judicial system had been excellent, her penal law mild and humane in comparison with that which she was now compelled to receive. She had already grown out of

freedmen and released her manumissions; and, though her administration was complete and still bore evidence of the historic division between Florence and Rome, it was the product of an intelligent man versed in the arts of management. The French improved the law of mortgage, encouraged the cultivation of cotton, helped the woolen manufacturers, fostered the universities; and, by abolishing religious congregations, enabled the debt to be liquidated. But the most devoted peasantry in Europe hated the crude barbarism of the conscription, and all the benefits of French rule could not offset the resentment which the military policy of Napoleon aroused in the Tuscan mind.

The temporal power of the Papacy had long appeared to Napoleon to be anomalous and inconvenient; and in his first Italian campaign he had enforced the closure of the Legations to the Cisalpine Republic. The March of Ancona, stretching along the eastern coast of Italy and connecting the Italian with the Neapolitan kingdom, formed the next object of attack. On August 8, 1801, Napoleon expounded to Eugène the advisability of annexing this portion of Italy; and on October 9 General Lemarche was ordered to fix his head-quarters at Ancona, to acquire the revenues, to take command of the papal troops in the district, and to establish a provisional administration. In the spring of 1800 the last pretence of reserve was thrown away. The March of Ancona and the duchies of Urbino, Macerata, and Cambrino were incorporated in the Italian kingdom, divided into three departments (Macerata, Macina, Tevere), and subjected to the Italian Concordat. From Ancona was despatched to liquidate the debt and arrange the budget. The port of Ancona was to be cleared; the city was to be fortified; and, while the coast was to be carefully surveyed, a regiment was to be formed out of the papal troops. But, while the northern provinces fell to the Italian kingdom, the most precious and distinctive portion of the State, including the capital, was annexed to the French Empire.

Of all the events which occurred during the recent period of Italian history, none, not even the partition of Venetia, cut so deep to the Italian heart. Religious superstition was common enough in Italy: Galilean principles were widely held; men of intelligence readily acknowledged that patently government meant stagnation and inefficiency. But the Papacy was a possession common to all Italians; and Rome was the sacred city of the race. An Italian might serve the French in Piedmont, or even in Tuscany, and feel no soundings of heart; but to gilden Rome, to anoint the head of the Catholic religion, was equivalent impiety and treason to the deeper instincts. The protests for the annexation and the circumstances which attended it made collisions painfully conspicuous. It was asserted that Clotilde had urged the Pope to be a vassal of the Empire; that Pius VII had allied himself with Protestants, and that, if the Papal States were not annexed, Rome would become the "refuge of heretics raised or received by the

revenues of his Majesty in the territory of Naples." The plain facts were that the Pope had declined to join in an offensive alliance against England; that he had contented the extension of the French Consulate to Piedmont and Liguria, and the extension of the Italian Consulate to Venice; that he had refused to surrender the diocese of Ancona; and that he wanted the old papal dome to remain over Naples. In other words, he had fought for the traditions of his office, for the spiritual and temporal independence of his See.

To chastise such hesitations, General Miollis was commanded (January, 1802) to quarter his troops in Rome, to seize the Castle of St. Angelo, and to arrest every English resident and Neapolitan refugee. The Pope was then subjected to every humiliation. He was forced to dismiss his secretary after another; his guard was dissolved; a Roman newspaper was launched against the temporal power. On May 12, 1802, a few days before the battle of Aspern, a decree was issued annexing the Papal States to the French Empire; and a Consulta was appointed to assist in the government. The Pope responded with the Bull *Quam Incommodis*, directed against all who should take part in the spoliation of the Church, and for this offence he was made prisoner, hurried out of the capital, and transported to Savona. The act was concerted between Murat and Miollis, and transgressed the measure of Napoleon's instructions. Yet, once done, it could not be undone, and it proved the signal for a revolution of fortitude in an unexpected quarter. The Roman clergy did not stand high in the public esteem; and no notion of Italian society seemed less likely to furnish a pattern of nearly independence. Yet, when an oath of obedience and fidelity to the Emperor was proposed to them, and though it was well understood that not only parchment, but liberty and a livelihood depended upon their answer, the majority of them declined to swear. Arrest, imprisonment, exile made no impression. "I began to suspect," wrote Balbo, the secretary of the Roman Consulta, "that these despised priests were the strongest men, perhaps the only strong men in Italy." Out of 5106 monks, 1865 declined to accept prison from the French Government.

Consistently with the prescription of the conqueror, the tradition was to be effected as quickly as possible. The Consulta was told that it was Napoleon's intention to diminish rather than increase the taxes. A Senate of sixty members, chosen from the highest ranks of Roman society, was to conduct the affairs and foster the pride of the city. Through feudal dues were to be suppressed, the nobility might preserve their titles and incomes. Two Romans were to sit in the Imperial Senate, and two in the Council of State. On August 23, 1802, it was announced that a palace, a country-house, and a civil list of a million francs were to be allotted to a grand dignitary of the Empire thereafter to be named. Meanwhile the city was to lose its distinctively

ecclesiastical aspect. It was the first duty of the Consulate to suppress the Inquisition. The wearing of the clerical habit was restricted to ecclesiastics; the monasteries were dissolved, and a great reduction was effected in the number of dioceses and parishes.

The conduct of the Consulate was marked by the real, the energy, and the consideration characteristic of the best French officials. The taxes were fairly assessed; and the liquidation of the debt was here, as elsewhere, provided for by confiscated monastic wealth. The medieval traditions which impeded judicial efficiency—torture, the right of asylum, the exclusive use of Latin in the Courts—were now abolished, while the broadest basis which infested the Campagna, were at last broken up. The government took in hand the draining of the Pontine Marshes, the regulation of the Tiber, the restoration of the Appian Way, the improvement of agriculture and the industrial arts. There was offered for the best compositions in Italian prose and verse, a national system of poor relief was instituted; a university was founded at Perugia; a plan was devised for the restoration of the ancient monuments of Rome, and enthusiastically received by Napoleon. When the Consulate finished its work in January, 1810, the departments of Rome and Transagrine were fully organized. The papal troops had been drafted into the Napoleonic army; the Codes were being administered in the Roman Courts; and bishops, cardinals, and priests were drawing stipends *ex debito* from the French exchequer.

Nevertheless the city was not satisfied. Many represented that the population had shrunk by forty thousand owing to the loss of the papal Court, and, as the taxes were doubled and the conscription was introduced, while the subordinate local officials abused their power, the populace looked back with regret to the soft and indolent rule of the Pope. But meanwhile Napoleon was expecting the birth of an heir; and his expectations were blended with new schemes and ambitions. On February 17, 1810, a Senate Consular was issued, which declared Rome to be the second city in the Empire. The Prince Imperial was to assume the title of King of Rome, to hold an imperial Court there, and to crown the splendour of the arts; and, in order that the analogy with the old Empire might be more complete, it was added that the Emperors of Rome were to be crowned in St Peter's before the tenth year of their reign. The independence of the Papal See was at an end. The Pope was to swear to the Gallican Articles, to accept a civil list of 2,000,000 francs, and to have a palace in Paris as well as in Rome. The expenses of the Sacred College and the Propaganda were declared imperial. "Rome will stand higher than she has stood since the last of the Caesars. She will be the sister of the cherished city of Napoleon." The "capital of a small State" was henceforward to become "one of the capitals of a great empire." In time the old papal feeling would be set. By throwing Church lands to the value of 800,000,000 francs

into the market, Napoleon intended to form a proprietary, whose interest would be bound up with the continuance of French rule.

In no quarter of Italy was there a more crying need for energetic reform than in the kingdom of Naples. Here was a people still plunged in medieval barbarism, ignorant, poor, lazy, superstitious, degraded not only by inherent faults of character but by long centuries of oppression and neglect. A rich and privileged clerical landed class extracted, through the medium of its numerous agents, every form of due or service which the unfettered tyranny of the noble caste had been able to derive. The burden of the State taxes fell almost entirely on the poor. The course of justice was habitually interfered with by the King, and the judges not only bought their places, but received presents from the litigants who pleaded before them. Torture indeed was abolished, but starvation and chains remained, and all the horrors of the dark and pestilential Neapolitan dungeons. Trials were still held in secret, and verdicts prescribed by authority. Thus the galleys might be filled more rapidly, prisoners were often tried in a batch and condemned without a pretence of justice; on the other hand, men were sometimes incarcerated for twenty years or more without being brought to trial. In the country districts brigandage was chronic, and was the only career which a young man of spirit could adopt. Agriculture was almost entirely neglected; it was strangled by fourteen hundred different kinds of feudal dues, by a various system of taxation, and by the free rights of grazing possessed by the nobility. Monks and priests, beggars and bandits, formed the staple of the country population, while in the capital, 150,000 half-starving and half-naked *lazzaroni* constituted a real danger to personal security. The feudal system combined the maximum of harm to the people with the minimum of benefit to the State. More than a hundred direct imposts were levied by the municipalities, which paid a fixed proportion to the government, and the remainder to the feudal lord. Almost every article of food was taxed; and the duties on wine, the *avvintamenti*, were contracted out to a farmer. A heavy tax on salt, rendered additionally oppressive by compulsory purchase, was especially burdensome to the poor. The law was a chaos of precedents and customs, municipal statutes and royal decrees; but its obscurity was almost insurmountable, for it was constantly supplemented or transgressed by the exceptional action of the Crown.

In 1805 Ferdinand IV was compelled to make way for Joseph Bonaparte; and there were some grounds for hoping that the second French occupation of Naples would be more permanent than the first. The Bourbons, after all, were Italianen, half-French, half-Spanish; and the bloodthirsty revenge which they had taken on their antagonists in 1799 had made them wary enemies. Joseph was an Italian, who could speak the language and appreciate the characteristics of his subjects; and he came to Naples backed by the reputation of the Empire and



aided by the sword of Massena and Bègneux. Though no soldier and destitute of any conspicuous talent for action, Joseph had a good head of common sense, and some genuine popular sympathies. That he was entirely subjugated by the will of his brother, and that he was equally fond of display is true enough. But he was disinterested, laborious, anxious to improve the lot of his subjects, and it would be an insult to compare him to the degraded and worthless creature whom he displaced.

The situation was one of exceptional difficulty. The Queen of Naples had escaped the bank and absconded with the fleet, and the whole coast was exposed to British cruises. The Pope declined to recognise the new King, and the Archbishop of Naples refused to consecrate him—a serious flaw in the eyes of a superstitious people. As the Court had taken the precaution of laying part of the year's revenue in advance, and commerce was interrupted by the naval war, the Government found itself from the first in grave financial embarrassment. A protracted campaign of a peculiarly harassing kind added to its perplexities. Gaeta, gallantly defended by the Prince of Hesse-Philippsthal, held out for five months against all the efforts of Massena's army; and this, combined with Sir John Stuart's victory over Bègneux at Maida, stirred up all Calabria to revolt. It was a war of ambushes and skirmishes, of midnight assassinations and the firing of villages; and, while untold atrocities were perpetrated in the South, a British fleet landed a garrison at Capri within sight of Naples itself. There were other difficulties more insidious still. "You have to do," wrote Napoleon, "with a woman who is crime personified"; and more than one conspiracy was unmasked which traced its origin to Maria Carolina.

Napoleon's own views as to the prospects and functions of the new government were unfolded to his brother with the brutal directness characteristic of all his correspondence. If the Government gave trouble they were to be shot; and three or four battalions might be created which could throw bombs into different parts of Naples if the capital should prove treacherous. A few big villages should be burnt to rid the Calabrians; and a war contribution of 30,000,000 francs should be levied to meet immediate expenses. The King was to impose a severe and equal system of taxation which should bring in a revenue of 100,000,000 francs from the aristocracy alone, to create a number of big fiefs for French officers, and to introduce the Civil Code; so that, while the French love of inheritance would tend to subvert Neapolitan feudalism, the establishment of a system of entails for a certain number of selected fiefs would strengthen and perpetuate the power of the French connection. If, however, the institution of *donnes* should offend clerical prejudices, Joseph was at liberty to drop it, and to leave the registration of births, marriages, and deaths in the hands of the priests. Above all he was warned against optimism. The utmost caution was required in rising

a Neapolitan force. In every act Joseph was to tell himself, "How would this be if the French were beaten back to Alexandria?"

As a precaution against ill-fortune, Napoleon recommended the construction of a strong fortress, a sort of Stono-burg, in which the French might defend themselves for a year or two in the event of disaster to the empire in central Europe. Meanwhile the chief duties of the Neapolitan King were to stamp out the Calabrian revolt, to conquer Sicily, to create a good army corps and a squadron, and to aid Napoleon to become master of the Mediterranean, "the principal and constant aim of my policy." He must not expect to receive material aid from France; on the contrary, he must pay for the French army of occupation, and permit the establishment of six imperial fiefs, to be increased to nine in the event of the annexation of Sicily, as well as a reserved domain producing a million francs per annum, to be distributed to French generals and officers. His ties to France were still imperiously emphasized. He was a Grand Elector of the Empire, the heir-apparent to the throne, subject in all matters foreign and domestic to his brother's will. But it was provided in the statute which conferred the Neapolitan crown, that it was never to be held with the crown of France.

An extraordinary situation requires extraordinary measures; and Joseph was compelled to raise a special tax of 5,000,000 francs from Naples and to negotiate a loan in Holland. Even so, his revenue was not adequate to his expenditures, three-fifths of which was accounted for by the army and navy. But by the end of his reign, thanks to the skill of Rodière, Neapolitan finance had been put upon a sound basis. The admirable French system of audit and control was introduced; the duties on commodities (*avancesaux*) were taken out of the hands of the farmers, and henceforward collected by the State. In place of the old direct taxes, 164 in number, a single tax was substituted (*fondierie*) upon all incomes, *lay*, ecclesiastical, noble, and non-noble, which were derived from land. The incredible complexity of the Neapolitan *cetui* duties was done away with; the customs tariff was revised. On November 25, 1807, Rodière was able to report that a fourth of the national debt had already been liquidated by the sale of national domains, and that measures had been taken for extinguishing three-quarters of the remainder by the confiscation of monastic lands. In the two years of Joseph's rule the revenue was doubled and the debt halved; and the only blots upon an otherwise excellent system were the retention by the State of exclusive and compulsory powers to sell salt, and a cruel list which absorbed one-fifth of the revenue.

There were not the only reforms. Every commune was endowed with a free school, every province with a college. Communal and provincial councils were established, with consultative functions; and, though little could be expected of them at first, they might with experience develop into useful bodies. The abolition of feudalism was

decreed, and the whole land-system was re-estimated by the division of communal property, the abolition of primogeniture and entails, the conversion of the *vicinia* or rents of younger sons into freehold property, and the confirmation of the vast estates belonging to the Orders of St Bernard and St Benedict. While these changes increased the number of proprietors and promoted the agricultural energy of the population, measures were taken to change the grazing rights on the *terriere* of Apulia, and to bring a larger average under tillage. Prison reform and law reform were other subjects which occupied the attention of the government, and, though the moment was not favourable to experiments in slavery, the prisons were placed for the first time under human regulations, and the country introduced to the benefits of public trial. In view of the Calabrian revolt, four extraordinary and semi-military Courts were created to dispatch summary justice; they were not abolished till 1808. The jury system was never introduced into any part of Italy; but, with these qualifications, and others belonging to the nature of the Codes themselves, the judicial system introduced by the French forms a favourable contrast to the system which it displaced.

Joseph had signed barely two years when, on March 10, 1808, he was commanded to exchange his kingdom for the throne of Spain. From Bayona he issued a constitution to his former subjects, the main feature of which was a parliament of a hundred members, eighty of whom were to be named by the King and twenty by the elected colleges. But even this limited concession to the parliamentary system was regarded as antipathetic, both by the Government and by the Neapolitans themselves, and, though orders were issued in 1810 for the convocation of departmental councils, there was so general a reluctance to serve upon them that further progress in the direction of political liberty was arrested. French rule in Naples resulted in a liberal despotism, untrammelled by constitutional forms or privileged corporations.

Joaquín Murat, being offered his choice, wisely determined to reign in Naples rather than in Portugal. His spectacular appearance, his brilliant military record, his affable manners, made him at once a favourite with the idle and irresponsible Neapolitan populace; and his wife Caroline, the sister of the Emperor, a handsome and capable woman, added to his prestige and popularity. Formerly a soldier, "Joachim" devoted his main attention to military affairs. The Neapolitan army was steadily increased, until in 1814 its numbers stood at 80,000. A bold attack upon Capri resulted in the expulsion of its Corsican and Maltese garrison. This greatly impressed the Neapolitans; and, though the attempted invasion of Sicily in 1809 was less successful and led to a shameful purchase of brigandage, Calabria was ultimately pacified by the systematic cruelties of General Macken. In the meantime the reforms of the previous reign, many of which created only on paper, were carried into execution. A Fiscal Commission, presided over by Giuseppe Zorzi, the Minister of the Interior, dealt with all the questions

which arose out of the new land laws, distributed domain-lands, settled scales of compensation, and completed its arduous task by 1810. Through careful finance the revenue rose steadily, and showed a surplus in 1810 and 1811. Agricultural societies were founded in every province; and real energy was thrown into educational reform.

If the continuance of the French rule in Naples had depended on a philosophy of liberal and intelligent Neapolitan opinion, King Joachim would have been secure. But, as time went on, the real divergence between the interests of the Neapolitan kingdom and the exigencies of Imperial policy became more and more apparent. The correspondence between Murat and his master is filled with complaints on the one hand, with refusal and confirmation on the other. Murat's (says Murat) are thrown upon the Neapolitan exchequer which do not properly belong to it and which it can ill afford to bear. Native industry is damaged and the revenue diminished by the assumption of French imports from duty. Despite losses, the merchants are ruined by the Continental Blockade. The King petitions that he may be allowed to send home at least 15,000 of the French troops quartered upon his country; or that he may recall his own troops from Spain, where they are serving at the danger of the Neapolitan exchequer. It was all in vain. With regard to the blockade, finances, and military preparation, Napoleon was inexorable. In 1811 he threatened Murat with deposition. Yet there were already over 75,000 men on the naval and military establishment, a strain which bade fair to compromise the success of all the French reforms.

Great as was Napoleon's influence south of the Alps, it was no less far-reaching in Germany. The secularisation of the ecclesiastical principalities, the mechanisation of the Imperial Knights, the elevation of Austria, the extension of the Holy Roman Empire, the additions made to the dignity and power of the south-German Princes, the simplification of the political geography of the country—these achievements entitled Napoleon to be called one of the makers of modern Germany. Yet, while this was the ultimate goal, it was far from being the immediate intention. In a letter to Louis, Napoleon said that it was the principal end of his policy to *denationalisiren* (*dénationaliser*) the German mind.

The Germans tried, so far as it was expressed by the organs of literature, mostly bent that to the purpose. It was sufficiently cool and unprejudiced to appreciate the fine points of French civilisation, and sufficiently intelligent to condemn the absurdities of the medieval German polity. Then, while the Holy Roman Empire perished in an atmosphere of home-made ridicule, the new Rhine Confederation carried with it no distinct idea of future sacrifice. The south-German Princes, crushed and dignified by Napoleon, had been enabled to pay off their old scores against Austria; and the south-German population was generally content to follow where its Princes led.

The influence of France upon the internal polity of the States of the Confederation was none the less marked for being indirect. It made at once for autonomy and centralisation, for civil equality and political subordination. The object of Napoleon being to extract military resources from his German allies, every constitutional check upon the will of the sovereign was an obstacle which ought to be removed, and the Princes who were his confederates were ready enough to take the hint, and to purchase autonomy at home at the price of subordination in their foreign relations. But there were other parts of Germany where French influence was more directly exerted, parts which were ruled by French prefects or by German prefects obeying a French master. This French Germany, or German France, as it may be called, was made up of a series of acquisitions. The process began with the conquest of the Rhénish electorates in 1792; it ended with the annexation of the Hanseatic towns and the duchy of Oldenburg in 1811. It did not follow any preconcerted plan, but was governed by the circumstances of the moment, and the component parts of the new territory were frequently altered, both as to their boundaries, and as to their organisation. Münster, for instance, was subjected to military occupation in 1805; then part of it was taken away and incorporated in the kingdom of Westphalia (1806), then the remaining portion was given to Westphalia (1810); a few months afterwards, the whole of the acquired portion ceded in 1806 and most of the additional portion ceded in 1810 formed part of the French Empire. Some districts, such as Erfurt, never received regular civil organisation, but were simply charged with the support of French troops; others, like Fulda and Hana, after a period of military government, were shaped into a State on the French pattern.

This inequality in the duration of methodised French rule must be taken into account in considering the history of French Germany. Ultimately the four Rhénish departments and the two departments formed out of the Hanseatic lands were administered on the same plan; but this outward similarity conceals the most divergent conditions. The four Rhénish departments had long lost all semblance of interest in their old masters, in the motley host of archbishops and bishops, princes and counts, Imperial towns and Imperial knights, who had borne sway over the land. They had never been in the full current of German life; they had no great industry; their peasantry had greatly profited by the fall of the seigniorage and the land-sales of the Revolution, and were content enough with French rule, as soon as it put off Jacobinical excesses. Until 1814 the departments rhénais suffered little from war. Nevertheless the Imperial government more intelligent, more astute, more anxious to make the "new Frenchmen" at home in France. The French language was encouraged, but not to the exclusion of German; the French market was opened to Rhénish trade.

It was far otherwise with the Hanseatic departments. The govern-

north of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck had been such as to elicit a large amount of active municipal patriotism. The burghers of those city-States were proud of their politics and jealous of their independence. They had been forced to lend money on doubtful security to the French government of Hanover, and ever since 1806 they had been pillaged by French soldiers, and molested by French policemen. They lived for commerce, and their commerce was destroyed by the blockade, and in the loss of their liberties they saw little else than the desire of Napoleon to sweep more soldiers into his army, to burn more English wares, and to plague their lives by more official requisitions and more searching domiciliary visits. Whereas the Rhine departments had been the centre among the conquests of the Revolution, the Hansematic departments were among the latest annexations of the Empire. The Rhine province had been conquered in obedience to one of the oldest historical impulses of the French race; its conservation was a point of national pride, and the maintenance of its inhabitants an important charge upon national activity. The mouth of the Rhine, the Weser, and the Elbe lay outside the proper sphere of French ambition. The occupation of these was a military measure; and, though good men were sent to survey and organise the new departments, few believed that the French control of this region would be permanent.

Among the Napoleonic States carved out of Germany and the Grand Duchy of Berg was the earliest, and it presents some features of special interest. It was never actually annexed to the French Empire, and yet from 1806 to 1815 it was practically governed from Paris. It was never given a paper constitution, yet it received the French Code (with some modifications adapted to local conditions), the French municipal system, the French laws, coins, weights and measures. It contained within its borders the most important industrial region in Germany, and was therefore peculiarly injured by the Continental Blockade; yet its manufactures were shut out of the French and Dutch markets by a tariff wall. Desiring exemption in order to escape industrial ruin, it was kept at arms' length by the country which fixed its budgets, consumed its soldiers, and dictated the terms of its administration.

Formed in March, 1806, out of the Prussian duchy of Cleves and the Bavarian appanage of Berg, this little State was intended to serve as a convenient military outpost on the lower Rhine. It was a French "march" against Brandenburg, just as Brandenburg in old days had been a German "march" against the Wends; and, since it was formed for a military purpose, it was appropriately entrusted to the government of a soldier, Prince Joachim Murat, brother-in-law to the Emperor and the finest leader of horse in the French army. From the first, Murat complained of narrow boundaries and exiguous resources; and, when the terms of the Confederation of the Rhine were settled in June, 1806, the Grand Duchy of Berg, which bound to contribute 50000 men to the army

of the Confederation, was partially doubled by the addition of parts of Nassau and Ellensberg. The foundation of Prussia in the following century paved the way for further increments. and, after some months of armistice negotiations, a treaty was struck (January 30, 1808) by which the Grand Duchy received the Prussian bishoprics of Mark and Tiedtenberg, the Prussian portion of the principality of Münster, and the county of Lippe, in return for which it was compelled to cede the important Rhine fortress of Wesel to France. It now contained some 500,000 inhabitants; but, though its area was modest, its social structure was diverse and complex. While Münster was Catholic and aristocratic, Hamm was humble and Calvinist. While in the county of Mark there was great industrial activity, Prussian rule had done nothing to correct the ignorance and inertia of Berg.

The French administration soon learnt to respect the work of their Prussian predecessors; but they had nothing but contempt for the confused and feeble practices of the old Government at Düsseldorf. Under the rule of Murat the French principles of equality were introduced into the financial system; and a Prussian enactment which forbade burghers to acquire noble land in Cleve was abolished. An end was made of municipal autonomy; and, as in France, so in Berg, the budgets of the towns were now to be decided by the central authority. A supreme court of appeal was erected at Düsseldorf, and a legal commission was appointed to confer with lawyers drawn from the different provinces of the duchy as to the introduction of the Code. Many other important and beneficial schemes were planned or partially executed; but in February, 1809, the Grand Duke was summoned to Bayonne, and shortly afterwards invested with the crown of Naples. He had only paid two flying visits to his humble German principality.

Count Berguet, who had helped to introduce French rule at Westphalia, was now appointed to act as Imperial Commissioner in the duchy of Berg; and, not long afterwards, the grand-ducal title was bestowed upon Napoleon Louis, Prince Royal of Holland, a child of four-and-a-half years. Berguet was a good and modest administrator, careful of the best interests of the people, and prompt to represent their grievances at headquarters. He was assisted by a German minister of the interior, and a German minister of justice; and, as he was himself conservative in temperament, the Government at Düsseldorf could not be accused of precipitancy or recklessness. In a brief and tempestuous visit (1811), which has been immortalised in Elmer's poetic prose, Napoleon attempted to quicken the process of change. A university, a lycée, a bishopric, and a seminary were prescribed for Düsseldorf. The principles of the Concordat were to be extended to the duchy; and, while no boy was to be educated save in a French or grand-ducal school, some selected youths were to be despatched to Saint-Cyr or Saint-Germain to receive such military education as would enable them to hold commissions.

Napoleon, in his memoirs, congratulated himself upon the excellent results achieved by his government; and the archives of Düsseldorf and Paris testify to the honest and enlightened zeal of the local administration. But here, as elsewhere, good intentions were wrecked by impossible conditions. Napoleon claimed half the domains, levied a war-contribution on the Prussian provinces added in 1806, and steadily raised his demand for conscripts. The taxes were tripled; but, more one-half of the revenue was employed for military purposes, religion, education, and justice were equally starved. Yet some permanent benefit was derived from the French occupations—the abolition of serfs, the establishment of free trade in land, the disappearance of internal customs dues, the growth of a spirit of cooperation between contiguous districts which had hitherto lived self-centred lives, the breaking up of the guilds, the foundation of a small proprietary, a better penal law, a more active, intelligent, and far-seeing direction of the public works.

If the kingdom of Westphalia was the second of the Franco-German States in point of time, it was easily first in point of importance. It contained a population of 2,000,000 and extended over some of the most fertile soil in Germany. But, like all the Napoleonic States, it was devoid of marked boundaries or any pre-existing principle of unification. Its main constituents were the electorates of Hesse-Cassel, the duchy of Brunswick, the Westphalian provinces of Prussia, and the western portion of Hanover. Its capital, Cassel, was Hessian; of its three principal universities, Göttingen was Hanoverian, Halle was Prussian, Marburg was Hessian. Its chief factories, Magdeburg, was Prussian. The Hessians, who formed the nucleus of the population, were rugged Calvinists, imbued with strong military tastes and a touching loyalty for the hard and selfish dynasty which had governed them so ill. The Brunswickers, who had lived under a more humane and politic rule, were better educated and more enlightened; and it is a curious fact that, having more cause to regret the past, they were at once more willing and better trained to accept the present. Various as were its elements, and diverse though it was by five small ridges and compartments, the kingdom of Westphalia attained a reasonable degree of consistency. The best talents rallied round the Crown; nobles and gentry took part in the administration. Prussians and Brunswickers, Hessians and Hanoverians, all co-operated to carry on the work of the State.

The person nominated to rule the Westphalian Kingdom was Jerome, the youngest and favourite brother of the Emperor, who had gained a little military reputation in the Italian campaigns. Jerome was full of visible infirmities, agreeable in manner, quick to command, and by no means destitute of sympathy. But he was untrained, impetuous, and self-willed; and he consistently sacrificed the national interests of his subjects to his own vulgar and prodigal pleasures. The Constitution, which was framed in Paris, laid down the conditions upon which the



Given was to be held, and fixed the principles upon which the government was to be conducted. As a member of the Rhénish Confederation, the new Kingdom was compelled to furnish a contingent of 25,000 men to the French Empire, and one-half of the allied domains of the incorporated Prussia was to be reserved for the Emperor to serve as donations to French officers. The King of Westphalia was to remain a French prince; and, in case of the extinction of his lawful line, his kingdom was to devolve upon the Emperor. The Civil List was fixed at the enormous figure of 2,500,000 *lrs*. The Code Napoleon was to form the civil law of the kingdom. Procedure was to be public; trial by jury was introduced in criminal cases, while conscription was declared a fundamental law of the kingdom. The French monetary system and the French system of weights and measures were to be established. Corporations previously existing were doomed to extinction; and seigns and the exclusive privileges of the aristocracy were to suffer the same fate. The Estates of the realm were to be composed of a hundred members, named, after the Italian plan, by electoral colleges, but were denied the right of initiative or public discussion. Departments and prefects, districts and sub-prefects, cantons and justices of the peace, municipalities and mayors, were prescribed and accepted.

It was not a liberal constitution, but it was an advance upon anything which had been experienced in these provinces; and the Westphalians determined to make the best of it. The French system of justice won the approval of many competent lawyers, as able more speedy, simple, and efficient than the law or the procedure to which they had been accustomed. The Jews, who everywhere were in Brunswick had been liable to the most onerous disabilities, now found themselves free and full citizens of the State; and, if the aristocracy suffered from the loss of feudal dues, this was in a measure compensated by places at Court and public offices. Military life was no novelty in Bonn; and the Westphalian army proved attractive as a profession. The German prefects threw themselves with zeal into the business of administration; and, as the department of the interior was managed by German clerks, and presided over by an old minister of the Duke of Brunswick, French principles were applied with due consideration of German peculiarities. The difficulty of language never became acute, for, though French was exclusively spoken at Court and in the Council, and the portfolios of war and justice were held by Frenchmen, German was never proscribed. It was the language of the law courts, of the Codes (specially translated for Westphalian use), and of many of the public officers. It was still taught in the schools, though French was made obligatory in addition; and the official organ of the government, the *Moniteur Westphalien*, was bilingual. It is true that the machine of administration and of justice had been set going by French officials, and that the highest posts in the Westphalian army were reserved to Frenchmen. But the French element in the

Government was not propounded, as none then was sufficient to secure an intelligent and appropriate execution of the principles upon which the business of the State was to be conducted. The all-important ministry of finance was held in succession by two Germans.

Yet, in spite of many elements of promise, the kingdom of Westphalia ended in shame and bankruptcy. The territories out of which it was made up were poor and backward; and, before Jerome set foot in his kingdom they had been exhausted by a year of French military requisitions. Every consideration of policy should have prompted Napoleon to use the financial situation of the government which was to display to all Germany the benefits of the French method. But, if the kingdom of Westphalia had been a docile and treacherous foe, it could hardly have been handled with greater harshness. Every penny which Napoleon could wring out of Westphalia for the French Treasury he was determined to exact. He claimed the debts due to the *Exchequer*; he claimed half the revenues; he refused to pay the charges which had been incurred during the French military occupation of 1809; he exacted an immense war-contribution; he required the kingdom to maintain a force of 25,000 armed men, half of whom were in the first instance to be French; and, as soon as he was assured of their loyalty, he prompted his brother to raise more and more Westphalian troops. The Westphalian finances found themselves confronted by a deficit, in the first year, of 80,000,000 fr. But all extrajury and expostulation were in vain. Napoleon would not listen to Jerome; and Jerome, with his *spad* and Irish women, was not in a position to remonstrate with effect. In 1813 the Government repudiated two-thirds of its inherited debt, fixed the land-tax at 85 per cent. of the net revenue, and demanded a forced loan of 5,000,000 fr.

If enlightened finance ended in desperate extinction and bankruptcy, the greater part of the blame rests with Napoleon. He set an extravagant and untried youth to govern a new kingdom; he gave him too large an income; and he imposed financial and military obligations upon his subjects which they were quite unable to bear. A share in the disaster is also attributable to Jerome. He knew how the Westphalian treasury was suffering from the taxes and regulations, how commerce was paralysed and business was allowed to fall out of repair; and he was capable of describing to Napoleon the miseries of his subjects in terms of genuine compassion. But, though there were good and prudent heads in his ministry, he never checked for an instant the flow of his brother's prodigality, and never succeeded in placing a pleasure or a vice.

A third variety of political experiment was exhibited on the banks of the Main. In 1806 Napoleon had spoken of the free city of Frankfurt as a centre of English conspiracy and continental war; and, when the French war broke out, a heavy *blockade* was laid upon the passes and liberties of the Frankforters. They were compelled to pay a war-tax of 5,000,000 fr. and to lose their cherished autonomy. The city of Frankfurt was now

included in the small principality composed of Aschaffenburg and Ratisbon, which in 1806 had been created for Carl von Dalberg, the Prince-Primate of the Rhine Confederation, and the last surviving representative of the great ecclesiastical Princes of Germany. Dalberg was humane and enlightened; and his great reputation as a patriot, a reformer, a man of letters, and a churchman, rendered him a useful ally to Napoleon. As he was unbounded in his enthusiasm for the Emperor, he could be treated with a leniency of some strategical importance. But he was known to be elderly, weak, and amiable, and, while his policy was strictly watched by the French resident in Frankfurt, Napoleon made no scruple in quartering French troops upon his territory.

Dalberg addressed himself to the task of alleviating the disabilities of the Frankfurt Jews, and began a faint assault upon the exclusive privileges of the Lutheran Senate. But it was difficult for any of Napoleon's agents to obtain immunity from intolerance. In 1810 the Dalbergian principality was entirely remodelled. The Prince-Primate was forced to cede Ratisbon to Bavaria and to accept in exchange the county of Hanau and the bishopric of Fulda, both of which provinces had been utterly exhausted by four years of French military occupation. His State was now shortened the Grand Duchy of Frankfurt, and bound to contribute a quota of 4800 men to the Confederation of the Rhine, to provide endowments for two universities, to reserve an income for the Emperor, and to introduce the French legal and administrative system at the earliest opportunity. Upon the demise of the reigning Grand Duke, the principality was to lapse to the Viceroy of Italy.

The ingenuously of the situation which ensued may be imagined. On the one hand there is the mild old German potentate, wearing a constitution drafted on the Westphalian model, strengthening his Estates in Hanau, carving his little principality into four departments, schooling a university here and a law-school there, naming departmental councils and inviting their opinions, now sanguine and exuberant, now cooled and depressed, but meeting with an unexpected amount of intelligent German support, as well as a good deal of tough opposition from the oligarchy of Frankfurt. On the other hand there is the French agent, *Châteauneuf* or *Bacher*, corresponding with the Foreign Office in Paris and calling the tune. He inspects every act and proclamation before it is published in the official gazette, and, in defiance of the Constitution, promulgates acts which have never reached the assent of the Estates; he suppresses political newspapers, carries out desamnesty visits, goods the Prince-Primate if he is remiss, checks him if he is hasty; while on the financial side he is assisted by "the Director of Domains in the service of France," who rearranges the budget and introduces the marching and non-popular methods of the French Treasury. Mean-while English wares are burnt in the towns, and a continual procession of French troops passes to and fro through the country, which is harassed with the cost of their

support. Outwardly the Grand Duchy is a little German State, governed on a constitutional system by an ablest German philanthropist. In reality it is a French military tyranny which seeks by alienating every heart. Yet, notwithstanding, in the reaction which followed the downfall of Napoleon, the political system introduced into these regions by the French was substantially preserved.

In the catalogue of squandered opportunities the history of the Belgian departments should take a high place. At the outbreak of the French Revolution there seemed to be every reason for expecting a permanent and wholesome concourse between the French and Belgian populations. The inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands had no salary which could be called national, nor were they divided from the French by the barrier of language. Belgians had frequently taken service in the French army; and, in the revolt against the iconoclastic policy of Joseph II, the Belgian Liberals acted on the support and sympathy of France. It is true that in Luxembourg there was a genuine devotion to Austria, and that many wealthy Belgians had placed their savings in the bank of Vienna. It is true that a considerable trade was done with England. Yet such obstacles as these might easily have been overcome by just and moderate government.

There were, however, two circumstances which made the problem of Belgian incorporation exceptionally delicate. The population of the Netherlands was both devout and unitary. Nowhere, save perhaps in Spain, had the Catholic Church so complete and unqualified a dominion. It had neither been discredited by a Jesuit scheme, nor shaken by the clarifying blasts of French philosophy. The doctors of Louvain preserved in their rejection of the Gallican Articles, and instilled into their disciples an abhorrence of Erasmianism which had been deepened by the injudicious measures of Joseph II. During the Revolution and more particularly under the Directory, everything had been done to increase the miseries and to impair the well-being of these unfortunate provinces. They were pillaged by ignorant and brutal contributors; they were subjected to the conscription; their taxes were increased; their Church was persecuted. With an unconceivable lack of statesmanship, the French Government applied to the Belgian departments all the religious legislation which had torn asunder the Church in France, and the consequence was that they raised a Belgian Vendée. Consequently, at the establishment of the Consulate, the nine departments, far from having acquired an attachment to their new masters, were angry, miserable, and impotent. Population had declined; roads were broken and neglected; landfills covered the country; and the base of every parish was its own jarring and provoked priest.

The policy of the Consulate was well calculated to heal the breach which had grown up between France and her new subjects. Capable

French prefects were sent to govern the departments, and ruled them with honesty, energy, and good sense. Canals and roads were made; prisons were reformed; heresies were stamped out; order was introduced into municipal and village finance; a colossal survey was pushed forward towards completion; and while the material havoc was thus carefully repaired, the Concordat brought peace to the Church, especially as the government wisely refused from appointing "Constitutional" bishops to the Belgian sees. Papalists to the backbone, the Belgian clergy did not go behind the decisions of the Pope.

Still, the profound dissatisfaction of the Napoleonic system was sure, sooner or later, to cause trouble in this quarter. An able pamphlet-writing priest, Alfred Starens, took up his pen against the Organic Articles, and poured satire on the new Imperial festivals and the new Imperial cathedrals. A great mistake was made when the Emperor insisted that the professors in the universities should subscribe to the *Gallican Articles* and teach them to their pupils, and the news of the formation of the University of France and of the inclusion of the Belgian departments within the sphere of its control was received in a spirit of angry dissent. The conscription had been particularly unpopular from the first, and the clergy loudly resented the obligation to promote it from the pulpit. In 1808 there was already widespread dissatisfaction, which every fresh turn in Napoleon's quarrel with the Papacy served to increase. Their concerns injured by the blockade, their privacy violated by the police, their homes ransacked by the conscription, their deepest religious convictions outraged by the religious policy of the Emperor, the population of the new departments was in no humour to appreciate the splendid work of men like Chénier at Brussels, or Mignet d'Usson at Liège. Indeed, the closing years of the Imperial administration were disfigured by an ignominious persecution of priests and monks.

It was comparatively late in the reign of Napoleon that the United Provinces, long a subordinate republic or kingdom, became a part of the French Empire. Napoleon's early dealings with the Batavian Republic, the conversion of the republic into a kingdom in favour of Louis Bonaparte (1806), and the events which brought about the resignation of Louis and the consecration of his kingdom (1810), have been detailed in previous chapters of this volume. It only remains here to consider the condition of the Dutch provinces during the brief period in which they were directly under Napoleon's rule. The desire of annexation held down that Amsterdam was to rank after Paris and Rome as the third city of the Empire; that Holland was to contribute six members to the Senate, three to the Council of State, and twenty-five to the Legislative Body, not to speak of two judges to the Court of Cassation, three councillors, and three masters of requests. Lebrun, Duke of Plasencia, and Arch-Treasurer of the Empire, was appointed

Lieutenant-General in Holland and instructed to introduce the French system. "I am about to open the Continent to your industry," said Napoleon to the Dutch deputies: "he was summoned to Paris to assist in the task of incorporation." "My intention," he wrote to Lebrun, his urban and dignified lieutenant, "is to govern the country as well."

The consequences of the expulsion of "good King Louis" were rapidly made evident. The interest on the public debt was reduced by two-thirds; a tax of 50 per cent. was levied on colonial merchandise found in Dutch warehouses; a revenue of 60,000,000 francs was extracted from a population of 2,000,000, and, while the blockade was new for the first time strictly enforced, the conscription was introduced with all its rigours. With a singular refinement of stringency two Belgian prefects were appointed to rule the important departments of *Escluse* (see capital Amsterdam) and the *Brabant du Meuse* (capital Rotterdam); and the cruelty and rigour with which de Colles and de Staart enforced the conscription left an indelible impression on the country. The domiciliary visits of the French police, the necessity of obtaining a police pass for the smallest journey, and the inquisitorial methods sanctioned by the new exact duties, increased the general discontent. It seemed to be the French policy to obliterate all the national memories. The names of the old provinces were abolished, and the country was divided into seven departments. It was enacted that French should be taught in all the primary schools, and that after the lapse of a year no person should be received as a master who should not be capable of teaching the rudiments. Every book had to satisfy the censors at Amsterdam or at Paris. All public acts had to be accompanied by a French translation; and, while no department was allowed more than one political newspaper, that newspaper had to be bilingual. That the country might be still further demoralised, a third of the officers in the Dutch army must be French, while it was a principle to employ, so far as possible, Dutch officers and guards outside their own country. The universities of Leyden and Groningen were converted into academies of the University of France, while *lycées* of the usual French pattern were set up in Groningen, Leyden, and Utrecht. It is true, as Mallet remarks, that the revenue derived from the Dutch departments, six cents per head almost double that levied upon France, was exclusively spent in the departments themselves; but it was spent upon objects with which the population had no sympathy, dockyards and ships, forts and soldiers. The best French administrators acknowledged that the Dutch had little to learn from them in economy, exactitude, and business method.

Among the European dependencies of the Empire were many misalliances, more remote, or more calculated to test the flexibility of the French system than the *Illyrian provinces*, a tract of coast-land

extending from the Tyroline mountains to the Prochalla of Senari, and containing a sparse population of some two million inhabitants. Of this large Adriatic domain two portions, the Venetian province of Dalmatia and the tiny republic of Ragusa, had been absorbed into the French empire in 1805; the remainder, including the ports of Trieste and Fiume, was stripped from Austria three years later. A lengthy decree, issued on April 18, 1811, and published in the *Moniteur* for May 16, placed the new dependency under three officials, a governor-general, a general lieutenant of France, and a commissioner of justice, divided it into one military and six civil provinces (military Croatia, civil Croatia, Carinthia, Carniola, Istria, Dalmatia, Ragusa); ordered the abolition of *quity* at Ljuback and Ragusa; and, while defining the outlines of the judicial and administrative system, commanded the introduction of the French Codes at the opening of the ensuing year.

Several elements of Imperial policy, some clear and steady, others hidden and intermittent, were reflected in the acquisition of the Illyrian provinces, which provided a strong bulwark against Austria, a military base against Turkey, and distant underpinnings for the French empire. It was worth while to acquire a string of harbours in which a fleet might be held, and whence an expedition might start for the recovery of Egypt; worth while to win a new strip of coast for the Continental blockade, and to divert the overland shipments of Eastern cotton from the German route to Imperial territory. The Illyrian provinces were valuable, whether they were considered as a military march, or as a pawn in the game of diplomatic exchanges. The climate was delicious, the scenery romantic; and in the olive gardens and vineyards of the coast the French were reminded of their beloved Provence. Yet Illyria was for the most part in a half-barbarous condition, without roads, without schools, without posts, plagued with brigands, and neglectful of the arts of agriculture and forestry. The woods which formerly clothed the Dalmatian mountains had been widely destroyed by the inhabitants, in order that they might escape the burden of supplying timber to the Venetian navy; and the upland population, though splendid in physique and valorous in temper, was poor, superstitious, and paralysed into economic inertia by the yoke of Turkish and Albanian brigands. There was more prosperity among the Italian shippers and fruit-growers of the coast; and the republic of Ragusa was specially notable for its poetic and exclusive aristocracy, its prosperous middle class of retired sea-captains and merchants, and its well-to-do and laborious peasantry. But Dalmatia had always cost Venice more than it brought in. A industrial survey was unknown; taxes were largely paid in kind. In the interior there were still traces of archaic communism; justice and administration were still venal, and, but for the active administration of the Franciscan missionaries, the rural population would have been left in utter darkness. In the seaports a few forward spirits had caught some fragments of

democratic philosophy, but otherwise the intellectual preparation for French rule was singularly wanting. The popular sympathies were Venetian, Hungarian, Austrian. The task of winning them over to France was entrusted to Marmont, the best governor-general, and the finest political intelligence in the Imperial army.

Marmont built the great coast-road which leads from Zara to Spalato. "The Austrians" (he went a Delavauze way) "decreased plans for eight years; Marmont mounted his horse, and when he got off the road was made." He broke up the robber bands, equipped the country with primary, secondary, and technical schools, and, divesting himself of the stereotyped militarism of the army, assumed the protectorship of the Franciscan Order in Dalmatia. The fields of uniformity, dear to the logical mind, was not one of Marmont's failings. His administrative areas varied according to the locality, small where communications were difficult, large where they were easy. He was not afraid to sanction communal and feudal institutions, as for instance in military Croatia, where he successfully justified the arrangements of the Austrian Government to the critics in Paris. That he did not obtain financial equilibrium was due to the expenses of the Empire and the maritime war, rather than to any lack of administrative dexterity on his own part or on that of d'Audoy, the financial intendant. The fiscal history of the Illyrian provinces is one of desperate expedients and growing deficits. Thus, while the vigour and effectiveness of the French Government procured permanent benefits to the dependency, these advantages were purchased at the expense of much temporary suffering. A report upon the Illyrian provinces, drawn up in July, 1814, for the instruction of the Duke of Genoa when he came to take up the governorship, speaks of the ruin of commerce, the rebellion against taxes, the unsatisfactory personnel of the judiciary, the scarcity and expensiveness of the clergy, the failure to approximate the Civil Code, the opposition of every class in the community. This is a dark picture to be set beside the brilliant career of Marmont's mission. Yet in the archives of Paris there is ample testimony to the zeal and intelligence of the officials who were sent to explore Illyrian men and manners and to advise upon the institutions adapted to the country.

The project of restoring the French colonial empire in the West belongs specifically to the period of the Consulate. Then it was that Louisiana was purchased from Spain, and that a great army was despatched to San Domingo to revive the influence of France in the robust of her colonies. It was then also that the Spanish government was pressed to part with the Florida in exchange for France. The loss of Egypt and the postponement of designs upon the farther East would in this way be balanced by the formation of a new empire in and round the Gulf of Mexico, stretching from French Guinea northwards to the



St John's River and the lower waters of the Mississippi. Its eastern point would be San Domingo. In one direction it might be made to extend as far north as Lake Superior and the St Lawrence.

The colonial policy of the *ancien régime* had rested upon three principles—the preservation of an aristocratic planter society, based by slave-labour, the restriction of colonial commerce to the interests of the mother-country, and the exercise of direct political control by the central government. With all these principles Napoleon was in *quasi* pathy. He believed in the natural inferiority of the black; he supported slavery; he was in favour of commercial monopoly and jealousy of the least symptoms of colonial independence. Yet, when he began to turn his attention to colonial problems, he found that the greatest colony of France was governed by a negro, who had drilled a black army, promulgated a constitution, and opened the ports of San Domingo to British and American traders. Everything which was most odious to Napoleon, black slavery, free trade, colonial autonomy, seemed to be concentrated in this island of the Antilles. He told his Council that he did not know the slaves of America, but that he had seen the slaves of Egypt and Darfour, and found them no better than brute beasts. "In the interests of civilization" he determined to destroy "the new Algiers which was being organised in the middle of America"; and so intelligence could have been more grateful than this to the exiled planters of the *Château d'Alcazar*, whose fortunes had been crippled by the "consequences of the revolution," and who had long besieged the Government with demands for restitution and revenge.

The negro ruler of San Domingo styled himself *Toussaint L'Ouverture*. He was a man of raw undergrowth, so abstemious that a glass of water and two bananas would suffice for a day's nourishment, so hardy and vigorous that he rarely slept more than two hours in the twenty-four. To the austere piety of a convert he added the zeal of a revolutionary, the courage of a soldier, and the reserve of a statesman. His ascendancy over his fellow-negroes was complete, for he understood their nature, formulated their ambitions, and could speak in vivid and homely parables to their understanding. But he saw that the fortress of *civilisation* was not to be captured by violent means, and that discipline is the master key to progress. In the summer of 1794, at the darkest hour in the history of the French colony, when the skeletons were freely lying in the south, and the western and northern strongholds had passed into the hands of the English or the Spaniards, Toussaint marched 4000 blacks to the rescue of the last French garrison in the island. His assistance was decisive. By May, 1800, the whole of the French colony, save Les Cayes, which still held out for Riquard, the mulatto chief, had passed into the power of Toussaint.

It had been stipulated by the Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1795 that the Spanish or eastern half of the island should be handed over to France

on the conclusion of a general peace. Toussaint resolved to anticipate the event. He was aware that Napoleon had risen to supreme power in France; and emulation or precaution prompted him to recover the mastery of the whole island before the First Consul had time to intervene. Compelling the French commander at Le Cap to surrender, the expedition, Toussaint marched his black army into the Spanish colony and carried all before him. On January 23, 1801, San Domingo, the capital, was in his hands, and the sleepy Spanish Government had come to an end.

It is improbable that Toussaint intended to make himself independent of the French Republic. Himself a convert of French civilization, he had sent his two sons to be educated in France, and had refused an English offer to recognize him as King of the island. It is true that, in the constitution which had been drafted by a small host of white and yellow advisers, Toussaint had been appointed governor for life and given the power to name his successor. But, as throughout his career he had been careful to obtain the shelter of French authority, so now (July, 1800) he sent Colonel Vassant to Paris to lay the constitution before Napoleon. His aim was to found an autonomous government under French suzerainty, defended by black battalions, but assisted by the skill of white military and mechanical. Vassant reported that he was the only man who could rescue the colony from anarchy and keep it faithful to France. But there was letters from the West which spoke of him as full of treacherous designs.

Toussaint was fond of saying that the liberty of the blacks could only be consolidated by the prosperity of agriculture, and he set his face against agrarian revolution. Not only were the white planters urged to return to the island, but Toussaint forced negro labour back to the plantations and denounced his compatriots to revert to their old tasks. He would not even allow the blacks to acquire small plots of land, holding that a peasant proprietary would be idle and underemployed. His system was excellent; his policy of free imports from America was essential not only to the well-being but even to the existence of the colony; and there had always been a party among the planters favourable to some scheme of colonial autonomy. On the whole, it would have been wise to leave him undisturbed, until he had shown clear proof of disloyalty to the French connexion.

The command of the French expedition was given to General Leclerc, the first husband of Pauline Bonaparte; and from his secret instructions the character of Napoleon's colonial policy may be judged. Leclerc was urged to seize of the whole island, but was instructed to maintain a strict separation between the French and Spanish zones. The blacks were to be dispersed everywhere; but, whereas in the French colony they were to be free, in the Spanish colony they were to remain in a condition of servitude. The French colony was to be divided into departments and municipalities, the Spanish into dioceses and parishes,

"*whitewashing, summing, justice, every thing must be different*." Toussaint and his principal generals were on the first instance to be delivered up and confined in their commands, and then to be shipped and deported to France. When the black power had been broken—for it was likely that there would be some general fighting in the mountains—the French government would show its hand. All the principal agents, whether white or black, lay or clerical, of Toussaint's government, would then be deported to France. The exiled proprietors would be restored to their plantations; and the donations made by the black government would be annulled. The creoles would be compelled to send their children to France for education, and no public instruction of any kind would be permitted in the island. The foreign trade, as in old days, would be reserved for France.

Napoleon said at St Helena that the expedition to San Domingo was the greatest act of folly in his life. Short-sighted and disastrous it certainly proved to be, though Toussaint was successfully deported to die in prison among the rigours of the *Fare*. The yellow fever devastated the French army, the blacks fought bravely in the western mountains, and the suspension of the war with England closed the sea-ways to France and broke the project of a western empire. The fact which was to have brought French organisation into Louisiana never crossed the Atlantic, the treasure never moved over Florida. Yet, even apart from circumstances connected with the general war, Napoleon's colonial policy was neither better nor wise. Toussaint is an enigma: but, whatever view may be taken of his intentions, he was treated with cruelty and guile. It was short-sighted to suppose that the systems of slavery and freedom could coexist in the same or in adjoining islands. Such a policy would lead the free negroes to revolt from suspicion, and the slaves to revolt from envy. Nor was it wise to revive the old system of preferential trade, which nullified the material interests of the colony in those of the mother-country. There might be said for the autocratic type of colonial government, for the substitution of nominated Chambers of Commerce with advisory powers for the old free planter assemblies. Measures were taken to strengthen the connection between the mother-country and the colonies. A section of the Council of State was entrusted with colonial affairs; a representative from every colonial Chamber of Commerce was invited to be resident in Paris, and a liberal allowance of places in the French pythecium was allotted to colonial students. That the education of the white and dark races might be promoted, Napoleon, according to his own account, contemplated legalising polygamy. Such was his colonial policy, full of noble aims and unwise expedients, and wanting every accepted canon of conventional morality.

The Act of Mediation (1802) brought Switzerland completely under the control of Bonaparte. For the year 1803 he appointed, as

*Lieutenants of the Swiss Federation, Louis d'Affry of Erlenberg.* The choice was significant. D'Affry belonged to an old patrician family, which had supplied officers and ambassadors to France; and he himself had served in the Swiss guard under Louis XVI. He was, in fact, one of those creatures of the old régime of whom Bonaparte had said, "It is only the soldier who understands service." Of attractive manners, polished and courteous, quick-witted and moderate in his views, he became a valuable servant to Bonaparte. The First Consul, moreover, in order to secure his services, paid over to d'Affry, on the day on which he took office, a sum of 51,000 francs from the secret reserve money at the disposal of the police, secured in his favour an extinct royal pension, and wrote him a letter in which he said, "I shall seize every opportunity of showing you to our." In similar fashion Bonaparte strove to gain over other members of the Swiss aristocracy, to whom, in his own words, he offered "power, honour, and wealth"; but in these attempts at corruption he was less successful.

On July 4, 1803, the first meeting of the Diet was held at Erlenberg. It was presided over by d'Affry, who opened the assembly with an eloquent speech, in which he set forth the advantages of the Act of Mediation, and urged on his fellow-citizens the expediency of union, moderation, and attachment to France. General Ney, the French ambassador, then announced that France was prepared to conclude with Switzerland a defensive alliance and a military convention. This treaty, which marked a further stage in the dependence of Switzerland on France, produced a painful impression on the patriots. Bonaparte, in point of fact, called upon the Federation to furnish four regiments of 4000 men each; Switzerland, in return, had the right to send twenty young Swiss to the *École Polytechnique*; and Swiss officers were made eligible to all commands and dignities in France. The Diet, after a somewhat heated discussion, accepted the inevitable.

These Swiss regiments in the French service were never at their full strength. The soldiers were volunteers and were recruited with difficulty. In 1810 Bonaparte declared his intention of establishing conscriptionary service. The Diet protested against a measure contrary to the terms of the convention, and impudged Bonaparte to agree to a fresh arrangement which should relieve Switzerland from her crushing military burden. Curiously enough, Bonaparte assented to this on the eve of his Russian campaign. On March 28, 1812, a fresh convention reduced the strength of each regiment to three battalions of 1000 men apiece. During the wars of the Empire the Swiss soldiers maintained their old reputation for bravery. "The Swiss," Napoleon wrote, "are the only foreign soldiers who are brave and trustworthy." In Russia the Swiss regiments were heavily engaged. Most of them were left on the battlefield, but they lost neither eagle nor flag.

Napoleon's protection did the Swiss more harm than good, for the

military convention of 1800 was cited by the Allies in 1814 as their excuse for violating the neutrality of Switzerland. It is only fair, however, to acknowledge that until 1814 Switzerland was preserved from the evils of war. In 1804 Bonaparte withdrew his troops, and this measure, which in other times would have been followed by disturbances, did not affect the tranquillity of the country. There was, indeed, an insurrection in the spring of 1804, but it was purely local in character. Some peasants of Zurich were dissatisfied because their Grand Council had fixed a higher rate for the redemption of their tithes than that paid by the other cantons, and they rose in revolt. It became necessary to call in the Federal troops, and they had some difficulty in reducing the insurgents to submission.

This rising called the attention of the Diet to the need of a better organisation of the Federal forces, and in 1804 the Diet asked Bonaparte for his permission to create a permanent staff, which should be the nucleus of a militia. Bonaparte fully refused to accede to their wishes; and his refusal elicited from the *Landammann*, de Winterlin, the following letter—"The chief aim of France is clearly to weaken Switzerland by depriving her of the military organisation which she might and should have, and so to lay her down. This affects matter for the most discouraging reflection, and there can be no doubt that, if France persists in her unjust refusal, doubt and distrust will soon replace the genuine feeling of attachment which, after the Act of Mediation, the conduct of the French Government inspired."

It needed some courage on the part of a *Landammann* of Switzerland to write this letter, for Bonaparte had now become the Emperor Napoleon, and no longer concealed his design of annexing to the Empire those countries which were dependent on France. So early as 1805 it was believed in Switzerland that the last hour of the Federation had struck. The Emperor, when he broke up his camp at Bologna, seemed to know if Switzerland was in a position to compel respect for her neutrality. Fortunately the Diet, on the resumption of hostilities, had decided to mobilise the Federal forces. This did not satisfy Napoleon, who was clearly seeking for a pretext to violate the neutrality of Switzerland if she approached her frontier. Such was, however, not the case, and Swiss neutrality was preserved.

It may be said that, so long as the Empire lasted, the threat of annexation hung over Switzerland. In 1809, on the outbreak of the Austrian war, Napoleon said to the envoy Schulthess: "If I have need to march into Switzerland, I shall do it. I can always find a pretext; the most insignificant pamphlet aimed at me will serve my purpose." In 1816 serious events happened which seemed to forbade actual annexation: the formal absorption of Valais, which had hitherto remained an independent republic; and the occupation of Ticino by troops sent from Italy, on the pretence of putting down the smuggling of English goods

Johann von Moller, in his letters written at the time, bewailed the fate of the old Federation, and it was commonly reported that Napoleon proposed to convert the ancient republic into a duchy for one of his brothers or for his *protégé*, Berthier, who was already Prince of Neuchâtel. What is certain is that in 1811 the question of creating a kingdom of Helvetia for the Elector Charles of Baden, the husband of Stéphanie de Beauharnais, Napoleon's adopted daughter, was seriously considered. But this project was never carried out.

Switzerland suffered much from the Continental Blockade. Ever since the middle of the eighteenth century she had possessed certain flourishing industries which had already gained a reputation abroad—the manufacture of cotton goods in St. Gallen, Zurich, and Glarus, of linens and embroideries in St. Gallen, of silk stuffs in Zurich and Basel, and of clocks and watches in Geneva and the Jura. In addition to these, an important manufacture of machinery had been established at Zurich at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Act of Mediation had created hopes that a fresh impulse would be given to the industrial movement, and new markets created abroad. Napoleon had promised the Swiss an addition to the convention of 1802 or a treaty of commerce; but neither the promised additional clause nor the treaty ever saw the light. Worse than this, although the convention had stipulated that the Swiss should be placed on the footing of the most favoured nation, an enormous prohibitory tax was laid on their cotton goods. The Swiss Government protested against an arrangement which was ruining one of their most flourishing industries; but Napoleon would not listen. On the contrary, he doubled the tariff in 1808; and in 1809 he forbade altogether the importation of Swiss cottons into France.

In Switzerland the Continental System was applied with extreme rigour. The inhabitants were ordered to exclude all British merchandise, with the exception of cotton yarn, a raw material indispensable to the cotton industry. Prohibitive duties were imposed on all colonial products, and all manufactured products of British origin *decreed* in the country were confiscated. When he saw that, in spite of his precautions, British goods were smuggled in, Napoleon forced the Swiss to establish on all their frontiers a network of custom houses under French supervision. This involved the ruin of a great number of Swiss industries. At the close of 1810 more than 10,000 families were out of work. In 1810 the distress had become so great that the Diet decided to address a petition to Napoleon, beseeching him to put an end to their calamities. This appeal was unheard until the day of the preparations for the Russian campaign. But it was the Russian campaign which brought deliverance to the Swiss. Hardly had the news of the retreat of the *Grande Armée* arrived in Switzerland than there was a general relaxation in the Continental Blockade; and in the following year, after Leipzig, the

Diet, in an extraordinary session held at Zurich on November 13, declared formally that the Confederated System was at an end.

During these years of seclusion the Diet could hardly effect much, but it showed an anxiety to do something towards improving the future of the country. Among the first tasks of the new Government were the liquidation of the debt of the Helvetic Republic, and the settlement of questions relating to the national funds and the management of the public estates. A committee, appointed in 1803 to deal with these matters, rejected all claims to indemnity in respect of confiscations suffered during the Revolution, whether such claims were made by civil or religious corporations or by private individuals, and determined the share of each of the cantons in the national funds. The Diet would have been well pleased could it have secured the money for the central authority; for the latter, however insignificant were its powers, had certain expenses to meet. In the absence of a central fund, these expenses had to be paid out of the yearly sums contributed by the cantons towards the maintenance of the Federal forces.

The Diet, too, would have been glad to create a uniform system of weights, measures, money, and customs duties throughout the various cantons. Proposals to this end were made by certain deputies who had suffered from the existing confusion, so prejudicial to the trade and the general prosperity of the country; but, as most of these reforms would have been contrary to the Act of Mediation, it was impossible to adopt them. The cantons, on the other hand, did not hesitate to infringe certain provisions of the Act. Thus, in spite of the declaration that all religious beliefs were free, and that any Swiss might reside in any canton, some of the cantonal governments, mostly those in Old Switzerland, forbade the settlement of Protestants in their territories. Liberty of thought was, moreover, reduced to the narrowest limits; and the press was subject to a censorship not less rigorous than that which existed in France.

A confederation which possessed neither authority nor genius was incapable of carrying through any great work of public utility. All matters such as the repair of roads, the creation and maintenance of canals, the straightening and embankment of rivers, and the replanting of mountain-sides, were left to the cantons; and they, in the absence of funds, did nothing. Fortunately, the spirit of initiative, always strongly developed in the Swiss nature, made good the insufficiency of state resources. Many important works were, during this period, undertaken by private individuals. In 1806, Escher, a celebrated geologist of Zurich, undertook, at the instigation of the Diet and with the help of some fellow-countrymen, to drain the swamps which reached from the lake of Wallenstadt to the lake of Zurich, a distance of four leagues; he cut a canal through them and so brought a wide extent of barren and unhealthy land into cultivation.

To turn to the sphere of mental activity, the Swiss Society of Public Utility, which has produced and still produces important results, was founded at Zurich in 1819 by certain philanthropists. Other institutions of an educational character date from this period, such as the schools of Pestalozzi at Burgdorf and Yverdon, and the agricultural school and general institute of the Bernese Jura at Stofveyl. There was at the same time no slackening of intellectual activity. While living in Germany, Johann von Müller continued and completed his history of the Swiss Confederation. At Zurich, Pestalozzi wrote his educational books, Martin Usteri and Ulrich Hagerer their popular tales. In Aargau, Heinrich Zschokke published his novels and his historical works. French Switzerland was adorned by the brilliant society which Madame de Staël assembled at Coppet, and which included Benjamin Constant, the publisher of *L'Europe*, Sismondi, the Genevese historian, Duguet, the Bernese philosopher, and August Wilhelm Schlegel, the German writer. Geneva, although at that time actually part of France, remained the intellectual centre of French Switzerland. The Genevoise were not inclined to allow their national spirit to be absorbed by France. Ever since the Reformation, there had been a continual exchange of ideas between Great Britain and the city of Calvin, and all the publicists of the Genevoise school, Porteus, Delolme, and J. J. Rousseau, were strongly influenced by English writers. "Geneva," said Sismondi in 1805, "is a city where men speak and write in French, but where men read and think in English." To meet their taste for what was English, Marc-Aurèle Fictet, Professor of Physics at Calvin's ancient Academy, where he was the worthy successor of Hume-Bénédicte de Saussure, founded in conjunction with his brother, Fictet de Rochement, the *Séminaire britannique*. This review rapidly took an important place in Europe as an international organ. In this publication the Genevoise ventured, at a time when to speak fluently of things English was looked upon as treason, to keep the Continent informed of all that was passing in England. Its influence is shown by the remark of Talleyrand, who, at the Congress of Vienna, observed to Fictet de Rochement, "Your review has gained it such a weight of public opinion that its suppression would have amounted to a coup d'état."



## CHAPTER IV.

## THE PENINSULAR WAR, 1808-18.

In dealing with the political schemes of Napoleon it is not always easy to discover what is end and what is means: whether a particular project is carried out merely for its own sake, or is also intended as a step towards some further goal. This is prominently the case with the invasion of Portugal, described in a previous chapter. It has often been maintained that when the Emperor launched Junot's corps against Lisbon he was thinking of nothing more than bringing Portugal into line with his other vassal-states in the matter of the Continental System. A careful study of his movements, however, would seem to make it probable that he was also using the whole affair as a cover for a long-projected attack on Spain.

So far back as 1805 he had muttered to a confidant, "*Un Bourbon sur le trône d'Espagne, c'est un volute trop dangereux*"; and with far better justification, after he had received Godoy's belittling proclamation on the battlefield of Jena, he had vowed to take his revenge in due season on the presumptuous favourite and his infatuated master. "*Je jurerai dès lors qu'il m'a le paiement, que je les mettrai hors d'état de me nuire.*" No one could have blamed him if, after signing the Treaty of Tilsit, he had turned sharply on Spain and demanded the dismissal of Godoy, or even declared war on Charles IV. Ten years later, at St Helena, he acknowledged that this would have been the most expeditious as well as the most honest course to take. In place of it he adopted the tortuous and Machiavellian policy of which the first step was seen in the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Godoy, instead of receiving ready-made disavowment, was presented a kingdom for himself in western Portugal, on condition that he should allow a French army a free passage to Lisbon, and lend his aid for the expulsion of the House of Braganza. It is impossible to believe for a moment that the Emperor ever intended to call into real existence Godoy's "kingdom of the Algarves." When he offered a crown and a realm to one who had deserved as ill at his hands, it was clearly with the object of pushing him into admitting French troops into the Peninsula, and with the

intention of carrying out his promise. After Junot had obtained possession of Portugal, no steps were taken to establish the "princelyty of the Algarves."

Meanwhile, before Junot had reached Lisbon, the domestic troubles of the Court of Spain had at last reached explosive point. On October 27, 1807, Charles IV arrested his son Ferdinand, accusing him of having plotted to dethrone him and to murder his mother and her favourite Godoy. The Prince of the Asturias had undoubtedly been intriguing behind his father's back; he had written to Napoleon to beg his protection, and to ask for the hand of a princess of the House of Bonaparte. He had been organizing a party of malcontents, who hated the "Prince of the Peace"—such was Godoy's title—as much as he did himself. But his schemes were vague and futile, the most he did was to write chagrinous letters to Paris, and to take precautions against Godoy's hardly-disguised intention to exclude him from the succession. The only compromising documents found in his possession were two drafts of a manifesto denouncing the favourite's designs, and an undated commission appointing the Duke of Infantado (one of his personal enemies) military governor of Madrid and New Castile. He declared, probably with truth, that the last paper was intended to be used only in the case of his father's death or permanent disablement.

But the best proof of Ferdinand's innocence of the grave accusations brought against him is his character. He was very obstinate and a good hater, but he was also cautious in the extreme, and so destitute of courage and proper pride that, though he could resent, he could never revenge an insult, if the least risk was involved. When arrested at the Escorial, he gave up the names of his confederates in the most craven fashion, and sent to his parents two letters couched in the most disgusting terms of self-abasement. The King had already written to Napoleon stating that his son had been discovered in a plot against his mother's life; he had also published in the *Madrid Gaceta* a manifesto to the effect that the Prince had been detected in treasonable plots, and that the conspirators were to be tried and punished. But whether it was that the old man shrunk from bloodshed, or that Godoy thought that he had done enough in denouncing Ferdinand in the eyes of the nation, matters were pushed no further. The Prince was pardoned by a magnificent and lurid royal proclamation; and his partners, Lechato, the Count Fernigón, and certain others, were allowed to be acquitted after a farcical trial. Nothing could have suited Napoleon's plans better than the publication of this scandalous domestic quarrel; it was indifferent to him whether public opinion regarded Charles IV as an unreasoned father or Ferdinand as an ungrateful son. In either case the prestige of the Spanish royal family was diminished, and interference in its affairs became easy.

Meanwhile he was proceeding with his plan for introducing more

French troops into Spain. The Treaty of Fontainebleau had provided that, if the English sent an army to Portugal, the Emperor might send his Joseph's expeditionary corps, after giving due notice to the King of Spain. With this excuse, an army-corps of 22,000 men under General Dupont had been collected at Bayona. On November 22 Dupont received orders to cross the Bidasoa, though no English force had been heard of. No intimation of this movement was sent to the Spanish Government, and Charles IV and Godoy were so much alarmed as they were surprised by the news that the troops of their ally had entered themselves in the valley of the Ebro. On January 8, 1808, they were still further startled by the appearance of a third army-corps under Marshal Masséu, which occupied Burgos and Valladolid. Nor was this all. On February 10 a division of 14,000 men, half French, half Italian, under General Delamare, began to pour into Catalonia and made its way to Barcelona. As Catalonia is not on the way to Portugal, there was no excuse whatever for the appearance of this fourth army in the northernmost corner of the Peninsula.

On February 16 the Emperor finally threw off the mask and began a series of frankly hostile acts towards his unfortunate ally. On that day the French troops quartered in Pampeluna occupied the Citadel of that fortress by a treacherous coup de main. On the 29th Delamare seized the Citadel and chief forts of Barcelona. On March 3 the weak-kneed governor of San Sebastian allowed himself to be coerced out of that rocky stronghold by threats of force. Finally, on March 18, Figueras, the border fortress of northern Catalonia, was surprised by a French detachment, supposed to be passing peacefully through the town.

The Spanish Court was plunged into wild alarm by the news of the seizure of Pampeluna and Barcelona. Godoy hesitated for a moment whether he should declare war on his treacherous ally, or follow the example of the Prince Royal of Portugal, and bid the King and Queen fly to Cadix and embark for America. He seems to have thought that there was little use in attempting resistance: a fifth French army-corps under Bonaparte had now commenced to cross the Bidasoa, so that more than 180,000 French soldiers were already south of the Pyrenees. Moreover the hussar-king Marshal had appeared at Burgos on March 18 with a commission as "Lieutenant for the Emperor in Spain." At last Godoy resolved to advise instant flight, without any attempt to defend Madrid or central Spain.

But the Spanish people now intervened. The King and Queen had left Madrid for Aranjuez; and their departure for Andalusia had been announced for March 20. On the preceding night a fierce riot broke out in the fifth town, which was crowded with hangers-on of the Court. Every Spaniard now understood that Godoy had raised the ruler by leading it over to Napoleon, and that his cowardly and obsequious

policy had led to far deeper humiliation than could have been caused by the most unfortunate of open wars. He had to pay for nearly twenty years of corrupt and selfish rule, which had led Spain to her ruin; and the explosion of wrath against him was all the more fierce for its long suppression. A rising mass of soldiers, peasants, and citizens stormed his palace, but sought for him in vain. The crowd then gathered under the King's windows, calling aloud for the favourite's head, and shouting for the Prince of the Asturias. Charles IV was terrified; the Queen brought her son to play with the mob, and disperse them on any terms. Ferdinand himself was able to announce that Godoy had been dismissed from office and banished from the Court. But next day the favourite was detected as he was slipping away; the royal guards rescued him from his first captives in a very battered state, and dragged him into the palace. This brought the multitudes more warmly around his gates; and it seemed as if some bloody scene from the French Revolution was about to be repeated. Then came the hour of Prince Ferdinand's opportunity. He told his parents that their personal safety and the life of their favourite could only be secured by an abdication. Without delay the old King wrote a brief statement, in which he announced that his age and infirmities compelled him to resign the crown to his very dear son and heir, the Prince of the Asturias. Armed with this, Ferdinand faced the mob, promised them that Godoy should be imprisoned and brought to trial, and begged them to disperse without further violence. He was hailed as King until universal acclamations; the troops took the oath to him as sovereign; and Godoy was sent a prisoner to Villavieja (March 23, 1808).

All over Spain, the fall of Godoy was received with feelings of intense relief; and much was hoped from the young King, as if it were likely that the son of Charles IV and Maria Luisa of Parma would prove a hero and a statesman. Ferdinand's first acts proved his weakness and timidity; instead of retiring to Andalusia and concentrating what was left of the Spanish army, he went to Madrid (March 24), though Murat had arrived there on the previous day at the head of Mincio's army-corps. Having taken possession of the royal palace, he wrote a flattering letter to Napoleon, assuring him of his adherence to the French alliance, and requesting his request for a loan from the Imperial house. It was evident, from the first, that he had taken a false step. The French ambassador refused to acknowledge him as King; while Murat behaved to him in the most discourteous fashion, and, what was more serious, sent a French escort to guard the person of the former King and Queen.

Meanwhile Napoleon had been forced to face the new problems created by the revolution of Aragon. Even to this moment he had apparently hoped to secure Charles IV, his Queen, and their favourite out of Spain, and then to present himself to the nation as their saviour

from the tyranny of Godoy. This was no longer possible when a young and popular King had mounted the throne. It would have been vain to accept the situation, and receive the homage of the new sovereign, whose protestations of obsequious respect to his patron were all that could be desired. But Napoleon resolved to push on his ambitious plan in spite of the new political situation that had been created by Ferdinand's accession. The pretext was ready at hand, for Charles IV had no power recovered from his first terror; thus he drew up a secret protest in which he declared that his abdication had been extorted from him by threats of bloodshed. Long before this document had reached Paris, Napoleon had written to his brother Louis, King of Holland, offering him the Spanish crown; it is therefore clear that he had been intending in any case to refuse to recognise Ferdinand, and that the protest of Charles IV had nothing to do with his decision. It was, however, welcomed as a useful card in the game; and Murat was directed not only to send the old King to Bayona, but to forward Godoy to his master's train.

Meanwhile the Emperor declared his intention of visiting Madrid in person. He sent before him his aide-de-camp, General Bernier, who visited the young King, and, as all the Spanish witnesses testify in declaring, informed him that his master intended to take him into favour, and to bestow upon him the hand of the Bonaparte princess whom he had chosen as his consort. Unless he had received some such assurance, the cautious Ferdinand would most certainly have refused from putting himself in the Emperor's power. But on April 19 he was persuaded into setting out to meet his mighty guest, and was finally induced to cross the Bidasoa into French territory. When he reached Bayona (April 26) he was put under guard, and informed that Napoleon had resolved to depose him; but that if he would sign an instant renunciation of the Spanish crown, he should receive in compensation the Kingdom of Etruria.

The King, even though he was, plucked up courage to refuse this monstrous proposal. Thereupon the Emperor produced Charles IV and his Queen, whose arrival at Bayona had been timed up as to follow that of their son by a few days. He confronted Ferdinand with his parents, and a household scene followed in his presence. On being told that his father was still the lawful King, and that he himself was a rebel who had been guilty of high treason, Ferdinand perceived a calder disease. When he refused to sign a document declaring that he withdrew his claim to the crown, his father tried to strike him with his cane, and his mother burst in with a string of abuse worthy of a schoolmistress. The Emperor put an end to the altercation by thrusting Ferdinand out of the room. He then offered to abdicate if he were allowed to return to Madrid, summon the Cortes of the realm, and arrange his resignation in due form. But this would not have suited Napoleon's scheme; and the

offer was refused. Two days later there arrived at Bayona the news of the flight of Don Mago, the great misfortune at Madrid (May 5). Thereupon the Emperor told Ferdinand that if he did not abdicate within twelve hours he should be tried for high treason. Terrified by this threat, the young King consented, on May 6, an instrument restoring the throne to his father. Then appeared the usual halt of Napoleon's scheme; he produced a treaty, signed on the previous day, by which Charles IV "assigned all his rights to the throne of Spain and the Indies to the Emperor of the French, the only person who in the present state of affairs can establish order." The old King and his wife knew that they could never return to Madrid, and out of revengeful spite had lost themselves to a scheme for dismembering their son. They retired to return without revenge and estates in France, and retired into obscurity in company with Godoy. The miserable time spent the greater part of their remaining time in Rome, the objects of universal contempt. Ferdinand's enforced abdication could not buy him similar liberty; he was interned in Talleyrand's manor of Valençay, and spent six years there under strict military guard. He spent his status as martyr by salutatory letters to Napoleon; in one, he even congratulated him on his victories in Spain.

We must turn back eight days from Ferdinand's final abdication, to explain the outbreak at Madrid which had caused Napoleon to apply the last part of the sword to his captive. Within a short time of the first arrest of the young King at Bayona, it had become known in the Spanish capital that treachery was on foot. The office or cowardly ministers took no action; but the news got abroad in Madrid, and preliminary signs of trouble began to be seen. They were brought to a head by an order from the Emperor to Murat, bidding him arrest and send over the frontier all the remaining members of the royal House.

On May 8, when the French court was preparing to move from the palace the young prince French, the last of the sons of Charles IV, an unarmed or half-armed mob fell upon them, broke up the coach, and attacked the soldiers with stones and villection. Murat had been warned by his master to be ready for enthusiasm, and to treat the crowds to a whiff of grape-shot if they should rise. He dispersed the rioters by a couple of volleys from his gun. But this was only the beginning of the trouble; the whole populace of Madrid turned out at the sound of the musketry, and flung themselves upon the French with such weapons as they could procure. The battalions in the city were almost swept away by the furious assault, which was far more formidable than Murat had expected; more than thirty French officers and several hundred soldiers were killed or wounded. But within an hour the brigades of Monroy's corps came marching down from their camps outside the walls, and cleared the streets with much slaughter. The Spanish garrison of Madrid took no part in the struggle. Only two

officers, named Duro and Velasco, with a handful of soldiers, joined the rioters and perished with them.

For a few days after the *Des Mays*, Murat at Madrid, and his master at Bayona, lived in a sort of foolish paradise, imagining that they had made an end of all open resistance to their will. Murat assumed the presidency of a "Junta of Regency," chosen from among the most pliant of the old officials who had been corrupted by twenty years of Gueby's rule. On May 15 he announced to this body that the Emperor desired them to ask for a new King, and suggested that the person designated should be Joseph Bonaparte, who for the last two years had been the ruler of Naples. The contemptible Junta did as they were ordered, and duly petitioned the Emperor that his brother might be granted them as a King. In order that some semblance of national consent might be displayed, Napoleon drew up a list of some 150 magnates, who were directed to present themselves at Bayona and give in person for Joseph's acceptance of the throne. Of this body no less than 91 were base and weak enough to obey the mandate. On June 15 the deposition met the Emperor at Bayona and accepted Joseph as their ruler, receiving many promises of liberal reform and wise governance from that well-intentioned prince, who little understood the miserable task that his brother had imposed upon him.

But, long ere Joseph Napoleon I had been proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies, the whole country had flared up into insurrection. It took some time for the news of the treasury at Bayona, followed by that of the *Des Mays*, to penetrate to the remote corners of the Peninsula. But, when the nation began to comprehend the situation, a wild outbreak of patriotic rage followed. It was not led by the lawful and constituted authorities, who for the most part displayed themselves by a cowardly torpidity. The effervescence came from below, and the leaders were non-official persons, local magnates, street-demagogues, and sometimes clerics. The movement was spontaneous, uncalculated, and reckless, in its wounded pride, the nation challenged Napoleon to combat, without any thought of the consequences, without counting up its own resources or those of its enemy. Every province, in every town every town, acted for itself. But, though there was no union or organization, the same spirit animated every region, and all, without exception, rose in arms between May 24 and June 10. It was an unhappy feature of the insurrection that in many places it was stifled with massacre. The populace was incensed against its late rulers almost as much as against the French. Old gristles of Gueby, colonels who refused to lead their regiments against Napoleon, officials who had shown zeal in carrying out Murat's orders, were assassinated on all sides. In Valencia a priest led out a band of refugees who murdered the whole of the French merchants resident in that great seaport.

It took some weeks for even the remnants of a Government to be

formed out of the turbulent and patriotic clans which peopled. In every province local "Juntas" then emerged, and began to call out the strength of the region for the holy war against the treacherous Emperor, the enemy of Church and King. It was unfortunate, but reasonable, that the Juntas were largely composed of furious but incapable zealots, ambitious demagogues, and self-seeking intrigues. There was an absolute want of statesmanship and organising ability; and fierce provincial patriotism could not supply their place. No central Government's help was established for some months, and each province fought for itself without much regard for the fate of its neighbours.

The military position at the end of May stood somewhat as follows. The French troops whom Napoleon had pushed down into the Pyrenees during the last six months held a narrow triangular wedge of territory, pressing into the heart of New Castile. Toledo and Madrid formed its apex, a line drawn from San Sebastian to Pampeluna was its base. In addition to this there were two outlying French forces, that of Junot, mainly concentrated at Lisbon, and that of Dohanna, which lay at Barcelona. The central army, formed of the troops of Masséna, Duroc and Soult, was about 75,000 strong: Junot had about 25,000 in Portugal, Dohanna some 15,000 in Catalonia. But the latter two generals were completely cut off from communication with Madrid.

On the Spanish side, the Juntas found about 100,000 regulars and militia at their disposal; but these were scattered about in provincial garrisons, badly provided, and wholly unfit to take the field immediately. The main force lay in Galicia and Andalusia, where large detachments had always been kept for the purpose of protecting the exports from English decrees. In each of these provinces there were about 50,000 men available. Of the rest, there were a few battalions in Extremadura, Valencia, and Catalonia, but in mid-Spain hardly a man. Thus the forces of the insurgents formed a sort of semicircle, extending around the French wedge which ran into the heart of the land. New lines were being hastily prepared on every side, but arms and equipment were hard to find, owing to the depleted state in which Godoy had left the armists; while the stores of Madrid, Barcelona, Pampeluna, Figueras, and San Sebastian were in the hands of the enemy. When the fighting began, the remains of the old standing army were the only serious belligerent force on which Spain could count, the rest of the Spanish force consisted of undrilled and ununiformed peasants, offered by untrained and often incompetent officers.

It was fortunate for the Spaniards that Napoleon at first misconceived the problem that lay before him. He had always nourished the greatest contempt for the fighting power of Spain, and was under the impression that the armies which he had already pushed south of the Pyrenees were amply sufficient to hold down the country. But these armies were, as a matter of fact, very imperfect instruments of conquest. When



the Emperor organized the forces which worked their way to Madrid, Lisbon, and Barcelona during the winter of 1807-8, he had not drawn upon the veteran corps which lay in Germany. Junot's corps, indeed, was of good material, being composed of old battalions pulled from the garrisons of western France. But the corps of Moncey, Dupont, and Bessières were a hap-hazard assembly of second-rate troops and newly organized provisional units. They included only about 2000 men of old French regiments; but round this nucleus were gathered some 15,000 Swiss, German, and other auxiliaries, and no less than 60,000 conscripts of 1807, hastily organized as "provisional regiments," *legions de réserve*, and *battalions de marche*.

The Emperor had collected a very raw and ill-compact army; he next proceeded to dispose of it on mistaken lines. He had made up his mind that the Spanish insurrection was a mere dash on the part, the work of monks and bandits. The suppression of it would be a mere matter of police; he imagined that a few dying columns would be able to smother the insurgent districts and take possession of the chief strategical points without much difficulty. His orders read as if some isolated *fueros*, rather than a national rising, had to be suppressed. While Bessières and his corps were to keep open the road from Burgos to Madrid, and to detach a force to subdue the province of Aragon, two expeditions were to be sent out from the capital, the one to reduce Seville and Cadix, the other to conquer Valencia. The first of these columns, 16,000 strong, was to be led by Dupont, the second, 7000 strong, was given to Moncey. Both were composed entirely of conscript battalions and Swiss auxiliaries, without any stiffening of veteran troops.

The despatch of the two expeditions from Madrid took place on May 24 and June 4 respectively, and was the last executive order issued by Mazarin at his master's behest. He fell ill of a fever a few days later, and returned to France; his place was taken by Savary, the betrayer of King Ferdinand, an officer wholly incompetent to face the threatening situation that was gradually developing itself.

Moncey passed the mountains of Cuenca without opposition, and met with no resistance till he had reached the borders of the kingdom of Valencia. There he was twice opposed, in the deltas that led down to the shore-plain, by an irregular mass of men-leaves, which he thrust aside with ease. When he reached the city of Valencia, he found it packed with many thousands of combatants, including some regular troops, and strongly fortified with many batteries and earthworks. He risked two attempts to storm the place (June 29), lost 1000 men, and saw that it could not be taken without a battering train and a regular siege. By a rapid retreat he eluded his adversaries, and drew back to the vicinity of Madrid (July 15).

Very different was the fate of Dupont. He too, like Moncey, met with little opposition during the first days of his march. The deltas

of the Sierra Morena were not defended against him; and his troops did not fire a shot till they reached the bridge of Alcala, in front of Cordova, where they dispersed a host of 10,000 or 12,000 peasants who tried to cover that ancient city. Cordova made no resistance, notwithstanding it was sacked the same evening (June 7). Here Dupont's advance came to an end; he found that between him and Seville lay the Spanish army of Andalusia, nearly 30,000 regular troops commanded by General Castaños. The proximity of the mountains had risen behind him and cut his communication with Madrid; his conscripts were suffering dreadfully from the summer heat and malaria. He wisely refused to advance further, and, when Castaños began to move slowly towards him, evacuated Cordova and fell back to Andujar, the point of junction where the routes from the Sierra Morena come down into the valley of the Guadalquivir. He wrote to Madrid for reinforcements, which Sanjay did not refuse; two fresh divisions of conscripts were sent him, which brought up his force to some 22,000 men. Thus strengthened, he might have defended the passes of the Sierra Morena, though he could not have reconquered Andalusia. But instead of retiring to the passes and securing the defences, he lingered in the plain at Andujar. He lacked the moral courage to confess to his master that the offensive campaign he had undertaken was hopeless.

At last, a false rumour that the Spaniards were detaching troops to close the passes behind his back led him to commit the fatal blunder of dividing his small army into two nearly equal halves, and sending off his lieutenant, Véliz, with 10,000 men to secure the Depesa Perra. Castaños then thrust two divisions under General Belling into the gap, and seized the town of Baylen, halfway between Véliz and Dupont. This was a risky move, as the intervening force might have been crushed if the two French generals had acted in union. Dupont at once evacuated Andujar, and marched with 11,000 men to clear the road, while Castaños' main body followed him at a leisurely pace. At Baylen Dupont found the road blocked by Belling with 17,000 men. He fought till noon, with much courage but little skill, endeavouring to pierce the Spanish line. But Belling held firm, and beat off five partial and successive attacks. When the French were thoroughly exhausted and demoralized, Castaños appeared in their rear and seized them. Dupont then offered to capitulate, if his army were granted a free return to France. Terms were being discussed when, late in the afternoon, General Véliz, with the other half of the French army, came up to Belling's rear and began to develop an attack upon it. Véliz had shown criminal negligence and turpidity in delaying his appearance: he had refused to hurry, though he knew that Dupont was engaged, and though a distant cannonade had been audible all the morning. When informed that his chief was proposing to surrender, Véliz wheeled off and retired towards the passes. But Dupont nevertheless

made a convention with Costello, whereby he stipulated that not only his division, but that of his lieutenant, should capitulate and be sent back to France. This was respectable conduct; but still more respectable was that of Vidal, who scarcely came back and held dinner for us, when he might easily have marched off to Madrid (July 28). In all, 18,000 surrounded men surrendered, more than 3000 had been lost in the fighting. When the French were rescued, the Junta of Seville detained them all, and never allowed them to return to France.

This disaster, the worst check that the French army had suffered since Hannibal capitulated in Egypt nine years before, had immense effect not only in Spain, but all over Europe. The responsibility for it must be divided between the Emperor himself, Dupont, and Vidal. Napoleon, under a false idea of the Spanish strength, had sent out an army too small and too raw to accomplish such a task as the conquest of Andalusia; Dupont had shown both incapacity and want of moral courage; Vidal's torpidity and lack of initiative had decided the disaster. The Emperor accused them both of cowardice and treason, and had them tried before a military commission, which found them guilty of criminal negligence and of "signing a capitulation containing shameful conditions," but of nothing more. Dupont was imprisoned till 1814; Vidal was pardoned after a few years and again employed.

The first result of Baylen was that King Joseph and Savary, considering their forces insufficient to maintain such an advanced position as the capital, hastily evacuated Madrid (August 1), and did not halt till they had crossed the Elba. Meanwhile four other series of operations had been in progress. The Spanish army of Galicia under General Elío had descended from its mountains into the plains of Old Castile, with the intention of cutting the communications between Madrid and Burgos. Marshal Bruchas, whose corps had been told off by Napoleon to protect that line, met him at Medina de Rio Seco on July 14, and inflicted a complete defeat upon the Galicians, though they mustered 62,000 men to his 12,000. This victory, however, had no further effect than to secure for King Joseph a safe retreat from Madrid; Dupont's disaster deprived Bruchas of the power of following up his success.

The second independent campaign raging at this moment was that which centred at Saragossa: it was the most creditable to the Spaniards of all the operations of the summer of 1808. The kingdom of Aragon was almost destitute of regular troops; only about 1000 trained men were available when the revolution broke out. But Joseph Palafox, a young and ambitious adventurer, who had led the rising and been elected as captain-general, collected a considerable body of half-armed peasants and townsmen at Saragossa, and with them made head against the 15,000 men under General Vardier and Lefebvre-Desnoettes, who were detached to subdue Aragon. His defence of Saragossa (June 15—August 18) was an extraordinary feat. The French having broken

through the heavy masonry walls of the city, Palafors, instead of capitulating, threw up barricades across the streets, defended house after house, lost back many assaults, and was still fighting bravely inside the town, when the news of the fate of Dupont and the evacuation of Madrid compelled Verrier to retire. The story of Palafors' answer to the French summons, when the carabats had been placed, "No surrender, and war to the last party-wall" (*Guerra hasta el último alfiler*), seems well authenticated, and the obstinate courage displayed by the Aragonese in the street fighting contrasted strongly with the helplessness of similar levies when forced to give battle in the open.

While Verrier was being held at bay in Saragossa, Duhesne, commanding the French army in Catalonia, was also brought to a standstill. His troops, concentrated at Barcelona, found their communications with France cut off by the general closing of the portines. To open them again, Duhesne delivered two attacks on the fortress of Gerona, which blocked the road to Perpignan. Both were beaten off (June 22-23, and July 22-August 16); and the French general was compelled to shut himself up in Barcelona, where he was blockaded for nearly four months by the mangroets, and reduced to great straits.

The fourth local campaign in which Napoleon's expeditionary forces were involved during the summer of 1808 was that of Junot in Portugal. The Spanish rising had isolated the 25,000 French who lay in and about Lisbon; but Junot resolved to defend his conquest without taking any heed of what was going on elsewhere. Fortunately for him, Portugal was completely deserted, the old army had been disbanded or sent across the Pyrenees, and all the arsenals were in the hands of the French. The efforts of the people, who rose on all sides between June 6 and June 16, were of necessity weak, for there was no nucleus of trained men, and arms were hard to get. Junot's flying columns scoured the whole country and held down central Portugal with ease. He was still in good hopes of maintaining his position, when, on August 3, he received the news that on the preceding day a British expeditionary force had landed in Huelva Bay.

The arrival of this army marks a new stage in the history not only of the Peninsular War but of Europe at large. The British Government was about to turn aside from that system of sending out small forces to inflict pin-pricks on non-vital spots in Napoleon's empire, which Sheridan wittily called "its policy of flicking sugar-islands." Urged on by Castlereagh, who already had in the winter of 1806-8 advocated an interference on the Continent on a large scale, and had hoped much from the expedition to Hanover, and by Canning, who, following Pitt's fervent, was fascinated with the idea of a really national and popular rising against Napoleon, the Portland Cabinet had resolved to strike hard. Even the Whig Opposition could not cavil at the proposal to aid a people so badly betrayed as the Spaniards, or make any attempt to

defend the necessity of Napoleon's late designs. On the arrival in London, on June 4, of despatches from the Austrians asking for help, followed soon after by similar messages from the other Juntas, the Government promised speedy and ample assistance. In all some 50,000 men were directed to move, and more were to follow.

Lord Castlereagh had intended to place at the head of the whole the young lieutenant-general who commanded the fleet which sailed from Cork, Sir Arthur Wellesley, the brother of the great Vicaroy of India, already known for his victories of Assaye and Argoon. But the Duke of York and the War Office were against the scheme; and there were members of the Cabinet who doubted the Wellesleys. After the first troops had actually set sail, the Government resolved to place over Sir Arthur's head two senior officers of no special distinction or ability, Sir Howe Dabryngple, governor of Gibraltar, and Sir Harry Burrard. Sir John Moore also, who was ordered up from the Baltic, would over-rank Wellesley, who was thus placed fourth instead of first in command.

Before he was aware that he was superseded, Wellesley had sailed, he landed his 9000 men in Mondego Bay on August 1-2, 1808. The Portuguese welcomed him; but he found that their series was little more than a useless mob, and that he must depend on his own resources. Four days later he was joined by another British division, and set out to march on Lisbon with some 18,000 men. On August 17 he met at Bujaco a small force which Junot had despatched to delay his advance, and drove it out of a strong position by a vigorous attack. This routed the vicaroy of Portugal, who sailed out of Lisbon with his baggage, leaving garrisons Elvas and Almeida, and left a whole division to oversee the discontented populace of the capital, Junot only brought 18,000 men to the front. Wellesley, having been joined by two more brigades from England, had over 16,000 British troops in hand, besides some 3000 Portuguese insurgents.

The landing army was encamped at Vimeira, with its back to the sea, when on August 21 it was suddenly attacked by the French. Wellesley had chosen an admirable position on a line of rolling hills, and showed in this, his first European victory, that masterly power of landing troops on the defensive which was to make his reputation. Junot's vigorous but ill-combined assaults were driven back with awful slaughter; and the victor was about to let loose his reserves upon the broken masses of the enemy when his head was suddenly paralyzed. Sir Harry Burrard had landed at this critical moment, asserted his authority, and forbade a pursuit. Thus Junot was able to gather his routed battalions together and to cover the road to Lisbon. Next morning (August 22) Burrard was superseded by Dabryngple, who was much surprised to receive on that same day proposals from Junot that he should be allowed to evacuate Portugal under a convention. The French general was expecting every moment to hear of a revolt in Lisbon; his

troops were not inclined to face another general action; and he saw no better way "pour nous tirer de la situation".

Dalrymple, surprised at finding himself dictating terms on he had been two days asking, eagerly accepted the idea of a convention. He was justified in accepting Joseph's offer. Time was of importance; and the French might, if driven to despair, have roused Lisbon and made a long and desperate defence. But the flow weakly conceded every demand that was made by the French negotiators, including several that were most offensive to the Portuguese, e.g. he allowed the French to depart laden in the most shameless fashion with the plunder of palaces, museums, and churches, and guaranteed immunity to various traitors. On August 30 this famous Convention of Cintra—falsely so called, for it was neither discussed nor signed in that pleasant spot—was executed. Before the next month was out, 25,000 French troops had been shipped out of Portugal; and the whole kingdom was delivered. It was now possible to think of bringing aid to Spain.

But neither Dalrymple nor Darnley was destined to lead the victors of Vimeiro into the splends of Cadiz. When the news of the Convention was received in England, universal indignation was expressed. It was thought that Dalrymple had let off the French too easily, and that he might have forced them to unconditional surrender. Letters from officers who complained of the way in which the pursuit at Vimeiro had been checked, and complaints from the Portuguese provincial government, added fuel to the flames. All these British generals were recalled, and met before a Court of enquiry. This body reported that, in its opinion, they had all acted according to the best of their judgment and views proper and, and that no further proceedings should be taken. But, while the two senior generals were never despatched on active service again, Wellesley, whose conduct had contrasted so splendidly with that of his superiors, was sent back to Portugal as commander-in-chief in the ensuing spring.

Much had happened before Sir Arthur resumed his place at the head of a British army. King Joseph and Saury had evacuated Madrid, recovered the Ebro, and fallen back to the foot of the Pyrenees. The long retreat caused almost as much indignation in Napoleon's breast as Darnley's surrender. He had at first directed Joseph to hold on to Madrid at all costs, then to stay his retreat at Aranda and Talavera. But both his despatches arrived too late, and, by August 15, the remains of the army of Spain, still nearly 70,000 strong, were concentrated between Miranda and Milagro on the Ebro. The Emperor, on hearing the news of Baylen, had ordered three veteran corps of the army of Germany, those of Victor, Mortier, and Ney, to march for Spain, and had drawn together other reinforcements from various corners of the Empire. He had hoped that Joseph and Saury would hold out in some advanced position till these veterans arrived. But all such hopes were

near at an end; and the conquest of the Peninsula had to be begun *de novo*. It was not till the end of October that the heads of the columns from Germany began to cross the passes. While they were marching across France, the Emperor went off to Erfurt.

Thus, from the day of Baylen to the opening of the new campaign, the Spanish insurgents had three full months in which to organize their forces. Unfortunately, they did not turn the time to good account. The provincial Juntas showed no desire to relinquish their local sovereignty in favour of a new national executive. When they were at last induced to create a supreme authority, it was not a compact assembly of a few members but a "Central Junta" of no less than thirty-five delegates. This body was only got together on September 23, and, when it met, it proceeded, like a debating society, to discuss constitutional reforms, instead of turning all its energies to making ready for Napoleon's advance. The most fatal fault was that it refused to appoint a single commander-in-chief for its armies, and failed to direct independently the movements of half-a-dozen captain-generals of the provincial armies. These officers became personal rivals, intrigued with the Junta, and refused to cooperate with each other. Hence arose military chaos and lamentable waste of time. By the end of October, only about 110,000 men had been pushed up to the line of the Ebro to face the French, though about 60,000 more were being drilled and equipped far to the rear. Indeed, the only important addition made to the army at the front after Baylen was that of 9000 of La Romana's troops from Denmark, who landed at Santander.

The Spanish strategy at this moment was hopelessly bad. The Junta had allowed their two main armies to drift apart; Elío, with 40,000 men of the Galician army, had advanced into Biscay, with the intention of turning the French right; while Castaños and Palafox, with the armies of Andalusia and Aragon, some 60,000 strong, were awaiting a similar movement far to the east on the side of Pamplona. To connect these two armies there was nothing but the army of Extremadura, 18,000 strong, which was concentrating at Burgos. Thus the Spanish army had two powerful wings but practically no centre.

To aid the Extremadurens at Burgos, it was intended that the British army from Portugal should be brought up. After the departure of Indyenne, the command of this force had devolved on Sir John Moore (October 25). He had received orders to march into Spain and join our allies, but he found much difficulty in starting his troops, owing to his want of transport and his absolute ignorance of the relative practicability of the various inland roads of Portugal. Relying (like intelligence from the native engineers) that it was impossible to move guns over the Serra da Estrella, by the straight road from Lisbon to Almeida and Salamanca, he took the unfortunate step of sending nearly the whole of his cavalry and artillery on a vast detour, by Elvas,

Talavera, and the Bessard, while he marched with his infantry columns direct over mountain roads by way of Calabaz and Gorda. The consequence was that, while 14,000 infantry reached Salamanca in detachments between November 18 and November 23, they could not move off, on December 3, the guns came in from their long turn to the north. Moore's little army of Salamanca was not the only British force which had been sent to aid Spain; a separate division under Baird, 13,000 strong, had been landed at Corunna in the middle of October, and directed to push inland and join Moore in Old Castile. But, much hampered by want of transport, Baird only reached Astorga on November 23. He was still far from his junction with Moore when news arrived that the Spanish armies on the Ebro had received a series of appalling defeats, and were retiring in disorder before the French.

Napoleon held back his army in Saragosa till the great reinforcements from Germany had arrived, and 300,000 men were under his hand. He then struck with the swiftness and crushing power of a thunderbolt at the weak centre of the Spanish line, and opened for himself the road to Madrid. The first battle was fought at Zamaora, in Burey, on October 28, when Blake's army of Galicia, still bent on its curving movement, was thrust back by Marshal Lefebvre, and had to retire westward. The Galicians were making off, pursued by two French corps, when Napoleon led his main body over the Ebro, and on November 10 dashed to seize the little army of Estremadura at the market of Gamoal in front of Burgos. Next day (November 11) Blake's retreating army, overtaken by Victor at Espinosa in the Cantabrian mountains, received an equally disastrous beating, and was forced to disperse into the hills with the loss of the whole of its artillery. A full month passed before its wrecked, 20,000 strong, were rallied at Leon by the Marquis of La Romana. There remained intact, of all the Spanish armies, only the combined host of Andalusia and Aragon under Castaños and Palafox. On November 20 this force showed the fate of its fellows; its main body, 60,000 strong, was defeated at Talala by Lannes. Quarrels between Castaños and Palafox were largely responsible for this disaster; their plans were so badly arranged that one-third of the Spanish army did not fire a shot, while the other two-thirds were being routed and dispersed. Palafox' divisions now drew back to defend Saragosa, while Castaños and the Andalusians made off for Madrid by way of Calatayud. They narrowly escaped falling into the hands of Ray, who had been sent to intercept them, and escaped in wretched plight over the mountains.

Such was the depressing news which Moore and Baird, still far from effecting a junction with each other, received in the last days of November. It seemed that there was no Spanish army left with which the British could co-operate; and Moore despaired of being even able to meet Baird in safety. Judging himself far too weak to confront Napoleon's main body, he issued orders for a retreat on Lisbon, and directed Baird to fall



back on Caceres (November 28). He believed that Spain was mine and that Portugal was indefensible, and he was prepared to retreat even Lisbon if the French should push their invasion home.

Meanwhile the Emperor, as soon as the news of Tudela reached his desk straight at Madrid. He was only vaguely aware of Moore's position on his flank, and paid no attention to him. The Junta, he made a hasty attempt to cover the two defiles which lead to Madrid having driven to Segovia and the Godoyerrans pass the wrecks of the Talamandara army, and thrown into the Somosierra pass a few remnants of new levies and a few isolated battalions of the army of Andalusia. The Emperor, leaving Segovia alone, advanced in a single column against the Somosierra, and forced it after a short combat on November 30. On December 2 he appeared in force in front of Madrid. The Spanish capital was an open town devoid of any regular defence and had no gunners save some of the fugitives from the Somosierra. But the populace were in a paroxysm of patriotic frenzy, and had sworn to make a second Saragossa of their home. They held out for one day behind unimproved batteries and earthworks; but, when the French stormed the Puente Nuevo heights, which command the whole plain, and forced their way into the Puente, the enthusiasm died down and the town surrendered (December 3).

From Dec. 4 to Dec. 22 Napoleon remained in the neighbourhood of Madrid, laying down laws and drafting projects for the reorganisation of Spain, and giving his troops a short rest before they should be called upon to march on Lisbon and Cadix. His reserves and outlying columns were beginning to come in; and he had, in and about Madrid, some 75,000 men. Meanwhile Llanos, with the army which had won the fight of Tudela, was directed to besiege Saragossa and make an end of Palafox; while Marshal Soult, whose corps lay in Old Castle, covering the Emperor's flank and rear, was directed to invade Lugo and disperse the wrecks of Blake's old army. The Emperor's next move would have been to march on Lisbon, whether he assumed that Sir John Moore would have withdrawn when he heard of the fall of Madrid.

But nature had gone otherwise in the north-west of the Peninsula. Moore had ordered a retreat on Lisbon on November 28; but on December 2 he changed his mind, mainly because he had heard exaggerated reports of the desperation with which Madrid was defending itself, but partly also because he had been at last (December 2) reprieved by his long-lost artillery and cavalry, and had discovered that there was nothing to prevent Blake from joining him. In these circumstances, he was required that he should not retire without striking a blow in behalf of Spain. Accordingly he resolved to execute a diversion in Old Castle, and to make a raid on Valladolid or even on Burgos, with the object of distracting the Emperor's line of communication. In this plan he persisted, even when, on December 3, he received news

of the surrender of Madrid. He knew that his move was a dangerous one, and wrote to Blücher that "both you and me, though we may lack big, and determine to get everything forward, yet we must never lose sight of this, that at any moment affairs may take the turn that renders it necessary to retreat." They must advance "bullet in hand" and ever ready to carve off to the rear. Moore marched from Salamanca on December 11; two days later, he learnt from a captured despatch that the Emperor was unaware of his presence, and that Soult was lying in an isolated position on the Guadiana river, with less than 50,000 men. He thereupon resolved to change his direction, and to endeavour to surprise and defeat Soult before he could be reinforced. Turning north, he was joined by Baird on December 23, which raised his force to about 27,000 men. He drove in the French cavalry in several successful combats, and on December 25 lay at Salamanca close in front of Soult. The Marquis of La Romana, Blake's successor, was slowly bringing up the disorganised wrecks of the army of Galicia to his aid.

A battle would have followed next day, had not Moore received from a Spanish source, on the afternoon of the 27th, the news that Napoleon had at last heard of his whereabouts, and had started from Madrid in pursuit of him with the main body of his army. Without a moment's hesitation, the British general faced his columns to the rear, and dropped off westward on the road to Benavente and Astorga. He had thrown up his base in Portugal, and was intending to retreat to Vigo and Cádiz. He did not start a minute too soon. Napoleon, on receiving tardy but certain news of the advance of the English army against Soult, had at once given orders (December 13-20) that the greater part of the troops at Madrid, not less than 65,000 men and bayonets, should hasten by forced marches to throw themselves upon Moore's rear, and cut him off from his retreat on Portugal or Galicia. The sight of the red-coats in the distance had at once drawn him off from all his other plans, and the idea of capturing a whole British army excited him to almost frenzied raptures. He drove his troops across the snow of the Guadarrama pass in the midst of a blizzard which smote down horse and man, and urged them across the plains of Old Castile at a breakneck pace. But Moore was too quick for him. When the cavalry of the Emperor's van-guard reached the line of the Esla on December 25, the British were safely across the river and out of danger. As the French pressed on, Lord Paget turned back with his horsemen, and cut to pieces the *chasseurs à cheval* of the Imperial Guard at Benavente (December 26), capturing Lefebvre-Desnoettes, their commander, and many of his men.

The Emperor urged on the pursuit for two days more, but threw it up in disgust at Astorga on January 1, 1809. It is usually said that he turned back because of news received concerning the threatening attitude of Austria. This was the official view; but it seems probable that reports of intrigue at Paris, in which Fouché, Talleyrand, and

Mount were all concerned, had more to do with the Emperor's return. The pursuit was headed near to the camps of Ney and Soult. About 85,000 men were ordered to follow Moore and La Romana, whose marching army had fallen back on Astorga just as the British arrived. The rest of the force that had taken part in the Emperor's movement was sent back to Madrid or stationed in the kingdom of Leon.

The retreat of the British from Astorga to Corunna occupied only twelve days; but an immense amount of misery was compressed into that short space of time. Moore believed that his best policy was to withdraw with such regularity as to leave the enemy far behind. He had calculated that the pursuers would probably follow him no farther than Villafraña, so that he would have a quiet and undisturbed embarkation at the end of his retreat. Accordingly he made very long marches, not unobscured by night; the army covered on the average seventeen miles a day, in a rugged mountain country covered with snow and set up by towers and cliffs. The troops, profoundly fatigued at not being allowed to fight, and wearied out by perpetual marching, got out of hand. Many regiments left multitudes of stragglers behind, and plundered the villages by the road. Drunken massacres and *horrescunt stragiones* fell by hundreds into the hands of the pursuing French army. But the rear-guard under Paget held together staunchly, and roughly repulsed the enemy when any attempt was made to drive them in. Yet the French stuck to the heels of the retreating army, and could not, as Moore had hoped, be shaken off. On January 11 the British reached Corunna, in a very deplorable condition, only to find that the transport-fleet had not arrived. It came up two days later, and the embarkation began. But Soult had also appeared, and, to secure a quiet departure, Moore had to fight the battle of Corunna (January 16). Four days' rest and the advent of the long-debated opportunity for fighting had pulled the army together; and, when Soult assailed the British intrenchment—the cavalry and guns were already on board—he suffered a bloody repulse. Moore was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball in the thick of the battle, or he would probably have attacked in his turn and driven the French into the river Mera, which lay at their backs. But his successor, General Hope, was content with having repulsed Soult, and embarked his troops at leisure next day.

Thus ended Sir John Moore's celebrated campaign, which undoubtedly saved Spain and Portugal for the moment, by distracting the Emperor from his southward advance, and by drawing his field army, which might have reached on Lisbon and Cadix, into a waste and rugged corner of the Peninsula. "As a diversion it has succeeded: I brought the whole of the disposable force of the French against this army," wrote Moore in his last despatch; and this was absolutely true. The interception was so fine, and the result so satisfactory, that it seems unnecessary to criticise the details of the operations. But we may agree

with Wellington that "the John Moore's error was that he did not know what his men could do," and allow that he drove them too fast in the march from Astorga to Salamanca, with great resulting loss. Of 6000 men lost by the way, some no doubt perished owing to their own indisciplined, but more because they were wearied beyond the limits of human endurance. But this was a cheap price to pay for executing Napoleon's original plan for the conquest of the Peninsula, just when he himself was on the spot and able to combine the movements of all the French corps in a way that was never again possible.

After shadowing the pursuit of Moore to Soult and Ney, the Emperor returned to France. His great *coup de maître*, the capture of the British army, had failed, and the projected invasion of Portugal and Andalusia had been postponed; but, in the main, he was not disappointed with the results of his campaign. The spirit of the Spaniards—as he fancied—was completely broken. "*Les affaires d'Espagne sont à peu près terminées*," he wrote to one of his ministers, and he returned to suppress intrigues in Peru and to watch Austria. Moore's diversion had, however, allowed time for the Spaniards to rally, and had stopped the French advance for two months. By that time the shattered Spanish armies were once more reorganised, and able to resume their struggles if too often unsuccessful resistance. The Spanish affair was far from being "nearly at an end," as Napoleon supposed. He had yet to discover that to defeat a Spanish army was easy, but to destroy it difficult. The routed hordes dispersed, took to the hills, and reassembled again to give further trouble. Spain was not the country to be subdued by a single *levée* or *Armée*. The loss of Madrid counted for little or nothing; every province continued to fight for its own hand, and no region could be considered conquered that was not held down by a French garrison planted at every cross-road.

During the winter of 1808-9, Moore's diversion had caused the suspension of the French operations in all quarters save two, Jaen and Catalonia, the two regions from which no troops had been withdrawn for the race to Salamanca. Jaen had been won with two corps to take Saragosa, into which Palafox had withdrawn his part of the army that had been routed at Talavera. The siege began on December 23, 1808, and lasted for nearly two months. Palafox was no strategist and made numerous blunders of detail, but he was obstinate and enthusiastic, and his position was far stronger than it had been in the preceding July and August. He had nearly 60,000 men or less equipped fighting men, and the steep walls of his city had been strengthened by machine and batteries since the first siege. The Aragonese fought with their usual obstinacy; and it was not till January 27, 1809, that the French succeeded in breaking through the outer curtain of Saragosa. Three weeks of deadly street-fighting still remained before them. Jaen only won his way by blowing up house after house, and storming street after

street. When the place surrendered, it was because fire and sword, pestilence and famine, had destroyed the garrison. Over 20,000 fighting men, with some 30,000 of the population, had perished. Desperate but disorganised patriotism had failed when pitted against military science. But it was clear that the people who could make such a stand were not likely to become the passive subjects of the French Emperor.

In Catalonia matters went no less badly for the Spaniards. Governor Saint-Cyr, whom the Emperor had sent to relieve Dalmaze and his beleaguered army, commenced his operative action by taking Huesca (December 5), and then pushed through the mountains to Saragossa. He routed Belling, the victor of Baylen, at Cardener on December 16, and cut his way through to join Dalmaze. Their united forces then sallied out and beat the army of Catalonia at Molins de Rey (December 31) just outside Saragossa. Even then Belling's spirit was not broken. Rallying his troops, he took the offensive, but he was defeated by Saint-Cyr for a third time at Valls (February 25, 1809). In this last fight Belling was mortally wounded; his broken host that clung up in Tarragona or took to the hills, leaving Saint-Cyr free to commence the siege of Gerona, the great fortress commanding the road from the French frontier to Saragossa.

Meanwhile the Spanish line of defence was being reconstructed. The remnants of Castille's still army had gathered in La Mancha, and took their part at the foot of the passes of the Sierra Morena, under General Castaños. The still more dilapidated divisions vanquished at Guesard and the Somosierra rallied behind the Tagus. They were in a fearful state of indiscipline, and had murdered their general San Juan on a wild charge of treason; but their new commander, La Cuesta, a more and respectable but conspicuous veteran, reduced them to order by a series of military exercises. Blake's old army of Galicia, now under La Romana, after parting from Blasco's retreating force at Astorga, had retired into the mountains and was reorganising at Oviedo. Blake himself had been sent to Valerida, and was busy in getting together a fresh army to that feeble and well-fortified province. Including other levies in the Asturias and Andalusia, the Supreme Junta, which had now established its seat at Seville, could plan some 180,000 men in the field in March, 1809.

But more important, in the end, than the survival of any Spanish army was the fact that 5000 British troops still remained in Portugal. There were the battalions that had been left in Lisbon when Moore marched to Salamanca in the preceding autumn. Their very cautious general, Sir John Cradock, kept them close to the Portuguese capital, only to retreat if the French should advance in force. Fortunately for Portugal, for Great Britain, and for Europe, the British Government had resolved to continue the struggle in the Peninsula at all costs. In February General Beresford was sent out to reorganise the Portuguese army, with some scores of British officers to help him, and a great

value of war stores and equipment. On April 2 a far more important announcement was made. Sir Arthur Wellesley, the victor of Vitoria, was named commander of the British forces in Portugal, and ordered to sail for Lisbon at short notice. This appointment was due to Lord Castlereagh, who showed a steady confidence in Wellesley, and always employed him as his chief military adviser. The general had stated that, if granted a British army of 22,000 or 26,000 men and the control of the nation's forces, he would undertake to hold Portugal against any French army not exceeding 180,000 men. This was contrary to Sir John Moore's doctrine that Portugal was untenable, but the Government, urged on by Castlereagh, resolved to take the risk. Reinforcements began to be sent out; Wellesley himself reached Lisbon and supervised Cradock on April 22, 1808.

Even before the campaign of 1809 had begun. Before quitting Spain, Napoleon had laid down the general lines that were to be followed by his marshals. Soult, leaving Ney behind him to hold down Gálizia, was to march with his own corps from Coimbra on Portugal, and to take first Oporto, and then Lisbon. So sanguine was Napoleon that he hoped that the Portuguese capital might fall before February 15. On the other side, Victor, with his corps and certain reinforcements, was to meet the Tagus, crush La Cuesta's army of Estremadura, take Badajoz, and then march on Seville. Sebastian's corps was to deal with the other Spanish army in the south—that of La Mancha under Cartagenal; but Victor's was to be the decisive blow. Catalonia and Aragon were side-scenes of comparatively little importance.

The French columns duly advanced, in obedience to the Emperor's orders; but inevitable hindrances—bad roads, bad weather, and difficulty of supplies—caused them to start far later than he had intended. Soult left Coimbra with 22,000 men, after turning over the charge of Gálizia to Ney. On March 9 he crossed the Portuguese border near Chaves; La Romana, with the main body of the Spanish army of Gálizia, had retired northward, slowly retreating before him. Soult's invasion of Portugal was an unbroken series of combats with a half-armed peasantry, backed by a few battalions of disorganised line-troops. They did their best, but were utterly unable to stand before the French veterans. At last, on March 25, the Marshal forced his way to Oporto, and found in front of the city a line of hastily constructed earthworks manned by 30,000 insurgents, headed by their bishop and uncontrolled by any proper military organisation. He stormed the lines two days later, and made a horrible slaughter of the Portuguese, around thousands of whom were driven into the river.

But here Soult's initiative came to an end; he was unable to carry out the Emperor's instructions by advancing against Lisbon. He was cut off from all communication with other French armies by insurgents on his rear. The remains of the Portuguese forces that he had beaten were hanging in a great mass on his left flank; if he left a competent

garrison at Oporto, he would not have enough troops for the final advance; and he now knew that there was a British force awaiting him somewhere near Lisbon. Accordingly he halted, sent out flying columns to open his communications with Oporto, and wrote to the Emperor to more troops. Meanwhile he amused himself by assuming quasi-regal state at Oporto, and seems to have dreamed of becoming "King of northern Lusitania."

The other French advance had come to a similar standstill at about the same moment. Two Spanish armies, it will be remembered, had been collected for the defence of Andalusia—that of Cartagena covering the eastern passes, that of La Cuesta beyond the line of the Tago. On March 27 Sebastian beat Cartagena at Castled Real, and forced him to take shelter in the Sierra Morena. But the French general had realised orders not to press his victory; it was Victor who was to deliver the great blow. On March 18, that evening crossed the Tago high up, then turning the position which La Cuesta had taken behind the central course of the river at Almaraz. He had about 25,000 men, a force slightly exceeding that of the Spaniards, who drew back when their flank was turned, and retired across the mountains into the valley of the Guadalequivar. Here La Cuesta was reinforced by a division drawn from Cartagena's army and ordered battle, for he was as rash as he was unskillful in the field. He took in hand no less a scheme than to surround the French in the open plain near Medellín, and advanced in a line four miles long and only four men deep. The natural result followed; the French cavalry broke his left-center by a furious charge, and then rolled up his isolated wings in detail. The slaughter was awful, for there was no friendly mountain or ravine to shelter the routed troops; more than 7000 were cut down, and nearly 3000 made prisoners (March 20). Nevertheless Victor's offensive was exhausted at Medellín, just as that of Soult had been at Oporto. Insurrection had burst out in his rear; his army was weakened by detachments, and suffering from want of food. He could hear nothing of Soult, whose advance on Lisbon was to synchronise with his own on Seville. He declared that he was not strong enough to besiege Badajoz, much less to invade Andalusia, and halted in the valley of the Guadalequivar, clamouring for reinforcements which King Joseph at Madrid was too weak to send him.

Such was the condition of affairs when Wellington landed at Lisbon. The French invasion had come to a standstill. Soult would not move without reinforcements from Bay, nor Victor without reinforcement from Madrid. Wellington at once grasped the situation; he had at his disposal, counting the newly-arrived regiments from England, some 25,000 British and 18,000 Portuguese troops. This was enough to enable him to deal a crushing blow at either Soult or Victor, while leaving a detached force to "contain" the other. Without a moment's hesitation, he resolved to deal with Soult first, and, having 15,000 men

at Abrantes to watch Victor, marched with the rest on Oporto. Successful in the north, he intended to rush back to Estremadura as dual with the second French army.

Everything favoured Wellington's enterprise. Soult had dispersed his army to hunt down the Portuguese immigrants, and was attacked before he could concentrate. At the moment when the blow fell, he was more intent on suppressing a republican conspiracy among his own officers than on watching for any advance on the part of the British. On May 12 Wellington was in front of Oporto, while Soult was hurried assembling his troops and preparing to retreat. Noting the confusion in the French ranks, Wellington hurried out at evening his successful passage of the Douro, throwing his advanced guard across a long river edged with precipitous cliffs, where he noted that the enemy he expected to guard all the passages. The move was completely successful and Soult was hunted out of Oporto and driven eastward, in search of the division of his army which had not yet been able to join him. So, Wellington had thrown a Portuguese force under Beresford across the line of retreat by which the enemy could strike up the Douro into Spain. Thus intercepted, Soult rallied his rearing columns, but found that it was shut in between Wellington, Beresford, and the impenetrable and redoubtable mountains of the Serra de Santa Catalina. Barring his baggage and destroying all his artillery, he escaped by goat-tracks over the hill towards Galiza. Hotly pursued by Wellington, and harassed by the peasantry, he finally got off with the loss of 3000 men, and left his camp in a disorganized mass in Orense. He found that Galiza was no real backwater for him; the whole province was up in arms, and the detachments of Ney's corps were fighting for existence against La Romana's army and the local guerrillas. With some difficulty Soult and Mo, ultimately concentrated at Lugo, and resolved to devote themselves to creating the Galician insurrection.

As they were thus engaged, Wellington had ample time for a blow at Victor in Estremadura. But, while he was hurrying his veteran troops from Oporto to Abrantes for a rapid stroke at the 1st corps, the French army of the south was enduring such dire starvation that Victor at last resolved to retire towards Madrid, before the whole force should become ineffective from sheer exhaustion. He evacuated Estremadura about the middle of June, and retired to the valley of the Tago fixing his head-quarters at Talavera. Thus he abandoned all that he had won at Medellin. This rearward movement of the 1st corps compelled Wellington to revise his plans, since Victor was no longer isolated, but had fallen back to a position where he was in close touch both with Madrid and with Schuster's in La Mancha. After taking counsel with La Costa and the Junta at Seville, Wellington consented to embark on the first and only campaign which he ever undertook in company with a Spanish colleague and without superior control over



the whole conduct of affairs. The scheme was ambitious, yet not unimpeaching if the details had been properly carried out. The Junta undertook that Venegas, now in command of an army of La Mancha, should distract the attention of Sebastian and King Joseph by a cautious demonstration against Madrid. Meanwhile Wellington was to march up the Tago, unite his forces with those of La Costa, and endeavour to catch and crush Victor's corps while still isolated. He did not fear interruption from the other French armies, believing Ney and Soult to be occupied with the Galician insurrection.

On July 18 the British troops, just 30,000 strong, joined La Costa's Extremaduran army, which had been raised to a strength of 35,000 men, near Almaraz; and the two bodies marched in company against Victor. The Marshal drew back before them, evacuated Talavera, and retired towards Madrid. Matters looked fairly well, though La Costa had proved a very perplexing colleague. It was, however, not he, but Venegas, who ruined the campaign. That officer, instead of detaching Sebastian in his front, remained inactive, and allowed the enemy to march away unimpeded. Thus Victor, Sebastian, and King Joseph, who had brought up the last reserves from Madrid, were able on July 25 to mass nearly 50,000 men in front of Wellington and La Costa, ignoring completely the army of La Mancha.

There followed the bloody battle of Talavera, extending over the two days (July 25-26). Wellington and La Costa had taken up a position extending from the Tago to a bare hill three miles north of it. The Spaniards held the right in the town of Talavera and its suburbs and *aldea-guena*, the British the left, partly in the plain, partly on the isolated hill which marked the end of the line. Victor, overruling King Joseph and Jourdan, who were theoretically in chief command, delivered three desperate attacks on the British position, leaving only a few thousand cavalry to contain the Spaniards. He had cover before met the British, and, looking on the first line opposed to him, exclaimed, "*si on n'ajoutait pas ça, il faudrait renoncer à faire la guerre.*" Practically the whole of the French infantry threw themselves upon Wellington's half of the line, with a superiority in numbers of nearly two to one. The fighting was desperate, and at one moment the British left-centre was broken. But Wellington saved the day with his single reserve brigades, and the French drew back, leaving 17 guns and 7000 killed and wounded upon the field. The British had suffered even more heavily in proportion, losing 5000 men out of 30,000 present. The Spaniards were but slightly engaged, and their casualties were trifling.

Both armies were exhausted, and when, during the night, the French retired from the field, Wellington was unable to pursue them. King Joseph's position was now a dangerous one, for Venegas and the army of La Mancha had at last come up, and were beginning to threaten Madrid in his rear. But an interruption from a new quarter suddenly

changed the whole face of the campaign. On July 30 the news came in that Scott with a considerable force—how great no one yet knew—was moving from Salamanca on Plasencia and the middle Tago, so as to cut the British communications with Portugal.

A few words are necessary to explain the appearance of this army upon the scene. When Scott had been driven back into Galicia in May, and had there met Ney, the two Marshals had agreed to cooperate; Ney was to clear the north-land, Scott to sweep the interior. But they were jealous and suspicious of each other's loyalty; and the joint movement was a failure. Ney was checked by the insurgents at the victory of the Odeón; Scott, disregarding his colleague's difficulties, made off to the south-east, and ultimately descended into the plains of Leon. Therefore Ney, declaring that he had been betrayed and abandoned, suddenly evacuated Galicia, withdrew all his garrisons, and returned into the plains by another route. Thus, by June 30, Galicia was delivered from the French, but, on the other hand, two corps, 34,000 strong, which had been locked up in this remote corner of Spain, had returned to the valley of the Douro, and were now available for the main central operations of the summer campaign of 1809.

It was this fact that revised Wellesley's plans for the recovery of Madrid. On hearing of the advance of the British and Portuguese armies along the Tago, Scott had written to King Joseph (July 28), asking for leave to fall upon the rear of the Allies, while the troops of Victor and Sebastian were detaining them in the front. He had been given permission to do so, and had received, in addition to the two corps lately arrived from Galicia, a third, that of Morillo, which had recently been driven back from Aragon into Old Castile. With this large body of troops, about 80,000 strong, he marched from Salamanca on July 27, the first day of the battle of Talavera.

On July 30 Wellesley was warned that French troops were descending upon Plasencia and threatening his communications with Portugal. On August 5 he started off to fight them, believing that Scott was retiring to his rear with no more than a few divisions. But, on the following day, an intercepted despatch revealed to Wellesley and La Costa the real strength of the approaching enemy. They at once saw the danger of their position, and retreated behind the Tago by the bridge of Arroyo, abandoning at Talavera 4000 wounded, for whom no transport could be procured. There was still some danger that Scott might anticipate them at Almaraz, the main passage of the Tago, but Wellesley seized this important strategic point by a forced march (August 7), and the situation became comparatively safe. The Anglo-Spanish armies had now a broad river in front of them, and a fair line of retreat behind; and the French could no longer hope to surround them. On August 8 Scott forced the passage of the Tago at Arroyo, driving off the Spanish division which used to defend the bridge,

but that was his last forward move. The only remaining incident of the campaign was that on August 13 Vitoria gave battle to the King and Sebastian at Almonacid near Tudela. He was beaten and forced back into La Mancha, with a loss of 2000 men. It is difficult to say whether he was more to blame for his culpable slowness at the commencement of the campaign, when he failed to debilitate the *schuys* in his front, or for his culpable rashness at the end of it, when he courted and suffered a wholly unnecessary defeat. No further active operations occurred in central Spain till the autumn. The French army dispersed in order to get food; and Wellington, in equal danger of starvation at Almona, retired on August 20 to the valley of the Guadiana, where he remained quiescent for several months recruiting his army. Thoroughly disgusted by his experience of co-operation with Casta, he refused to lend himself to any of the plans for offensive action in company with the Spanish armies which the Junta proposed.

While the Talamon campaign was in progress, there had been sharp fighting in Aragon and Catalonia, regions in which the war always took a course wholly unaffected by the main struggle in Castile and Portugal. General Blake, having raised a new army in Valencia, had advanced in May with the object of reconquering Saragossa. He was attacked (May 25) by Suchet, the new commander of the French army of Aragon, but repulsed him in a sharp fight at Alcala. Confronted by advance, Blake pursued Suchet and brought him to action again at Maria just outside the gates of Saragossa. But on this occasion the Spanish army was beaten (June 10); and, after suffering a second and more decisive defeat at Belchite (June 18), the Valencians dispersed in disorder, leaving Suchet master of the plains of Aragon.

Meanwhile, in Catalonia, Saint-Cyr had been occupied during the whole summer and autumn in the siege of the fortress of Gerona, a place of very moderate strength, but held by a gallant and resourceful garrison, General Mariano Alvarez, and a garrison whose courage and endurance surpassed even the best that had been attained by the defenders of Saragossa. From May 8 to December 10, 1809, the French lay before its ramparts, keeping up an incessant bombardment and making assault after assault upon the breaches. They won the outworks, but could not penetrate into the town, till sheer starvation and incessant fighting had practically annihilated the garrison. Blake came up from Valencia with the wreck of his army to disturb the siege, but was too weak to drive off Saint-Cyr, and only succeeded in prolonging the agony of Gerona by throwing in a few convoys and some trifling reinforcements. On December 10 the place surrendered, the garrison and nearly the whole of the surviving defenders being prostrate in the hospitals. From first to last the siege had cost the French 80,000 men. This was undoubtedly the most brilliant piece of service performed by the Spaniards during the whole Peninsular War.

Long before Girona fell, the ball in the main operations in Castile, which followed upon the battle of Talavera, had come to an end. Seeing the French beaten, the Spanish Junta resolved to take the offensive again in October. They asked, but asked in vain, for the cooperation of Wellesley (now Viscount Wellington), who warned them that if their armies tried to fight general actions they would be beaten, and brought them to confine their efforts to the defence of Andalusia. Nevertheless the Junta ordered a new advance on Madrid. The force was to take part in this scheme, starting from two remote bases. The larger consisted of the old army of La Mancha, formerly commanded by Vandyke, to which had been added the greater part of the army of Extremadura. La Ocaña had been invaded in August; Vandyke had been disgraced after his defeat at Almonacid; and the united force was entrusted to General Arriaga, an officer more rash and decidedly more incapable than either of his predecessors. He was ordered to march on Madrid with some 35,000 men and to hear down all opposition. At the same time, del Parque, with La Romana's old army of Galicia, now amounting over 20,000 legueros, was ordered to advance into Leon, and to move on Salamanca and ultimately on Madrid.

Del Parque started first, pushed boldly forward, and met the French 6th corps, commanded by General Marchand in the streets of Vey, at Tordesillas near Salamanca. Taking a strong position, he awaited the attack of the enemy, and beat them off, the casualties being on equal and 1,000 men (October 18). Marchand was forced to evacuate Salamanca, which the Spaniards occupied. After a pause, del Parque advanced again, but found that the enemy had received reinforcements, which made him too strong to be faced. The Spanish general began to fall back, but was surprised and beaten at Afia de Torres (November 19). His army fell back, with a loss of 3,000 men, partly on Galicia, partly on Ciudad Rodrigo.

The fate of Arriaga in the south was far worse. Starting from the passes of the Sierra Morena on November 3, he made a valiant dash for Madrid, driving before him at first the small French detachments which occupied La Mancha. But, having reached Corda near Acayón, only three marches from the capital, he found heavy forces gathering in his front, was stricken with sudden irruptions and reverses, and waited to be attacked by the enemy. King Joseph, having collected the corps of Martini and Sebastiani and the Madrid reserves, fell upon him with 35,000 men on November 15, and inflicted on him a defeat less bloody, indeed, than that of Medellín, but even more disastrous. The French made no less than 15,000 prisoners; some 6,000 Spaniards were killed or wounded. It took five weeks to collect the wrecks of the army in the Sierra Morena; and, even then, only 15,000 out of the 50,000 men with whom Arriaga had started could be rallied.

The rout of Ocaña ended the fate of southern Spain. Napoleon

was now free from the Austrian troubles which had absorbed his attention during the summer of 1808, and was at liberty to turn his whole attention to the *Peninsula*. He sent up large reinforcements, and ordered a general advance, before the enemy should have recovered from the effects of *Alba de Tormes* and *Ocaña*. It was in his power to throw the great mass of his troops either on Seville or on Lisbon; in other words, to break the centre of the Spanish line of defence and occupy the fertile *Andalusia*, or to overwhelm Wellington and drive the British out of Portugal. Fortunately for Great Britain and for Europe, the Emperor chose the easier enterprise, and ordered Soult, with the corps of Victor, Sebastiani, and Marmont, to force the *Serra Morena*, occupy *Andalusia*, and drive the Spanish army of the south into the sea. The conquest of Portugal was to be postponed till the next year. Accordingly Soult led out some 70,000 men at midwinter, threw himself upon *Andalusia*, and in less than a fortnight overran the whole kingdom. On January 10, 1810, the passes of the *Serra Morena* were forced at three points; Seville fell on January 31; and by February 4 the French advance-guard was in front of Cadiz, the only town that had not been submerged by the flood of invasion. The demoralized troops of Arango had dispersed or fled into *Huelva*, and Cadiz itself was only saved by the Duke of Albuquerque, who threw himself into the town with 10,000 men from *Extremadura* just before Victor arrived.

The loss of *Andalusia* appeared the alarming disaster of the whole war; and many observers, both French and English, thought that the end was at hand. But it was really a blinding disguise; the whole Imperial field-army available for offensive operations was absorbed by the tasks of garrisoning the newly conquered kingdom and of besieging Cadiz. No surplus troops remained for an attack on Portugal; and meanwhile Wellington was preparing the defence of that realm with a thoroughness which no one expected. He had completed his regular army, drilled and armed some scores of thousands of militia, and got well to work on the famous lines of *Torre Vedra*, against which the advancing wave of French invasion was to surge in vain during the coming year. In short, the seven additional months of preparation which were granted for the organization of the defence of Portugal were all-important.

There was a long gap in the offensive operations of the French between the conquest of *Andalusia* and the commencement of the invasion of Portugal. The former enterprise had been completed in February, 1810, the latter did not begin till August. The reason of this delay was that the Emperor waited till the spring before sending across the *Pyrenees* the reinforcements from Germany, which were to form the bulk of the army destined for the march on Lisbon. Nearly 100,000 troops were ostensibly poured into the *Peninsula* for this purpose, including two new corps, the 8th and 20th, under Junot and Duroc,

the command of the whole, Marshal Masineo, lately created Prince of Eching for his services on the Danube, had been selected. The Emperor's choice was good, for despite his personal faults—he was selfish, greedy and quarrelsome—Masineo was more capable of conducting a great campaign at the head of 100,000 men than any other of the generals he took up his command at Valladolid on May 15, 1810.

Meanwhile Seville, in the far south, was busy with the siege of Cadix. It was an imposing enterprise; for the town, situated at the point of a peninsula projecting far into the sea, and separated from the mainland by a broad creek, is almost impregnable without the assistance of a fleet. It was to this purpose that the French bombarded the warring defenses at long range. Cadix was "observed" rather than besieged, and Victor's corps had always to be left in front of it. That of Schauenburg lay at Granada and Malaga, charged with the duty of keeping down the insurgents of the Sierra and watching the Spanish army of Maoria. For further offensive operations Seville could only count on Masineo's corps; the Emperor had directed that he was to use it, when Masineo was ready to start the main attack on Portugal, for the reduction of Badajoz and Evora, and finally for an invasion of the Alentejo which would take Lisbon in the rear. But Masineo was long in moving, and Seville waited for the signal without impatience, being well content to devote himself to organizing the civil government of Andalusia—a profitable nationality for one who loved money and was an indelible and unscrupulous collector of works of art.

In the eastern parts of the Peninsula the war during the spring of 1810 did not stand still, as in the north, but it was unproductive in its results. Suchet, having reduced the plains of Aragon to obedience, risked an advance against Valencia with a column of 12,000 men, a force too small for the enterprise. He was repulsed (March 5-10) and forced by the news of fresh results in Aragon to retire to Saragossa. Turned by this check that he must not go too far afield till he had made all safe in his rear, Suchet now turned his attention to the reduction of the fortresses on the borders of Aragon and Catalonia, and speedily captured Lerida (May 14) and Mogeton (June 6). He had now won his way far down the Ebro valley, and one further push would take him to the sea, and enable him to cut the communications between Valencia and Catalonia. Meanwhile Angaran, who had replaced Saint-Cyr in Catalonia in time to receive the surrender of Gerona in December, 1809, fared far worse in the new year. His only success was the capture of the petty mountain fortress of Hostalrich (May, 1810), while his failure was many; for the Catalans were obstinate and enterprising, and their general, O'Donnell, was a man of resource. So many of Angaran's warring detachments were cut off, and so many of his enterprises proved fruitless, that early in the summer the Emperor recalled him to France in disgust, sending Macdonald, Duc de Thaurin, to supersede him.

But events in Aragon and Catalonia were unimportant compared with the great invasion of Portugal, which was just about to commence. At no period of the struggle did matters look so hopeful for the French as at this moment. Masineu had under him 130,000 men, of whom three corps (the 3rd, 8th, and 9th), over 70,000 strong, were to form the actual field-army; while the 5th corps and other troops guarded the plains of Leon in his rear, and the Imperial Guard came up to occupy Navarre and Old Castile. This seemed an overwhelming force to turn against Wellington, who had less than 50,000 British bayonets and sabres, about the same force of Portuguese regulars, and a mass of native militia units in the field and only 50 for garrisons and detachments in the mountains. Moreover, the British general had always to guard against the chance of a separate invasion of the *Alentejo* by Soult, far to his rear. To aid him there were two weak Spanish armies, the remnants of del Parque's old force—one in Galicia, the other in Estremadura near Badajoz; together these forces did not number 35,000 men, and they were much demoralised by their late defeats. Neither gave any profitable assistance during the campaign in Portugal.

When Napoleon began his advance, the two Castiles, with Aragon and Andalusia, were quiet. The guerrilla bands which afterwards troubled them had not yet developed their strength; and the French garrisons were so strong that no corner of central Spain was left unguarded. In this season there were no less than 370,000 French troops in the Peninsula—a larger number than was ever seen before or after. Every where, save in Catalonia, the Spaniards seemed discouraged; and it appeared probable that one further effort would drive them to despair and surrender. The Supreme Junta, which had hitherto conducted the war, had become so unpopular that it resigned its powers to a Regency of five members on February 5. But the new Government, if not so arrogant and unshakable as the old, inspired little confidence. Had the invasion of Portugal proved successful, there would have been no power of resistance left in Galicia, in Cadiz, in Valencia, or even in Catalonia; and the war would have ere long finished out.

Masineu had resolved not to start on his great enterprise till all the troops from Germany were nearing the front, and some of them, especially the 9th corps, were still far in the rear. He had also resolved to secure his base of operations in Leon, by capturing the fortress of north-western Spain, before he crossed the frontier of Portugal. Astorga, the outer bulwark of Galicia, had fallen on April 22, after an honourable defence. The greater stronghold of Ciudad Rodrigo made as even more creditable resistance, its governor, Herrero, holding out from April 25 till July 19 against all the efforts of Ney. His laudable tenacity caused the invasion of Portugal to be postponed till August, to the satisfaction of Wellington, who needed every moment that he could gain for the organisation of his defence. He had refused to risk

a battle for the relief of Ciudad Rodrigo, though proved to be so both by the Spaniards and by, none of his own officers, his forces were not yet strong enough to face the French in the plains, and lay distributed along the hills of the Portuguese frontier, observing the enemy from a distance.

It was not till August 24 that Massena crossed the Coa at the head of the main body of his army. He then laid siege to Almeida, the fortress which protects north-eastern Portugal against attacks from the side of Spain. It was defended by a good native garrison under an English governor, Colonel Cox; and Wellington had expected it to delay the enemy as long as Ciudad Rodrigo. But on the third day of the siege a shell exploded the mine powder-magazine, nearly the whole town was destroyed, and Coa was forced to surrender next day (August 27). Having entered Almeida with such unexpected ease, Massena called up all his columns, 55,000 strong, collected his stores and provisions, and advanced into Portugal on September 12.

On plunging into the interior of Portugal, Massena was surprised to find the whole country-void, and even the larger towns, completely deserted by their inhabitants. This was the first intimation that he received of Wellington's new and original scheme of defence. He had obtained from the Portuguese Regency permission to order all the people of the invaded districts to retire from their houses after destroying all their food-stuffs. The wealthier classes were to make their way to Lisbon or Oporto, the rest to take refuge in the mountains, or in regions to which the French columns could not easily penetrate. Knowing that Napoleon's armies relied chiefly on local requisitions, he rightly supposed that such a device would soon reduce the invader to great distress. Meanwhile he had prepared a secure refuge for his own army, by constructing across the neck of the peninsula on which Lisbon stands the celebrated Lines of Torres Vedras. These were not mere field entrenchments, but solid closed works connected by ditches and palisades, and furnished with ample provision of heavy guns from the Lisbon arsenal. Skilled engineers, aided by the whole of the able-bodied peasantry of Estremadura, had been at work on them for more than half a year; and they were now perfectly complete. The first line was 25, the second 22 miles long from sea to sea; they included 126 closed redoubts, defended by 487 pieces of artillery. The ground in front of them had been cleared of all cover, and on the more exposed points the slopes had been scraped away. Finally, to provide against the possible but unlikely contingency of the lines being pierced, a third series of fortifications had been built at the mouth of the Tagus, to allow the army to retrace its safety in the event of disaster. A very large force would be required to man so long a front. Wellington had arranged that the whole British army, nearly 60,000 strong, five-sixths of the Portuguese regulars (a force of about the same strength), and some 12,000 Lisbon and Estremadura militia should hold the lines.



He even borrowed during the autumn 2000 Spanish troops from the army of La Romana, which lay at Badajoz, so that, in the end, he could count on nearly 100,000 men for the defence, though a large proportion of them were of inferior material.

But this was not the whole of Wellington's plan. The cities of northern and central Portugal were not taken inside the lines, but were ordered to wait till the French army should have passed on into the interior, and then to cut its communications, burn its wag, and involve it in a net of mobile columns. They were directed to avoid all serious fighting with large forces, but to destroy stragglers and detachments, cut off convoys, and prevent the enemy from foraging his shield. If Masséna dropped small parties to guard the most important points on his line of advance, they would be cut off and destroyed. If he kept his whole army in a mass, he would move on in a sort of perpetual blockade, with an active but intangible enemy hemming him on all sides. When he reached the lines of Torres Vedras and was forced to stop, he would find himself the besieged rather than the besieger. The main difficulty in Wellington's plan was the dreadful sacrifices imposed on the peasantry of central Portugal, who were asked to quit their houses and destroy their possessions in the face of approaching winter. But a combination of patriotism and wholesome fear of the overwhelming preponderance of the French sufficed to cause the orders of the Regency and the commander-in-chief to be carried out.

Masséna was entirely unprepared for the tactics used against him. He imagined that he had but to win a battle somewhere in front of Lisbon, and so to compel the British to embark: the capital and the whole kingdom of Portugal would then be his own. He advanced through northern Beira for ten days, while the army of Wellington retired before him, refusing to commit itself to a fight. The route which he had taken, to the north of the Mondego, by way of Vizeu, at last brought him in front of the position of Bussaco, where the main road to Coimbra and Lisbon crosses a range of perpendicular heights. On this commanding ridge, which overlooks all the upland of central Portugal on one side, and the plain of Coimbra on the other, Wellington stood at bay; he did not intend to make a permanent defence of the position, well knowing that it could be turned on the left, but merely to check the French if they should venture on a direct attack. His troops were eager for a fight, and he was anxious to indulge them if it could be done without risk. It would be useful too, from the political point of view, to bring to the lines of Torres Vedras only after having won a victory which should inspire public opinion.

Masséna acted much as Wellington had hoped. He had never before seen a British army in battle, and thought that this might be driven, by a vigorous attack in column, even from such ground as that which lay in front of the convent of Bussaco. He had a distinct superiority in

numbers—about 25,000 men to 30,000—and knew that half his opponent's army was composed of Portuguese, for whom he had a supreme contempt. Accordingly, on September 21, he launched Ney's corps against Wellington's left-center, and Beresford's against his right-center, keeping Junot's in reserve to decide the victory. The two great columns of assault were directed against the least propitious parts of the English position, but even here the slope was steep, and, when the French had failed to the summit under heavy musketry fire, their order was broken and their impetus spent. Charged vigorously by Crauford's light division on the left, and by Picton's 2d division on the right, they were rolled down the hill in fearful disorder and with great loss. The actual clash of battle hardly lasted an hour, but the French lost five generals and 4,000 men killed and wounded. Wellington's casualties were less than 1,000, and only a third part of his army had been engaged. It was a matter of immense relief and encouragement that the Portuguese line regiments had stood perfectly steady and had contributed their fair share to the victory. After this Wellington knew that he could safely trust them in line of battle—a piece of knowledge which well-nigh doubled his fighting power.

Having suffered the well-earned punishment for trying to "rush" a British army severely posted in a good position, Masséna took the obvious step of turning Wellington's left wing by the direct road through Beira. His opponent had expected this move, and promptly ordered his retreat, evacuated Coimbra, and fell back towards the line. The Marshal occupied the deserted town, where he found food-stuff, that had not been properly destroyed, in quantity sufficient to enable him to resume his advance (October 1). Now that he had reached this point, orders came to demand that he should establish a new base at Coimbra, and leave a division to guard it and to care for the sick and wounded who now encumbered his march. But Masséna felt that he would require every available man for the battle in front of Lisbon which he believed to be impending. Accordingly he took the rash step of leaving all his sick and wounded at Coimbra under the guard of half a battalion, and with the remainder of his army hurried on in pursuit of the British (October 4). The moment for the blunder was not long in coming. On October 7 Colonel Trant, the commander of the select militia brigade, learning of the weakness of the base at Coimbra, surprised the place at dawn, and captured both the position and the men in hospital, 5,000 in all.

Wellington's army passed within the lines on October 11, securing the whole population of northern Estremadura, which moved down to take refuge in and about Lisbon. On the following morning Masséna's columns came up; the Marshal had only heard of the existence of the lines five days before, and was even now ignorant of their strength. But when he had surveyed them with his own eyes, and had made men or

two tentative attacks on some of the outlying positions, he resigned the hopefulness of his situation. He had now not much over 50,000 men left, and saw that it would be useless to risk an attack with such a force. His provisions were running out, and the *Reata* militia had closed in upon his rear, so that he commanded no more ground than that on which his three army corps were encamped. His communications with Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo had long been cut; and he had not the least idea what was going on in León, or whether his reserves were on their way to join him. Nevertheless he remained for a month in front of the lines, hoping against hope for some chance to make a successful assault, and then retired to Santarém, thirty miles up the Tagus. He despatched, meanwhile, letters to the Emperor begging for material aid, but all the results of his campaign should be lost.

In and about Santarém the French army shuddered from November 10, 1810, to March 5, 1811, obstinately refusing to retire, though by the end of that time it was suffering from sheer starvation. When the resources of the region had been worn up, the army had to live by paying marching columns into the surrounding districts—columns which were always opposed and often destroyed by the Portuguese militia. Wellington refused from attack; for hunger was doing the work of the sword, and the warring army dwindled day by day.

Marmion had hoped for more effective assistance from Soult, who, according to the Emperor's orders, was to cooperate in the attack on Lisbon by advancing into the Alentejo, and threatening the Portuguese capital from the south. But Soult's movements were begun too late; he had no love for Marmion, and refused to hurry. He came up with a single corps, the 6th under Mortier, into Estremadura, and prepared to capture Badajoz as a preliminary to the advance into Portugal. On February 10 he destroyed the Spanish army of Estremadura at the battle of the Gebora, and then began to press the siege of Badajoz. The place made a weak defence, and was surrendered by its cowardly or treacherous governor Inez on March 16.

Five days earlier Marmion had in despair abandoned Santarém and started on his weary retreat to Ciudad Rodrigo across the mountains of central Spain. The army of Portugal would have perished if it had remained a fortnight longer in its advanced position. It was now in a desperate plight, nearly all the horses were dead, the men, decimated by long privations, left the columns in thousands and hunted the Portuguese peasantry in the mountains in the search for food. The atrocities which they committed on these marching tours surpass description, and brought about horrible retaliation on all French parties surprised by the natives. Prisoners on either side who were merely shot were thought to have got off lightly.

On hearing of Marmion's departure, Wellington started off in pursuit with five divisions, joining two others to Beresford, with orders to march

through the Alentejo into Spanish Estremadura, and, if possible, to relieve Badajoz. Beresford's march, however, was made fruitless by the surrender of Badajoz two days before the army of war-wear could reach the vicinity. Masine's retreat from Santarém to Ciudad Rodrigo occupied just a month (March 5—April 6), and was conducted with great skill. Ney, who took charge of the rear guard, fought a long series of partial actions to detain the British van, but nearly always drove off just in time to escape serious loss. The only action in which the French were severely punished was at Sabugal (April 5), where the British light divisions surprised the foot corps in a fog, and killed or wounded more than 1000 men.

The French army had entered Portugal on September 22, 1810, with some 63,000 sailors and bayonets, and had received some 8000 or 1000 more in reinforcements while at Santarém. When it recrossed the frontier on April 5, it numbered only 45,000 men. Masine therefore had lost some 18,000 men during the seven months of his campaign—far more by sickness and starvation than by the sword, for he had fought only one general action, that of Bussaco, and a dozen combats, in none of which (save Sabugal) the casualty list was heavy. He had been dislodged from Portugal, not by force but by Wellington's use of the terrible weapon of hunger. The price that the Allies had paid for their success was no insignificant one; a broad strip of central Portugal had been reduced to a desert, and many thousands of its inhabitants had perished. But thereby the rest of the realm had been saved; and the end was well worth the sacrifice. For the moral effect of Masine's defeat was enormous; the Emperor had sent forth his lieutenant, with much pomp and circumstance of war, to "drive the impious into the sea." The whole of Europe had been summoned, as it were, to look upon the spectacle of the parliament of the English for their rash attempt to defend a corner of the Continent against the invincible French arm. For many months the fall of Lisbon had been prophesied, and Masine's death and miseries had been usefully conveyed. When the wreck of the army of Portugal fell back on Ciudad Rodrigo, the facts could no longer be kept secret. The offensive power of the French hosts in Spain was spent; and it may be said that the retreat which began at Santarém only ended at Toulouse.

During the six months which Masine spent in Portugal, the course of the war in the other regions of the Peninsula was on the whole favourable to the French. The successful operations of Soult, described above, were carried out in spite of a strong diversion which the Allies conducted on the side of Cadiz. That place was full of troops, including an Anglo-Portuguese division of nearly 3000 men under General Graham. The Spanish Government was anxious to make what use it could of this accumulation of forces. Power at Cadiz was no longer in the hands of the Regency which had been appointed in

February, 1810—a Cortes, or national parliament, had been summoned to meet on September 24. It was not a very representative body, many members were in the hands of the French, and the delegates who sat for these regions had not really been chosen by the people. Yet it was energetic and vigorous, if too much given to ill-temed discussions. The Spanish Liberals had a predominance in it, and the "aristocracy" or partisans of absolute monarchy were in a decided minority.

When the news of the departure of Soult and the 33d corps for the siege of Badajoz became known at Cadix, the Spaniards were eager that something should be done to disturb the small army under Victor which was blockading the city. Accordingly, in February, 1811, a Spanish force of 9000 men under General La Peña, accompanied by 4000 British under Graham, was sent down the coast to Trafalgar on shipboard, and put ashore with the object of attacking the French lines from the flank and rear. The expedition was not quite large enough for the end in view, for Victor had nearly 30,000 men dispersed along his front, and, without entirely encircling his reënforce and batteries, could gather a force sufficient to turn back La Peña and Graham. The Anglo-Spanish army marched for three days along the coast, and on March 5 reached the heights of Barrosa, overlooking the southern extremity of the French lines. Here Victor, aware of their approach, had gathered all the available troops of the 1st corps. He sent one of his three incomplete divisions to demonstrate against the Spaniards, who formed the head of the Allies' long column of march, and fell with the other two upon the British, who formed its rear. La Peña allowed himself to be overthrown by the five thousand men on his flank, and sent no aid to Graham, who had to fight a battle of his own, with about 4500 men opposed to 7000. Nothing daunted, the British general turned about, and fell upon the retreating column with desperate resolution, though he had to attack uphill. Once more the line proved too strong for the column; and Graham's musketry shattered and drove off the French with a loss of 8000 men, six guns, and an eagle, his own casualties amounting to 1500 killed and wounded. La Peña, in spite of his colleagues' urgent entreaties, refused to send him cavalry or reinforcements, or even to take up the pursuit of the routed force. Indignant at this desertion, Graham led his troops back to Cadix. La Peña followed two days later. The two generals returned as a campaign of wangling; and the expedition, which might have worked half the French lines, came to an ignominious end. No more was attempted on the side of Cadix for some months.

Miravalles, in eastern Spain, Sardin was co-operating with Maschenko, who had superseded Angereau in command of the army of Catalonia. Their main object was to capture Tortosa, and so to block the communications between Catalonia and Valencia, and cut the Spanish defence in two. In December, 1810, Maschenko, though much harassed by the indomitable Catalans, succeeded in pushing northward, and placed

himself in a position from which he could cover the *dege* of Tortosa, while the actual attack was confined to Sagunt and the *aves* of Aragon. The operations were conducted with Berthet's usual decision and activity; the defence was so feeble as to cause not unconstant suspicions of treachery; and Tortosa fell on January 3, 1811, after holding out for less than three weeks. This was a serious blow to the patriotic cause; Catalonia was henceforward isolated, and only kept in touch with the other unsubmitted Spanish provinces by means of the British ships ever hovering about its coast. Yet it showed no signs of weakening in its defence; indeed, the most daring exploit of the Catalans during the whole war was carried out in the spring following the fall of Tortosa.

On April 9 the lords of its northern border took by surprise the great fortress of Figuera, which commands the road from France to Gerona and Barcelona. Macdonald had at once to depart with the larger half of his army to attempt the recovery of this important place. Meanwhile the Emperor ordered Berthet to take charge of the conquest of northern Catalonia, and assigned to him the remainder of Macdonald's troops. Thus strengthened, he was ordered to lay siege to Tarragona, the one great support of that region still in Spanish hands, and the rallying-point and arsenal of the Catalan army. Berthet, leaving Macdonald to shift for himself as front of Figuera, concentrated every man for this enterprise, and set down before Tarragona on May 4. Contreras, the governor, made an honourable defence; but the place was stormed on June 18, and sacked from cellar to garret, with much unnecessary bloodshed among the civil population. The loss to Spain was great; and the surviving Catalan demons had to take to the hills since the last of their aspers was gone. Yet still they held out, and the province remained unsubmitted.

We must now return to the operations of Masséna and Wellington. When the Prince of Ruider moved across the Spanish frontier on April 3, the only forte remaining to him from his nine months' campaign were the two fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida. While the French army was retiring to the neighbourhood of Salamanca, Wellington had siege to Almeida. The Marshal had to make his choice between allowing it to fall unopposed, or leading forward his exhausted army once more in the hope of raising the siege. An night have been expected from his indefatigable temper, he chose the latter alternative. But, seeing that his cavalry was almost destroyed, and that he could not lose half his guns, he made a desperate appeal to his colleague Beresford, the commander of the army of the north, to aid him with all his artillery, and as many squadrons as he could concentrate. The younger marshal showed no great zeal for the enterprise, but brought 1,000 horses and a single battery to Ciudad Rodrigo on May 1. With this small auxiliary force, and the whole surviving strength of the army of Portugal, some 30,000 *infantes* and *bayonets*, Masséna marched on Almeida.

On May 2 the second Wellington's army, about 54,000 strong, arrived across his path on the heights of Fuentes d'Onoro. On the first day of battle Masina endeavored to force back the British line by a frontal attack; he failed, and after waiting a day despatched half of his troops to turn Wellington's right flank by a climb to the south. On May 3 the struggle was renewed; again the assault on the British front was repulsed, but the turning column forced back the extreme southern wing of the allied army, and compelled its general to throw back part of his line on to new ground. Here he stood to receive a third attack; but Masina dared not deliver it. His ammunition had run short, his troops were exhausted; and his colleague Beresford and his corps-commander were unwilling to prevent with the attempt to relieve Almeida. He was forced to abandon the place to its own resources, and drew off on May 8. In the two fights he had lost nearly 3000 men, Wellington not more than 1800. Beresford, the commander of Almeida, on hearing of the result of the battle, blew up the walls of his fortress and walked out at midnight (May 11) with his garrison, to cut his way through the lines of the besiegers. His courage was rewarded by success, and he escaped with two-thirds of his force to Masina's outposts. But Almeida, the last hold of the French in Portugal, was lost, and Masina had sought to save the place, not the garrison.

The Marshal's career had now come to an end. Napoleon, dissatisfied with his conduct of the campaign of Portugal, observed that "Masina had grown old," and superseded him by the young and ambitious Marmont, who had still his eyes to win as the commander of a large army. The new chief arrived at the front on May 6, and took over the charge of the army of Portugal on the 18th. His first action was to disperse his exhausted divisions into cantonments in the province of Salamanca, where they began to repair the losses they had suffered during the late campaign.

The state of the French army was not concealed from Wellington, who resolved to utilize the army's extended leisure for a real into Extremadura, and an attempt to capture Badajoz. Leaving four divisions on the Portuguese frontier opposite Marmont's army (May 15), he marched with two to join Marshal Beresford and the force which had been detached against Soult at the moment of Masina's retreat from Santarém. But, before he could arrive, matters had come to a head in this quarter, and a battle had been fought. Beresford had marched from Lisbon into Extremadura at the end of March. His operations were dilatory, and it was not till May 8 that he succeeded in driving off the 8th corps, which Soult had left on the Guadiana, and in investing Badajoz. The remains of the Spanish army which had been crushed at the Gebora, and other troops sent from Cadix, now came to his aid, under Castaños and Blake.

On May 10, after receiving news of the investment of Badajoz, Soult

marched from Seville with the reserves of the army of Andalusia, and on May 15 presented himself with 32,000 men in front of the position of Albuera, where the allied army stood prepared to dispute his passage. Beresford had drawn off his army from the trenches three days before, and had concentrated nearly 32,000 men; but of these less than 6000 were British. There was his fighting ground well-chosen; his front was covered only by a broad army, where feasible; and dense woods on the further bank, prevented him from discovering the enemy's movements.

At dawn on May 16 Scott delivered his attack against the flank and cut the front of the Allies. Crossing the stream high up, under the shade of the woods, he fell unexpectedly upon Beresford's right wing, which was composed entirely of Spanish troops. While endeavouring to change their front, Blake's regiments gave way; but Beresford came up with the British 2nd division, and attacked the head of the French column. At the moment when the troops were closing, a furious man-storm swept over the hill-side; and, under cover of it, a brigade of French light cavalry charged in upon the flank and rear of the British and absolutely annihilated the three leading battalions. The surviving seven battalions of the 2nd division maintained for a long time a desperate, unequal, battle with the 8th corps, in which neither side gained an inch. Scott's rear brigades were coming up, and Beresford flinched and thought of retreat; but he was persuaded by Colonel Hastings to throw into the fight his last troops, three British and three Portuguese regiments of the 4th division. Mowat's fusiliers thrust aside Scott's reserves, and falling upon the flank of the 8th corps drove it off the field. This struggle was the most bloody incident of the whole Peninsular War; on both sides the infantry had maintained the battle at close quarters, and had fallen by companies and battalions as they stood. Over 6000 French were killed or wounded; but their proportion of casualties was as trifling to that of the British, who lost 4100 men out of less than 5000 present. The Portuguese had about 400 killed and wounded, the Spaniards 1000, so that the total casualties among the Allies were not much less than those of the enemy. They had also lost a gun, five standards, and 600 prisoners. But the object of the battle had been achieved, in spite of Beresford's untimely management; after lagging for another day in front of his adversary's position, Scott retreated towards Andalusia, leaving 1000 of his severely wounded to the mercy of the Allies. The victors therefore were able to resume the siege of Badajoz on May 26.

When Wellington arrived from the north and assumed command in Extremadura, he resolved to press the siege with vigour. But his engineers were unskilled; his Portuguese battering train was both small and weak; and two assaults were beaten off with loss. On June 12 he was obliged to retire from before the well-defended fortress, for Marmont had sent his whole army and marched southward to join Scott. The British



divisions left near Almeida had executed a march parallel to that of the French army of Portugal, but, even when they had been united to the force in Estremadura, Wellington had not the numbers to face the two Marshals combined in the open field. He therefore retired to the Portuguese frontier, and took up a position behind the Guza river, which he strengthened with field-works, here he waited with 50,000 men in line, making an attack. Soult and Marmont had brought 100,000 men to relieve Badajoz, but only by stripping Leon and Andalusia of their garrisons, and leaving them now exposed to the incursions of the Spaniards. From June 22 till July 4 the two Marshals lay in front of the Guza, threatening an attack. These twelve days were the most critical period of the campaign, for hardly ever again were the French in a position to send Wellington with superior numbers and force him to fight for the safety of Portugal. But they held back, and on July 4 Soult marched away to save Sevilla from an attack by Blake. Marmont, too weak to fight without his colleague's assistance, drew off to the valley of the Tagus, and the crisis in Estremadura came to an end.

Seeing no immediate hope of securing the siege of Badajoz, for a movement against it would have brought back both Soult and Marmont to the Guadiana, Wellington resolved to transfer his main force back to the north, and to threaten Ciudad Rodrigo. On Aug. 1 he set out for Almeida and Sabugal with six divisions, leaving two in Estremadura. Bernadotte was not again trusted with the command of this independent corps; and the detachment placed to observe Soult was assigned for the future to the charge of a cautious and steady general, Sir Rowland Hill. On arriving near Ciudad Rodrigo, Wellington began preparations for the siege; but the hitherto train, which was to come from Oporto, was still far off, and for some weeks he could do no more than blockade the fortress from a distance. The demonstration, however, was enough to pull Marmont out of his cantonments; assembling his whole army, he left the valley of the Tagus and called to his aid Dornellas, who had lately succeeded Tassier in the command of the army of the north. More confident than his predecessor had been at the time of Tordes D'Almeida, Dornellas came up with four strong divisions; and, when the two armies joined near Salamanca on Sept. 11, they numbered 60,500 men and bayonets. Against such a force Wellington could do nothing, as he was inferior in numbers by nearly a third. Without firing a shot, he allowed Ciudad Rodrigo to be relieved (Sept. 23), and retired into the Portuguese mountains.

The enemy followed hard upon his steps, and he was forced to cover his retreat by two one-sided actions, at El Bodon (Sept. 23) and Aldea de Ponte (Sept. 27). On the 28th Wellington had concentrated his army in a strong position in front of Sabugal, where the ground was so much to his favour that he dared to offer battle. Marmont and Dornellas, being without the provisions and transport which would have

justified them in commencing a serious invasion of Portugal, refused to attack. They retired after reticulating Ciudad Rodrigo, and departed their armies into winter quarters. Wellington at once came down upon them the heights and re-opened the blockade of the fortress. But he was not in a position to press it closely so long as the roads and the weather were favourable to the re-concentration of the enemy; he lay by two months waiting the moment when a coup de main would be practicable.

Thus the main series of operations in Spain came to an end in October. The French offensive was spent; neither north nor south of the Tagus had their commanders dared to resume the invasion of Portugal, even when they had collected an imposing force and greatly outnumbered Wellington's field-army. To concentrate such masses for a serious campaign, they were forced to strip the provinces in their rear, and, when these regions were left unprotected, they layed at once into insurrection. Such could not quit Andalusia, nor Marquis León and the Tagus valley, for more than a few weeks, under pain of losing the country behind them often. Enormous as was the force—over 300,000 men—which the Emperor had thrown into Spain, it was still not strong enough to hold down the conquered provinces and at the same time to attack Portugal. For this fact the Spaniards must receive due credit; it was their admirable spirit of resistance which enabled Wellington, with his small Anglo-Portuguese army, to keep the field against such largely superior numbers. No sooner had the French concentrated, and abandoned a district, than there sprang up in it a local Junta and a ragged apology for an army. Even where the roads lay thickest, along the route from Bayona to Madrid, guerrilla bands harassed themselves in the mountains, cut off carriers and scouts, and often isolated one French army from another for weeks at a time. The greater partisan circles, such as Mina in Navarre, Julian Sanchez in Leon, and Paez in the Castalian hills, kept whole brigades of the French in constant employment. Often beaten, they were never destroyed, and always succeeded to strike again during blow at the point where they were least expected. Half the French army was always employed in the fruitless task of guerrilla-hunting. This was the secret which explains the fact that, with 300,000 men under arms, the invaders could never concentrate more than 70,000 to deal with Wellington.

There is little that needs description in the operations in eastern and southern Spain during the latter months of 1811. On August 5 Such defeated an attempt of the army of Murcia to invade the kingdom of Granada, but was unable to push his advantage, having to keep a watchful eye on Cádiz and Badajoz. His only offensive movement in the winter was an attempt to take the small fortress of Tarifa, near the Straits of Gibraltar, which was handsomely repulsed by the British garrison of the place (Dec. 1811). Mahonville in Catalonia was occupied by the long siege of Figueras till September had almost arrived; and,

even when it had fallen, he accomplished little against the insupportable fortifications of the mountains.

Further south, however, matters went differently. After capturing Tarragona, Suchet had resolved to leave Catalonia affairs in his colleague Blücher's hands, and to strike at Valencia, the largest and wealthiest city in the whole nation which still remained in the hands of the patriots. In September he led the greater part of the army of Aragon down into the Valencian coast-land, and laid siege to the rock-fortress of Sagunto, which forms the chief bulwark of the fertile Huerta. It was well defended by General Asensio; and, when it had beaten off two assaults, Blake came to raise the siege with the whole of the armies of Murcia and Valencia. Suchet refused to meet him, and on the plain south of Sagunto was fought (October 25) the last pitched battle of the war in which a Spanish army, assisted by British troops, attempted to face the French. Blake, though he attacked vigorously, was defeated with a loss of 5000 men. But his disaster did not end here. Sagunto surrendered next day; and Suchet then pushed on against Valencia itself. He had obtained leave from the Emperor to draw on the army of the north for reinforcements; and, when he had been joined by Berle and two divisions from Navarre, he advanced on a tired front, sweeping Blake's army before him. On December 22 he fought a long, running fight with the Spaniards, and drove two-thirds of them, with their commander-in-chief, into the city of Valencia; the remainder escaped towards Murcia. Blake had not intended to be shut up in this fashion; the place had no regular modern fortifications, nor had it been properly provisioned. He made two feeble attempts to break out, and was forced on Jan. 9, 1812, to surrender at discretion. This was the last and not the least of the disasters of the Spanish armies; 15,000 men laid down their arms, and only a remnant was left in the field to maintain the struggle in Murcia. Suchet was now at the height of his fortunes; he had been made a marshal for capturing Tarragona, and was now created Duke of Albufera and given viceregal power over all eastern Spain. But the capture of Blake's force was to be the last, as well as the most striking, of his exploits.

Even before Valencia fell, the fortunes of war were beginning to turn on the more important theatre of war, along the Portuguese frontier. Wellington had been watching his opportunity for a reserved attack on Ciudad Rodrigo, and found it at midnight, when the armies of Portugal and the north were dispersed in distant encampments. He calculated that he might count on three weeks before they could concentrate in such force as to drive him off. Hence he was forced to work in haste, under pain of seeing his scheme fail if the place had not fallen within that time. But all went well; on January 6 he invested Ciudad Rodrigo and brought up his battering train. On the 18th he had begun to breach the walls; on the 22nd the first and light divisions

stormed the place. This was sharp work, for, by the strict rules of discipline, the attack should have been held back some days longer, till the fire of the defence had been subdued and the breach had been made more practicable. But speed was necessary, and Wellington's happy audacity was justified by the result. The splendour of the success was somewhat tarnished by the misconduct of the valiant troops, who scaled the town in the most unskilful fashion.

Marmont had called out his army from its encampments on receiving the news that Wellington had invested Ciudad Rodrigo; but bad roads and worse weather prevented him from concentrating at Salamanca before January 25, and by that time he had received news that the place had fallen. Seeing no profit in a winter campaign, he sent back his divisions to their old quarters. Wellington, thus left unharassed, proceeded at once to carry out the second half of his great plan. As soon as he was certain that Marmont's army had dispersed, he marched with six divisions on Extremadura, there to join the detached corps of Hill. Starting on March 2, he reached the gates of Badajoz on the 16th. The moment was even more favourable than he could have expected for a great offensive movement. Napoleon had now the Russian war looming clearly before him, and had begun, for the first time since the war began, to draw troops from Spain. In February he had recalled 15,000 men of the Imperial Guard from the army of the north, and had directed Soult and Berthier to send him their two Polish divisions; he had also ordered off some German troops; so that, as a net result, the army of Spain was 30,000 men weaker than it had been in the autumn of 1811. This disposition was most important, as it was now far more difficult for the enemy to concentrate superior numbers against the Anglo-Portuguese, either in the valley of the Guadiana or in that of the Douro.

Badajoz, like Ciudad Rodrigo, had to be besieged "against time", for it was clear that Soult and Marmont might unite to relieve it, as in June, 1811, if the siege were long protracted. Accordingly, Wellington pushed matters as fast as he could. On the twentieth day after the investment had begun, he ordered the place to be stormed, though his preparations were still incomplete and the defence was still strong. Badajoz was taken, though at the cost of dreadful bloodshed: nearly 5000 men were killed or wounded, and the main assault on the bastion failed. But Picton and Leith, with the 3rd and 5th divisions, penetrated into the town by escalade, and the French were forced to surrender. Expenses far worse than those committed at Ciudad Rodrigo degraded the storm, the troops got entirely out of hand, and fell to plunder, rape, and arson, in the most desperate fashion. It was three days before they could be restored to discipline.

Soult arrived in Extremadura with the bulk of his army a few days after Badajoz fell; he refused to fight when he heard that the place was lost, and retired to Seville. Marmont, instead of marching straight to

the Guedras, had taken the unwise step of trying to draw off Wellington to a fancy into central Portugal. But the British general disregarded this diversion, believing himself quite capable of dealing with the Marshal where Salajez should have fallen. He was justified in his belief. For, on hearing of the disaster, Marmont hastily withdrew from Portugal and fell back to the middle Douro.

On learning that Marmont had retreated, the British general determined to pursue him, and to push matters to a decisive issue in Lousa. But, before marching on Salamanca, he resolved to strike a blow which should make the united action of the armies of Portugal and Andalusia even more difficult than it had recently been. Their sole line of communication was by the best-bridge of Almaraz on the central Tago; if this was destroyed, they had no way of keeping touch with each other save the dangerous route through Madrid. Accordingly Hill was directed to send a lightly-armed expedition through the mountains and to break the bridge. This feat he accomplished on May 18, surprising and storming the two forts which guarded the structure, and burning its posterns. Having then secured himself from the danger that Bonaparte might come up in time to renew the army of Portugal, Wellington challenged Marmont to battle by marching straight on his head-quarters at Salamanca, and laying siege to the forts which dominated the town (June 27). The Marshal, having concentrated the greater part of his divisions, appeared three days later in front of the British army; but he found that he was somewhat outnumbered by the allied forces, and instead of attacking, retired behind the Douro (July 6). The Salamanca forts fell ere he had completed his retreat.

The campaign then stood still for a fortnight, while Marmont was waiting for reinforcements. He called in the French garrisons of the Asturias, and brought aid from the army of the north, in command of which Caffarelli had now superseded Beresford, and from King Joseph at Madrid. Both promised him help, but both were tardy in carrying out their promises; and Marmont was impatient. When he had been joined by the Asturian division alone, he crossed the Douro and resumed the offensive. Wellington fell back before him, till he had reached the immediate vicinity of Salamanca, and then drew up his army on the heights to the north of the town (July 28). The contending forces were very nearly equal in numbers, each having about 42,000 men in line, but Wellington was handicapped by the fact that more than a third of his army was composed of Spanish and Portuguese troops. Over-eager to pass his adversary, and to cut him off from the direct road to Portugal, Marmont took the dangerous step of pushing his left wing forward to turn Wellington's right, and extended his lines on a much longer front than was safe. While he was executing his flank march across the front of the British position, Wellington came down upon him with the speed and fury of a thunderbolt. The united

French left wing was suddenly assailed in front by Wellington's right, which descended from the heights, while the first division under Packham, which had been concealed in woods and had escaped Mar-mont's notice, fell upon its flank and rear. Three French divisions were routed and dispersed in half-an-hour, and Vermont himself was gravely wounded by a round-shot as he was hastening to repair his flank. The remainder of the army of Portugal, the centre and right of its line, moved themselves as a defence position, and fought hard to save the day; but they were gradually pushed off the field by a concerted attack from front and flank. They lost 8000 killed and wounded, 7000 prisoners, two eagles and 12 guns, and Clauzel, who had succeeded to the command, was unable to rally the wrecks of the army for many days. The disaster would have been still greater, if a Spanish force which Wellington had placed to block the ford of Alba de Tormes, over which the routed host retreated, had not left its post without orders before the battle.

The victory of Salamanca shook the French domination in Spain to its very foundations; and its results were felt to the remotest corners of the Peninsula. King Joseph and his army of the centre had started from Madrid on the day before the battle, and would have joined Marmont, had he only waited three more days before fighting. As it was, the King and his 15,000 men had to retreat in haste, as soon as it was known that Wellington was moving on Madrid. The latter had sent one division and his Spanish auxiliaries to pursue Clauzel, while with the rest he marched upon the capital. Joseph was forced to fly, with his Court, his officials, and the Spaniards who had sold themselves to his cause, a mixed multitude of 10,000 souls. Fearing that, if he retired towards France, he would be taken in flank by the British, the King ordered a retreat on Valencia, where he could take refuge with the victorious army of Suchet. On August 12 Wellington entered Madrid in triumph, and next day compelled a garrison of 1800 men, which Joseph had left in the *Real Bastion* forts above the city, to lay down their arms. Leon and both the Castiles were thus delivered from the power of the enemy. Nor was this all; Suchet at Arisañeta now found himself cut off from all the other French armies, and saw that he could no longer maintain his position in the far south. Everlasting with bitter regret the splendid provinces where he had reigned as Viceroy for three years, he concentrated his whole army, some 60,000 men and bayonets, and marched to join Suchet at Valencia. The Spanish troops thereupon emerged from the long-blockaded Cella and reconquered Arisañeta; while Hill, left with no enemy before him in Extremadura, moved up the Tago to Madrid.

The very completeness of Wellington's success had led to a dangerous concentration of the French armies, which, giving up the attempt to hold down the provinces of the south and centre, had gathered in two

threatening power. Scott, Sacket, and the King had nearly 40,000 men at Valencia, the army of Portugal had fallen back to join the army of the north; and 40,000 men were assembled about Burgos and in the upper Ebro. It was clear that Wellington, with some 60,000 men concentrated at Madrid, could not face these overwhelming numbers if they acted in unison. But he hoped to keep them apart, and he had just received from the Cortes the chief command of all the active forces of Spain, which gave him the power of ordering detachments from many quarters against the enemy. Unfortunately, the Spanish generals were dishonest and even dishonest, and comparatively little profit accrued to Wellington during the autumn of 1812 from this quarter. Only the Galician army, some 11,000 men, was at this moment actively engaged in his support. The forces which had come out of Cadiz made little attempt to distract Scott; and the Murcians and Valentines were completely moved by Sacket. A British force of 6000 men from Italy landed at Alcantara on August 7, but was far too weak to have any effect on the general course of operations on the eastern coast.

Trusting, however, that the great accumulation of French troops at Valencia might not be immediately dangerous, Wellington left Madrid on September 1 with four divisions, and joined the troops whom he had left in the Duero valley, with the intention of pushing back the French force in the north. Hill, with three divisions, remained at Madrid to guard against any movement on the part of Scott and the King. On September 19 the British main army appeared in front of Burgos; and Clauzel retired before it to the Ebro, after having thrown a barrier into the forts above the city. Wellington was of opinion that Burgos must be reduced before he could venture to pursue the French into Alava or Navarre; he therefore invested its citadel. The siege lasted just a month (September 18—October 19). It was the most unfortunate operation which he ever conducted. The place, though small, was strong; and the material provided for the attack was miserably insufficient, only eight heavy guns being available. For want of transport, a sufficient train was never brought to the front; and Wellington was foiled. Though the outer works were captured, four successive attempts to storm the castle failed; and a whole month was wasted.

This misstep enabled the French to combine and arrange for a general forward movement against the allied armies. Souham, who had succeeded Clauzel in command, led the armies of Portugal and the north to relieve Burgos; while Scott and the King, leaving Sacket to hold down Valencia, marched upon Madrid with 60,000 men. Wellington would probably have fought Souham if he had not been aware that even a victory to this part of the field would not save Hill from being crushed by the superior numbers that were moving up against Madrid. He was compelled to fall back in order to unite the two halves of his army, and, while retreating slowly from Burgos along the valley of the Duero, met

Hill orders to abandon New Castile and join him at Salamanca. The two retreats were carried out with complete success, and the whole allied army was concentrated on the Tago by November 3. But the two armies of Soult and Beresford had also combined, and nearly 100,000 men were facing Wellington on his old battlefield south of Salamanca: during the whole war the French had never before gathered so large a force upon a single line. The British general had hoped that the drought of provisions and the miserable autumn weather would arrest the further progress of the enemy. But Soult pressed on, always turning the right of the allied army; and Wellington was forced to fall back for three marches more till he had reached Ciudad Rodrigo (November 28). The last stage of the retreat was made in descending rain-soaked roads that had become almost impassable, and cost the retreating host several thousand men in sink and stragglers, who were left behind to perish or fall into the hands of the enemy. But the French also were in a desperate state of exhaustion, and at last drifted from the pursuit.

In spite of the failure at Burgos and the losses in the subsequent retreat, the net results of the campaign of 1812 had been most satisfactory. Though the French had reconquered Madrid and Toledo, they had been compelled to evacuate all northern Spain. Extremadura, Andalusia, and La Mancha had been completely freed from the invaders; and the numbers of the Imperial armies had exceeded 40,000 men. They were now thrown upon the defences, and had lost confidence in their ultimate success. But this was not the worst of their misfortunes. At Madrid the retreat of the army of the Emperor's civil division in the retreat from Moscow; and shortly afterwards he began to requisition troops from Spain to reconstitute the Grand Army. Soult was summoned off to Germany, and with him many other generals, a number of complete regiments, and a still greater proportion of cadres composed of picked officers and non-commissioned officers, who were to train the mass of conscripts which was being levied for the next campaign. Yet so numerous were Napoleon's resources that, after deducting men in hospital or detached, there were still nearly 200,000 French troops left in the Peninsula in the spring of 1813.

Of these, 60,000 men were under Suchet in Valencia, Aragon, and Catalonia; the remainder—the armies of Portugal, the south, the centre, and the north—were still facing Wellington. Yet the British general was able to commence the operations of the new year with a greater prospect of success than he had ever before enjoyed. He had about 70,000 fighting men of the best sort as his own Anglo-Portuguese army, and with these the main blow would have to be delivered. But he was also in a position to utilize all the scattered Spanish forces as he had never done before. Badajoz and many other generals who had disobeyed orders in 1812 had been rewarded in disgrace; and in 1813 Wellington could rely upon obedience. There were about 60,000 Spanish regular



troops available in Galicia, Estremadura, and La Mancha, but quite as important were the guerrillas who had been stimulated to redoubled activity by the success of the previous year. Indeed, it may be said that these bands were of greater profit to the cause of Spain in 1808 than were her armies; for their daring and constant raids during the spring diverted the attention of the French from the early operations of Wellington, and caused them to spread their divisions far and wide to regions remote from the real point of danger. So harassed were the French that Marshal Jourdan, who directed King Joseph's armies upon the departure of Soult, determined to make a desperate attempt to beat down the main bands before concentrating in face of Wellington. The fatal error was committed in March, when the whole army of the north and four divisions of the army of Portugal were drawn up into the northern mountains, and devoted to the sole task of exterminating the guerrillas. Dispersed in numerous columns, and cut off from each other by the active insurgents, these 40,000 men were no longer available for the main operations upon the Douro.

While Chasol and Foy were hunting Misa and his compere to little effect, the line of battle from Salamanca to Toledo was too thin for safety. The French armies were dispersed over an immense front, and, to draw together in any strength, they would be forced to fall back far to the rear and to abandon vast tracts of territory. Meanwhile the campaigning season had arrived; and Wellington saw his advantage. It was clear that the French would expect his main attack to be delivered from the direction of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, as in previous years. Their defensive positions had been taken up to guard against this possibility. But, instead of repeating his old move, Wellington secretly passed up five British divisions to the north of the Douro into the Portuguese province of the Trás-os-Montes. Bagaçosa, not Ciudad Rodrigo, was to be his real base; and the larger half of his force was thus placed in a position from which it overlapped the extreme French right wing, and could turn its flank whenever it attempted to make a stand. Jourdan had forgotten to guard against this possibility, since this north-eastern extremity of Portugal was so rugged and so badly furnished with roads that it had never before been used as the starting-point of a large army. Graham, the trustee of Bagaçosa, was placed in command of this corps; while Wellington remained in person at Ciudad Rodrigo, with three divisions, but the news that he had gone northward should arouse the suspicions of the enemy.

It was not till May 15 that Graham had struggled through the defiles of the Trás-os-Montes, and commenced his descent into the plains of Leon behind the French flank. Wellington himself therefore only set out on the 23rd; but, when once the advance was begun, the results were startling. The enemy's van-guard retired from Salamanca without

Old Castle. But, every time that he thought that he might stand in front of Wellington, he discovered that Graham had marched onward and was behind his right wing. The British attack had been directed so far to the north that the French could not concentrate within any reasonable space of time. Orders had to be sent to evacuate Madrid and Toledo in hot haste, and to direct every available man on Burgos. The isolated divisions engaged in guerrilla-baiting in Navarre and Biscay were also called in to join the main army. But Wellington gave the retreating army no leisure; and, when he had reached the ground in front of Burgos, the enemy had only 50,000 men collected. Joseph and Jourdan saw that to offer battle with such inferior numbers would be useless, and reluctantly fell back beyond the Ebro, after throwing up the shield of Burgos (June 12-13). The King had vainly hoped to defeat the line of the Ebro, but, instead of attacking him in front, Wellington once again pushed forward Graham and his left wing, which crossed the river far to the west of the French head-quarters. Once more Joseph had to draw back, till he reached a strong position in front of Vittoria, where he was covered both in front and in flank by the stream of the Zadorra. Here at last he stood to fight, having collected more 61,000 men. But Wellington had nearly 80,000 men in line, with such a canonical superiority, he naturally attacked at once.

The essential part of Wellington's tactics in the battle of June 21 was to push forward, more more, his left wing under Graham, so as to turn the French right, and cut them off from their line of retreat, the great high road to San Sebastian and Bayona. This was accomplished early in the day; but the enemy, drawing back his exposed wing behind the Zadorra, kept Graham for many hours from advancing farther. Yet the loss of the power to retreat on Bayona was fatal. For Wellington, attacking vigorously with his centre and right, crossed the lower course of the Zadorra at several points, and drove in the main body of the French towards the town of Vittoria. If the road behind them had been open, Joseph and Jourdan might have retired without any serious loss. But Graham was blocking the way; and the defeated host had to retreat by the only route left to them, a rough mountain track to Salvatierra and Pampeluna, crowded for the passage of an army encumbered with heavy impediments. The King had with him not only a vast train of artillery, but a great number of Spanish refugees—his partisans from Madrid—and countless carriages and waggons laden with treasure, pictures, state archives, and valuable property of all sorts, the accumulated spoil of six years of conquest. The whole of this heterogeneous mass of vehicles was thrown upon the narrow Pampeluna road, and hopelessly jammed within a few miles of its starting point. The defeated army abandoned everything, and fled over the hill-sides in total confusion if had not lost heavily—more 8000 killed and wounded, and 18000 prisoners, while the Allies had 5000 men *hors de*

combat. But the French had used nothing but their pikes, the whole equipment of the army of Spain was captured by the victors, 143 guns, 500 caissons, nearly £1,200,000 sterling in the military stores, besides several thousand carriages laden with valuables. seldom has an army shared such plunder as fell to the Allies that night.

The vanquished host reached Pamplona in complete disorder, and Jourdan, after strengthening the garrison of that place, ordered the retreat to be continued beyond the Pyrenees. On June 26 the whole host re-entered France, and only halted at Bayonne, where desperate measures were taken to rally the remnants, and to sift the army with auxiliary drawn from the arsenal of that fortress and from the depôts at Toulouse and Bordeaux. The pursuit had not been vigorous, for Wellington had feared while the greater part of his army to hunt the columns of Foy and Clausel, which had not succeeded in joining Joseph in time for the battle. Both were hard pressed, but ultimately escaped to France by various roads. When he feared that they had eluded him, the British general told off his Spanish auxiliaries to scout Pamplona, and res of his own divisions to besiege San Sebastian. With the rest of his army he advanced to the frontier, but refused to cross the Bidasoa till the two great fortresses had fallen. Their capture began simultaneously on July 1, 1813. Thus ended this brilliant and rapid campaign, which had lasted only forty days (May 23—July 1), and had cleared all northern Spain of the enemy. If the four French armies of Portugal, the centre, the south, and the north, could have been concentrated in a single position, they would have outnumbered the allied forces. But Wellington never allowed them to gather, hamed matters to a crisis with unswerving determination, and finally drove the enemy over the Pyrenees, at a cost to himself of not more than 5000 men in the whole series of operations.

The campaign of Vittoria is separated by a gap of some three weeks from the second campaign of 1813, that of the Pyrenees. During this space, Napoleon had time to send South from Dresden, to reorganise the army of Spain. Joseph and Jourdan were recalled to the interior of France in disguise, and the Emperor expressed his opinion that, with a change in leadership, his hosts would be able to resume the offensive and deliver Pamplona and San Sebastian. Though four divisions of cavalry left for Germany, the French still counted more than 100,000 men. Some 5000 were in Pamplona, about the same number in San Sebastian, 1800 in Sancti. After deducting a garrison for Bayonne, South had some 55,000 with which to take the field.

Before proceeding to relate the campaign of the Pyrenees, it is necessary to cast a glance at eastern Spain. So long as King Joseph held Madrid and Toledo, Suchet had been able to retain Valencia. He even assumed the offensive, and on April 11 sent Elia's Hussars at Terol and Villena. Two days later he attacked the Anglo-Sicilian, on

the heights of Castelló, and was beaten off with loss. But Sir John Ross, the officer who commanded this force, made no attempt to push to his victory, and remained passive throughout May. On the last day of that month, acting under orders from Wallis, Gen. Narváez put his troops and a Spanish division on board ship at Alicante, and sailed for Catalonia. He was directed to join the Spanish army in that province and to lay siege to Tarragona. The purpose of this move was to give Sacket full occupation during the campaign in Old Castile. When the news of the landing arrived, the Marshal marched north with part of his troops, and, joining Desan, the officer left in command at Barcelona, marched against Narváez. That general fled with untimely haste on hearing of the approach of the French, abandoning his siege artillery, while he hurriedly embarked his troops (June 12). He was superseded five days later by Lord William Bentinck, and afterwards tried for cowardice and disobedience to instructions. The court-martial ended in an acquittal, though he was censured for gross errors of judgment.

On July 3 Sacket received the news of Vittoria, which compelled him to evacuate Valencia, since the garrisons of that province would have been in a perilous position when New Castile and Aragón had fallen into the hands of Wellington. He retired beyond the Ebro, and a little later abandoned Tarragona, after blowing up its fortifications (August 17). The Anglo-Sardinian army, with the Spaniards of the Mariscal force, advanced along the coast and took up positions whence they could observe Barcelona from a distance. On September 18, Sacket, thinking that they were pressing him too close, advanced against them, and routed Bentinck's vanguard at the combat of Ordal. But, as he did not use his advantage, the Allies continued to hold Tarragona, and to push the siege of the garrisons which Sacket had left behind him at Tortosa, Lérida, Monsón, and other places. The Marshal would have done far better to have evacuated them; for he lost the services of 10,000 good troops, whom he was never in a position to recover. The Emperor began to withdraw troops from his army for use in Germany during the autumn; and, as Sacket's main body grew feeble, it became increasingly clear that he would never be able to relieve his outlying garrisons. In the winter of 1813-4, the struggle in Catalonia devolved down into a mere war of demonstrations and affairs of outpost.

For afterwards had nothing gone on the shores of the Bay of Biscay. On July 25, Smith, in accordance with his master's orders, resumed the offensive. The allied army was now ranged on a long line upon the Franco-Spanish frontier, so as to cover the sieges of San Sebastián and Pampeluna. Smith's opportunity lay in the fact that the hills impeded the lateral communications between the British divisions. He secretly moved 60,000 men far inland to his extreme left, and fell upon the troops under Pictet and Hill who were guarding the passes of Barcassallen and Noya. He hoped to overwhelm them, by a twofold

superiority of numbers, before Wellington could bring to their aid the corps destined nearer to the sea. He would then push on, relieve Pampeluna, and force the allied army to quit the frontier by a general retreat on their flank and rear. This ingenious plan succeeded, partly owing to fog and snow, which delayed the French advance, but more because of the long and vigorous resistance of the British outlying brigades. Maya and Ramonville were both forced on the 2nd (July 22-23); but their defeat gave Wellington time to concentrate in front of Pampeluna a force which, though much smaller than that of Bessé, was yet strong enough to hold him at bay. At the battle of Baigorri (July 27-28) the Marshal strove in vain to storm the heights held by the allied troops. Soufrenoy's men hurrying up from the west to join Wellington; and the Marshal had no alternative now to fall back on France. This series of fights, generally called the battles of the Pyrenees, had cost him 20,000 men.

Wellington now pressed the siege of San Sebastian and Pampeluna, hoping to secure both places in time to allow him to advance into France before the winter came. But his efforts were not at first successful. British siege-work was seldom efficient at those years, and San Sebastian burst off two assaults. The town was finally stormed on August 31, and the garrison surrendered nine days later: but the success cost 4000 men killed, on the very day of the storm, made a last attempt to seize the ramp, but was heavily repulsed at the cost of San Marcel by the attacking force, consisting mainly of Piquet's and Lough's Spaniards. Pampeluna fell on October 31, by starvation, not by assault. Thus Wellington's entry into France was delayed for four months.

But, on October 7, the British general had already begun his preparations for advance by forcing the lines of the Bidassoa, which Soult had strengthened by a long chain of redoubts. Finding the broad river at low tide, the British divisions swept all before them: and captured all the enemy's works. The French then fell back on a second and stronger line behind the river Nivelle. This series of positions was carried on November 20, after a series of desperate assaults on almost impassable peaks and dolins, where the storming columns had to crawl and climb up the cliffs of the Rhone and other lofty mountains. A third line of positions now faced the British, formed by the river Nive and the fortress of Bayonne behind it. A month of heavy rain and cold delayed the attack on this new line of defence; but, with the return of fine weather, Wellington forced the passage of the Nive (December 9) and advanced close to the suburbs of Bayonne. His army was now divided into two halves by the Nive, a fact of which the indomitable Soult used to take advantage. He first massed his whole field-force against Wellington's left, and strove to crush it before it could be reinforced by his right, which had to cross the river by a single distant bridge. After severe fighting, this attack failed (December 10), whereupon the

Marshal offered his main army to the east bank of the Nive, and repeated his experiments against the British right. At the battle of Sals-Puzy (December 12), the entire French army was repulsed by one British and one Portuguese division under Sir Rowland Hill; and Soult was already failed, when the appearance of the reserves from beyond the river forced him to have a precipitate retreat. The battles of the Nive had cost the Marshal some 6000 or 7000 men, and would have sufficed by themselves to discourage him from making any further attempts to resume the offensive. But his position was rendered utterly hopeless when, shortly after, he received orders from the Emperor directing him to send two divisions (16,000 men) to aid in the defence of the western frontier. His army was now reduced to less than 50,000 men, little more than half the strength which Wellington could put into the field. If he engaged much longer at Bayonne, he ran a chance of being shut up.

When, therefore, Wellington manifested an intention of surrounding Bayonne, by casting a great bridge of boats across the Adour below the city, and transporting several divisions to its northern bank, Soult was driven to retire into the interior and to leave the stronghold to its fate (Feb. 24, 1814). He retreated, not directly northward along the road to Bordeaux, as might perhaps have been expected, but eastward in the direction of Toulouse, in so to place himself upon the flank of the allied army. This move made rather more difficult for Wellington, who could not push forward and leave Soult in his rear, but was constrained to turn aside and pursue him along the roots of the Pyrenees, moving every day farther from the sea, from which alone he could receive supplies and reinforcements. He was forced also to leave 16,000 men to besiege Bayonne.

The last stage of Soult's retreat was marked by the battle of Orthez (February 27). Knowing that the British army had been established by the large force left before Bayonne, the Marshal offered a defensive battle on the heights above the town, but was driven out of his position after a hard day's fighting, and forced to resume his retrograde movement to the east. After the battle, Wellington detached two divisions under Beresford to march on Bordeaux, where the partisans of the Bourbons had promised to hoist the white flag as soon as British aid came in sight. Beresford's detachment reached Bordeaux on March 12, and the republicans were as good as their word, opening the gates to him and prohibiting the Duc d'Angoulême, who had come out in the wake of the British army, as Prince Regent. This movement was not without its consequences, for if the allied sovereign had made peace at Châtillon, as was quite possible, the Bourbons would have been left exposed to terrible punishment at the hands of the Emperor. Wellington had given them this warning of this, but they nevertheless carried out their agreement. All the neighbouring departments were practically on the same side; and the invading army was readily supplied with information and provisions

by the passivity. Soult's attempts to run a partisan warfare in the rear of the Allies met with no success. Still less fruitful was Napoleon's last desperate dash. On March 13 he released Ferdinand VII from Valençay, having made him sign a treaty of peace, which the Spanish Cortes very properly ignored.

Soult's retreat did not end till he had fallen back under the walls of Toulouse (March 31), where he once more stood at bay to him which he had ceased to be thrown up outside the city. He had some 32,000 men left. Wellington, owing to the detachments at Bayona and Bordeaux, was not greatly superior in force, having only an Anglo-Portuguese division and a Spanish corps, less than 32,000 men and bayonets. In spite of the strength of Soult's entrenchments, he resolved to attack (April 10). The business turned out more formidable than had been expected. The assault of Frey's Spaniards upon the French centre failed; and it was only after desperate efforts that the 4th and 5th divisions succeeded in storming the lines upon Soult's left, and driving the enemy back into the town, which was commanded by the captured heights. The victors lost 9000 men, far more than the vanquished, who, protected by their entrenchments, suffered only 2000 casualties. But the result of the battle was sufficiently clear, when Soult on April 11 evacuated the town, and retired still farther east, to join Suchet, who was coming up to his aid with the small remnant of the army of Catalonia. Toulouse, if the combatants had but known it, was an unnecessary battle, for Paris had capitulated to the Allies on March 30, and Napoleon had abdicated on April 6. Unnecessary also was the bloodshed before Bayona on April 14, when the French garrison made a sortie, which cost each side 500 casualties.

So ended the great struggle which sapped Napoleon's strength, though it was not the direct cause of his fall. He called it himself "the rising sun", and such indeed it was, considered from his point of view. For it was the central drain of men and money to the Prussians which rendered him too weak to fight the Powers of central Europe. What might not have happened in Saxony in 1813, if the Emperor had been able to dispose of the 200,000 veterans locked up behind the Pyrenees? If, with the men away that he actually commanded, he almost achieved success, the experienced troops of Soult and Suchet must certainly have turned the balance in his favour, and have enabled him to impose on the Allies a peace that would have left his Empire intact, even if his prestige had lost some of its ancient splendour. He paid in 1813 the price for his irrefragable claims at Bayona in 1808. The never-failing, if often ill-directed, patriotism of the Spaniards, and the skill and firmness of the campaigning Wellington, had detained for six years in the Peninsula the army with which he might have dictated peace to Europe.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## RUSSIA AND THE INVASION OF 1812.

THE circumstances in which Alexander I, at the age of twenty-three, succeeded to the throne of Russia, have already been described. His tutor, the Prince La Harpe, had infused into him the idealistic spirit of the humanitarian philosophy of the eighteenth century, and this tendency endured throughout his life. On the other hand, in his father's circle at Gatchina, Alexander had acquired a lasting taste for a picturesque military life, and established friendly relations with Alexei Arakcheyeff, the chief representative of this new military school. Base and vulgar in spirit, infinitely hard and cruel, devoid of courage, but an absolutely trustworthy servant, Arakcheyeff was destined to be the cause of Alexander's ruin.

The reforms which the new monarch introduced affected only the organization of the central government, and left the fundamental evils of the Empire untouched. The arbitrary power of a corrupt administration, under an absolute ruler, and the servile condition of the peasants, remained as before. Alexander's first councillors were the friends of his youth, Count Kozlovski, Count Siniavinski, Prince Gortchakovski, and Novosiltzov, who, like him, lived in a world of ideals, the political ideas of western Europe. The last three were called the *Transcendents*. La Harpe's restraining influence must also be taken into account. Alexander's discussions with his friends, in what was called "a semi-official committee," embraced the entire policy of the Empire, and showed traces of English and Polish influence. This committee framed a plan for presenting Russia, on the coronation day, with a Bill of Rights based on the English Habeas Corpus Act, but this scheme was never carried out. The only change made was in 1809, when the Government Board was replaced by eight Ministers. The Emperor's theoretical liberalism was accompanied by a deep-rooted and obstinate adherence to autocracy. The powerful bureaucracy of St. Petersburg was recognized that the new Tsar was by no means inclined to allow it more than a superficial share in his unlimited power. Those who understood his character regarded without alarm the plans which Alexander was then



yearning for the liberation of the south. The Emperor loved the dream of freedom as people love a play. He was pleased that his government should wear the appearance of liberty; but more than the appearance he would not allow.

In June, 1807, began the period of Napoleonic influence, which was extremely unpopular in Russia. The Russian nobility, for all its French culture, was generally disaffected towards Napoleon. Alexander, however, admired in him not only the commander of genius but also the great organizer. He at once perceived the immense advantage which the modern French absolutism had over the old traditional absolutism of Russia; it was the advantage of system over caprice, of organization over anarchy. The Tsar determined to concentrate power in his own person, but at the same time to transform the obsolete autocracy into a modern monarchy, by combining with it some sort of popular representation. In January, 1808, he appointed Arkhangel'ski Minister of War, that he might have at his side an ever-appearing figure of enormous strength, who would take off his shoulders the detestable responsibility of despotism. On the other hand, towards the end of the same year, he gave the object of his state secretaries, Michael Speranski, supreme authority in initiating legislation. The son of a poor country priest, but a man of great talents, Speranski rose from the position of pupil to that of teacher in the educational academy of St. Petersburg. By his capacity for work and his extensive knowledge, he had already proved of great assistance to many courtiers, high officials, and ministers, men like Rumzin, Trubetskoi, and Kutshel. In Speranski the Emperor found a keen and logical intellect, fertile in political ideas, a man who knew Russia, and was familiar with modern French statescraft.

During the years 1809-12, Speranski, collaborating as Secretary of State with the Emperor, came to occupy a unique position in Russia, one in fact superior to that of the ministers themselves. Yet he never abused this enormous influence by turning it to his personal advantage. The model for Speranski's project of a Constitution (1809) was the French Constitution of the year VIII (1799). He strove to accommodate its principles to Russian conditions, so as to form, out of the free cream of land and houses, a system of local self-government and a central representation of the people—the so-called *Gosudarstvenno Duma* or Supreme Diet. The initiative in legislation was to come from the Emperor, but no law was to take effect until it had been drafted and sanctioned by the Diet and subsequently approved by the Council of State and the Emperor. Laws and institutions were of more importance than personalities in the eyes of the reformer. Of all Speranski's schemes, however, the only one that was carried into effect was the organization of the bureaucratic Council of State (Jan. 1814). To the end of his life, Alexander cherished these plans of reform; for his inability to carry them out he blamed the unfavourable conditions of

the div and the unity of the nation. But, when the first excitement of his reform projects had passed off, his real interest and ambition were directed to foreign politics.

It was Alexander's favourite, Prince Czartowski, who first gave utterance to the Pan-Slavic idea as regard to the East. He made the federation of all the Slavonic nations his final aim, hoping thereby to escape the domination of Poland. At Tilsit the deliverance of the Turkish provinces in Europe from the Sultan's yoke had been regarded as an eventual object of policy. In the following years the annexation of Moldavia and Wallachia, and even the partition of the Ottoman Empire, were the main subjects of discussion between France and Russia. Early in 1808 Czartowski was commissioned to treat with the Emperor Alexander and Count Romanzoff at St. Petersburg concerning an expedition to India, to be preceded by a partition of Turkey. Russia was simultaneously invited to occupy Stockholm. Romanzoff brought forward Russia's claim to Constantinople, the Bosphorus, and the Dardanelles. For this, even Egypt and Syria seemed to France as insufficient equivalent. Czartowski demanded at least the Dardanelles or the Asiatic side of that strait, suggesting, as an alternative, the conversion of Constantinople into an independent State under a French prince. Amid such divergences, an agreement was possible. The scheme of partition was wrecked as Napoleon's jealousy of the aggrandisement which the possession of Constantinople would confer on Russia. Thus the first rift was made in the Russo-French alliance.

Meanwhile Alexander had been carrying on, since 1806, a war with Turkey, which at the outset had been promoted by the intrigues of French diplomacy. Finally the Tur reached, in case of victory, to export Moldavia and Wallachia. At first, the Russian commanders, Milchakov and Protorevich, had but little success; it was only under Prince Bagration in 1806, and the young Count Nikolai Karamanov in 1810, that the Russians captured the fortresses of Brailoff, Izmail, Silistria, and Buzatchi, and gained two important victories. When, in 1811, the veteran general Kutsoff took over the command, the war was quickly brought to an end. The new commander-in-chief allowed the Turkish ruler to cross over to the northern bank of the Danube, surrounded him in his camp at Silistria, and compelled the Turkish army to surrender. The Peace of Bucharest (May 23, 1812), was the result. Under pressure of the impending war with Napoleon, Russia had to content herself with the acquisition of Bessarabia, by which the river Pruth and the Kilia mouth of the Danube became the frontier.

At Tilsit, where the foundation of the Russo-French alliance was laid, the Polish question had also been taken up. Since the latter part of the eighteenth century, Polish patriots, in the hope of reviving their political existence, had looked to France and Russia. After Tilsit, however, they made no effort to conceal their expectation of obtaining

from Napoleon what Russia could not grant without reservation. For Napoleon, Poland was only one more piece on the political-chessboard then laid. Alexander, unwilling to enrich himself at the expense of France, conceived the idea of creating a grand-duchy of Warsaw, and Napoleon adopted this suggestion. The results of this agreement have already been described. What the Russian Emperor feared was that, in the event of a re-establishment of the Polish kingdom, he would be forced to cede to it the provinces which had once formed part of Poland. He therefore regarded with a jealous eye Napoleon's friendly attitude towards the grand-duchy of Warsaw. The Peace of Vienna (1809) added to the grand-duchy 1,500,000 inhabitants in eastern Galicia; while Russia gained, as compensation, only about 500,000 in the district of Tarnopol. The Tsar's anxiety led to the drafting, in January, 1810, of a convention with France, directed against the acquisition of Poland. The kingdom of Poland was never to be re-established; even the names "Poland" and "Pole" was never to be applied to the former domains and inhabitants of that kingdom.

Though this convention was not yet ratified, the friendship between Napoleon and Alexander appeared for a time to have taken a new lease of life. The French monarch even became a suitor for the hand of the Grand Duchess Anna, sister of the Tsar. The wooing was, however, marked by the hatred which the Empress Dowager, Maria Fedorovna, cherished for the German emperor. At the first sign of hesitation on the Russian side, Napoleon resolved to anticipate a refusal by betrothing himself to a Habsburg princess. This union was the signal for a radical change in his foreign relations. He refused now to ratify the convention about Poland; and the Russo-French alliance rapidly cooled. In order to win the Poles to his side, Alexander, at the beginning of 1811, offered through Czartoryski to restore the kingdom of Poland, on the understanding that the Tsar should bear the title of Polish King; the rivers Dniepr, Bug, and Dniester were to be the boundaries between the two States. At the same time he discussed with Czartoryski a plan for constituting a grand-duchy of Lithuania out of the eight governments of western Russia, in order to pave the way for a revival of the Polish kingdom, which was to be linked to Russia by a personal union. In this context for the former of Poland, Russia was once more scooped. Alexander's designs upon the grand-duchy of Warsaw were no secret for his adversary, who began, early in 1811, to prepare for war.

Napoleon conceived that a war with Alexander, his former friend, would enable him to give the *coup de grâce* to British trade and influence. In order to bring his war with England to a speedy and glorious end, Napoleon strove to increase the rigour of the Continental Blockade, especially in the Baltic ports. In pursuance of this policy, the duchy of Oldenburg was incorporated with France in January, 1811, and an uncle of the Tsar was thus dethroned. The Continental Blockade had

already been very detrimental to Russian trade with England. The exports of raw material fell off; the balance of trade turned against Russia; the value of her paper currency was greatly diminished. To counteract these misfortunes, neutral ships were allowed to participate in Russian colonial trade, and an attempt was made, in the month of December 31, 1812, to check the import of French luxuries.

Mutual recriminations took place, each sovereign reproaching the other with preparing for war. In his negotiations with Tchernitsheff, early in 1813, Napoleon insisted that Russia should continue with France to exert repressive measures against British and American trade. Alexander replied by demanding that the French should evacuate France and withdraw beyond the Oder. Napoleon saw repeated war as inevitable. On May 9 he left Paris and went to Dresden, where many German Princes, headed by the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, paid court to him. He had counted on a simultaneous attack on Russia by Sweden and Turkey, but was disappointed by Sweden's rapprochement to Russia, and still more by the Poles of Bucharest. War with Sweden had lasted five years and a half; but the Peace of Fredrikshamn (1809), which ceded Finland to Russia, had left no lasting scars between the two Powers. By his occupation of Swedish Pomerania in January, 1813, Napoleon drove the Swedes into the arms of the Tsar. The result was a rapprochement between the Crown Prince, formerly Marshal Bernadotte, now Regent in Sweden, and Alexander I. Early in April they concluded a treaty, under which Sweden was to be compensated for the loss of Finland by the prospect of obtaining Norway. In July Russia also concluded an agreement with England and Spain. Her whole strength thus became available for the coming struggle.

If Alexander was to undertake a war against Napoleon, he required a victim on whom to shift the responsibility for the French alliance, in order to win back to his side the patriotic feeling of his subjects. A treatise "*On the old and the new Russia*," written by the celebrated historian Karamzin, emphatically stated that the Tsar's reforms were the cause of the general demoralisation, in that they tended to weaken and destroy autocratic government. A poster was then supplied. Alexander determined to sacrifice Speranski in order to satisfy the Conservatives, and, in particular, the Old-Russian party, and to stimulate the warlike enthusiasm of the country. A coalition formed by the enemies of the wisely-reformer was joined by Arakcheyeff, Count Roostopchin, Balashoff, Minister of Police, and the Swedish Baron Arnsheld. But all these were only tools of the Tsar, who used them to entangle Speranski in the coils of a premeditated plot, in order to accumulate on his head the guilt of the delayed reforms, and of the Financial policy of the last five years.

The 25th of March, 1813, the day on which Speranski fell and was banished to Nijni-Novgorod, marks a turning-point in Alexander's

career, for he now entered deliberately upon a life-and-death contest. The Admiral Skulbegg, the narrow-minded representative of Old-Russian traditions in language and literature, was appointed Secretary of the Council of State in Speransky's place, and entrusted with the task of issuing manifestos designed to bring together the Tsar and his people. About this time, Alexander's mental and spiritual development began to take a turn towards faith in the Bible and a gross mysticism, which added strength to his resolve. The French Emperor appeared to him even the embodied principle of evil, and it seemed to him that he ought to be the instrument of Providence destined for Napoleon's overthrow.

Napoleon had been pushing forward his preparations since the beginning of 1811; and thus it was possible for him to bring into the field such an army as modern Europe had never before seen. The total strength of the Grand Army, with its baggage-trains, amounted to about 600,000 men, including 500,000 infantry and about 100,000 cavalry. Of this force, the French composed rather less than half; the rest was made up of the troops of the allied States, the Russians, Egyptians, Poles, and Rhineland contingents, and Austrians and Prussians sent over. These troops, exclusive of the Imperial Guard, and of the Austrians under Prince Schwarzenberg, formed eleven army-corps and four divisions of cavalry. The French troops consisted chiefly of the Imperial Guard, commanded by Marshal Lefebvre, Mortier, and Bessières; the first four army-corps, under Marshals Davout, Gudinot, Ney, and Eugene, Flomay of Italy, and the first three corps of cavalry reserve, under Murat, King of Naples, Polse, Boissieux, Sarron, and Westphalen, under Poniatowski, Gourdon Saint-Cyr, Reynier, and Vandamme (whose place was afterwards taken by Juchacz), formed the next four army-corps. The fourth corps of the cavalry reserve was composed of Polse, Sarron, and Westphalians, under Latour-Maubourg. To the tenth army-corps, under Mordshau, belonged also the Prussian Landwehr. These were the troops destined for immediate service at the opening of the campaign. Their total strength, at the passage of the Niemen, amounted to 400,000 men. The sixth army-corps, under Marshal Witten, at first remained behind in Prussia; a considerable body was afterwards separated from this corps, and, with the Neapolitans, who came up later, was placed under the command of Angereau, as an eleventh army corps. The reinforcements brought up in the course of the campaign amounted to at least 140,000 men; to these must be added the troops with the baggage-train and baggage-trains. In all, nearly 610,000 men, with 1500 field-pieces and 100 siege-guns, crossed the Russian frontier in the year 1812, besides officials, servants, and drivers.

Owing to the large number of horses, the opening of the campaign was postponed till it was possible to find grass. Napoleon had perceived that the provisioning of such an enormous body of troops would constitute the chief difficulty, and had made special regulations

swording). But, as the conventional authorities were by no means equal to their task, the troops, during their march to Moscow, had to fall back on the system of regulations, a system which acted very detrimentally on discipline. Moreover, the measures taken for replacing losses were inadequate; while, owing to the size of the army and the large area covered by the operations, Napoleon could not make his personal influence everywhere felt. His lieutenants were but poor substitutes. On principle, he had turned his generals to habits of dependence, and even the highest of these, such as Murat, and Berthier, Chief of the Staff, were by no means true commanders; moreover, the Marshals declined to obey anyone but the Emperor. Napoleon himself was no longer, either physically or mentally, the man he had been. Cautious and in poor health, he was less capable of action and endurance than before. Mentally, also, he had suffered a great change. Having hitherto succeeded in all his enterprises, he had lost all sense of the attainable. In his determination to be at once Emperor, Generalissimo, Chief of the Staff, and Minister of War, he had taken upon himself a burden too great even for his capacity. All these things considered, it is clear that the Grand Army bore within itself the seeds of dissolution.

Although Russia had also been arming since the beginning of 1811, she was unable, at the outset, to oppose equal forces to Napoleon. The available troops were formed into three armies of very unequal strength. The first army of the west, under the command of Barclay de Tolly, Minister of War, contained near 100,000 men; the second, under Prince Bagration, was only about a third of that number. The third, or reserve army, under General Tormasoff, was about 40,000 strong. Thus the total strength of the first line was 170,000 men, with 250 guns; to which may be added 15,000 Cossacks. On the other hand, the Russians could receive an considerable reinforcements. In the first place, there was the army of the Danube, under Admiral Tchitchagoff, now set free by the Treaty of Bucharest, and numbering over 50,000 men. There were also the troops from Finland, and two marine-corps on the Dvina and the Frigat. Thus, the troops in the second line numbered, in all, rather more than 100,000. In the third line have to be reckoned the recruits, the militia, and the Cossacks. Yet the total strength of all the forces which were gradually brought up to repel the French attack, amounted in the end to little more than 400,000 men.

The Russian army was not only considerably inferior to the French in respect of numbers, but it possessed no commander in any way comparable with Napoleon. Kutsoff and Bennigsen had already been defeated by him. Kutsoff, now physically a wreck, had recently fallen into disfavor with the Tsar for having acted contrary to his wishes in delaying the peace with Turkey. Bennigsen, who was given to intrigues, was, as a German and one of the murderers of Paul, very

unpopular with the national party. Alexander was therefore obliged to take over the supreme command himself. Requiring military advice, he unfortunately selected a theorist, General von Pflul, whose plans fell to pieces at the first trial. When, in July, 1812, Alexander left the camp, Barclay de Tolly, as Minister of War, assumed the supreme command. An invincible man and a capable general, but without conspicuous talent, and a foreigner to boot, Barclay was hardly equal to his task; nor was his strategy, though correct in the circumstances, understood by his subordinates.

Alexander, from fear of his great opponent, was inclined to adopt the purely defensive plans of his conservative, General von Pflul. On the assumption that Napoleon would cross the Niemen at Grodno, whence he could advance upon either Vilna or Minsk, an army was to be opposed to him in both these directions. The first army was afterwards to retire upon the entrenched camp at Dvina; the other was to operate against the enemy's flanks and rear, or else to withdraw to Kobresk. Pflul's plan was approved by the Emperor, when war was therefore sent from Vilna, which Alexander entered on April 16, to prepare the camp at Dvina. The first army of the west, under Barclay, was already concentrated about Vilna; the second, under Bagration, gathered upon afterwards at Yulkevitch; Tomaszew, with the reserve army, remained at Lelch in Volynia.

Meanwhile it became clear that the enemy would cross the Niemen at Korna. Napoleon had prepared no detailed plan of campaign; he had merely drawn the outline, leaving the details to the decision of the moment. His intention, at the outset, was essentially as follows:—to break through the enemy's right wing with his reinforced left, then to fall upon the communications of the enemy's left and centre, so as to separate Barclay and Bagration. After Napoleon had himself reconnoitred the Niemen on June 18, several bridges were thrown across the river, a little above the town of Korna, after dark. In the small hours of the 19th the army began to cross; next day the passage of the main column was practically completed, and the advance upon Vilna began. Orders were sent to King Jerome to march towards Grodno and follow hard upon the heels of Bagration.

On the 19th the Tsar left Vilna. As Barclay at this moment had only two infantry corps at his disposal, and his advance-guard could no longer join him, he also began (on the 19th) his retirement on Sventitsky and Dvina. On the same day Vilna was taken by the French. The advance of the French army was designed to separate the two Russian armies of the west. To carry out this plan, Davout advanced upon Minsk, there to lie in wait for Bagration, whom Jerome was to drive in his direction. The plan, however, miscarried, owing to Jerome's failure to pursue Bagration closely. There were excuses for Jerome; but Napoleon was so angry with his brother that he placed him under

the command of Marshal Davout. Deeply hurt, Jeneau left the army and returned to Cassel. Meanwhile Davout had continued his march, and thus compelled Bagration to turn aside towards Böhmen.

Napoleon himself had remained stationary with the centre at Vilna. He utilised his residence in the capital of Lithuania to set up a provisional government there, and turn its military resources to account. In his regulation of Polish affairs he committed a fatal error. At the end of June the Polish Diet had met at Warsaw; it had declared itself representatives of confederated Poland, proclaimed the restoration of that kingdom, and set about cutting Poland and Lithuania. Napoleon, however, was anxious not to offend Austria and Prussia, or to make peace with Russia impossible; he therefore refused to approve definitely the decisions of the Diet, thereby damping the ardour of the Poles.

It was some time before Napoleon grasped the failure of his plan against Bagration: when at length it became clear to him, he decided to send forward to the Dvina three divisions of the centre which had hitherto been detained at Vilna. On the right wing, Davout, who had now the command of Jeneau's army, received orders to proceed towards Mogileff. Napoleon himself left Vilna in the night of July 15-17. By his inactivity at that place the Emperor had lost much valuable time; and his operations, so far, had produced no satisfactory result. In spite of great sacrifices, he had only succeeded in landing Barclay's junction with Bagration. And this was, after all, a doubtful advantage, for it was to Napoleon's interest that the two generals should continue and do battle with him as soon as possible.

Meanwhile the first army of the west had effected its retreat to the camp at Drissa. Alexander, trusting to Puff's counsel, had at first intended to make his stand against the French army at this point, but he was soon apprised of the strategic disadvantages of this position and the defective fortification of the camp. The hollowing of Puff's counsel was now revealed to the Tsar. Alone to the probability of his left wing being surrounded, Alexander now determined on continuing the retreat as far as Vitebsk, and there effecting a union with the second army of the west. Bagration was ordered to march to Vitebsk by Mogileff, there to join forces with Davout. After the first army of the west had returned to the right bank of the Dvina, leaving behind it Wittgenstein's corps, now raised to 55,000 men, it was only about 32,000 strong. The march from Drissa to Vitebsk by way of Polotsk began on July 16. Wittgenstein's corps remained behind between Drissa and Drissa to guard the St Petersburg road. The course of events having shaken the confidence of the Tsar, he now (July 18) decided to follow the advice of his intimates, and to betake himself to Moscow, where, in the centre of the kingdom, he might superintend the conduct of the national defence. From Moscow was issued the order to the northern and central provinces for a general levy. The Tsar's



declaration that the war was a national war, and his avowed intention to continue no peace so long as one hostile soldier remained on Russian soil, kindled great enthusiasm throughout the Empire.

On July 29 Bessant had taken Magileff with but slight opposition. The Marshal was convinced of the necessity of having Bagration's way, in spite of his opposition, and for this purpose concentrated his force at the village of Seltsevka, south of Magileff. On the 30th Bessant did, at Bagration's orders, attack him in this position, but without success, and did Bagration venture to renew the attack. On the contrary, he withdrew across the Dnieper and marched on Smolensk, which he reached on August 2. Napoleon had meanwhile begun his advance by Glinchikow upon Vitebsk, and thus frustrated Berth's intention of reaching from Vitebsk by way of Orsha to join the second army. At Osterro, on July 25, there was a smart encounter between Ostermann and the French van-guard under Morat, who forced the Russians to retire. The news of Bagration's failure at Magileff now forced Barclay to decide on retreat, an operation which was successfully carried out. On August 1 the first army of the west reached Smolensk, where, on the next day, the junction with Bagration was effected. Napoleon now gave up the pursuit, and returned with the Guards to Vitebsk.

Here he decided to give the army two weeks' rest, in order to rally the stragglers and establish magazines. Though comparatively few of his troops had come within sight of the enemy, the Grand Army had already lost more than 100,000 men. Nevertheless Napoleon was daily determined to continue his reckless advance. He did not yet perceive that the hasty advances of Bessant were unwarranted to his strategy, and this mistake was the chief cause of his enormous losses. The idea of postponing the completion of the campaign till the next year had some attractions; but many considerations made against it. Not only the reputation of France in Europe, but Napoleon's own position in the eyes of the French nation, depended on his advance. The Emperor needed before all things a conspicuous success in order to justify himself, and to maintain his prestige. His whole plan of campaign was therefore founded on a brilliant offensive, rather than on regular methods of warfare, in which defensive action would take a certain part. Besides, the means at his disposal were such that he might well hope to bring the war to a rapid conclusion with one crushing blow. Napoleon therefore decided to continue his advance by way of Smolensk to Moscow, following the line taken by the Russians in their retreat.

The two Russian armies now united at Smolensk numbered 112,000 men, with 6000 cannons. The first army, under Barclay, was posted on the right bank of the Dnieper; the second, under Bagration, on the left. Both the Tsar and the army, and particularly Bagration, von Toll, and Grand Duke Constantine, were now very anxious to take the offensive. Early in August, Barclay attempted forward movements against the

French centre at Rodnia, and upon Pustelka; but his action was undecided, and the Russian officers came to nothing. Napoleon was determined to advance (August 15). His plan was to march on Smolensk by the left bank of the Dnieper, and, by capturing that place, to embarrass the Russian retreat upon Moscow. On the 14th the whole army set out in one great column.

The news of its advance compelled both Barclay and Bagration to march as quickly as possible on August 16 to the aid of Smolensk, who was holding Smolensk with about 10,000 men. Murat and Ney reached that place early on the 15th, Napoleon arrived about 9 a.m., and Dessaut was approaching. An energetic attack was imperative, if the French were to take the place before the arrival of the Russian army. Napoleon, however, decided to await the rest of his forces, and limited his efforts that day to a useless cannonade. This delay gave the two Russian commanders time to come up. But the expected battle did not take place. 50,000 men, under Doichtoroff, were left to hold Smolensk; the rest of his army Barclay intended to withdraw as soon as Bagration had secured the road to Moscow.

Napoleon, expecting the Russians to make a sally from Smolensk, let the early hours of the 17th slip by; it was 3 p.m. before the attack began. Fomiatovski, Ney, and Dessaut advanced almost simultaneously. After about three hours' fighting, the French succeeded in taking the suburbs, but were unable to penetrate further, their guns failed to effect a breach in the walls. A violent conflict raged till midnight. Barclay, knowing that the way to Moscow was now secure, believed himself justified in evacuating the town; for, if the French should cross the river above Smolensk, the Russian army might be in a very dangerous position. But Napoleon, who had intended to renew the attack on the 18th, did nothing that day but reconstitute his army and prepare for the passage of the Dnieper. His behaviour before Smolensk indicated a great dissipation of mental energy.

The bridges having been restored early on the 18th, Ney at once crossed over to the right bank of the Dnieper, and was followed in the course of the day by Murat, Dessaut, and Jurot. The French pressed hard on the retreating enemy, and there were three engagements at Valutina Gora and Lohina, but, as Napoleon returned to Smolensk and Jurot did not attack, Murat and Ney were unable to prevent the Russians from effecting their retreat. Had Napoleon remained at Smolensk, he would have been able to continue the campaign in the following spring with good prospects. The hope of winning a decisive battle and of making peace at Moscow induced him to press forward; but in retarding his advance beyond Smolensk he committed perhaps the gravest error of the whole war. The means at his disposal were no longer adequate to such a task. To provide for the advance it became necessary to establish a strong reserve at Smolensk. The fleet under Vostok was

thereby commenced up; it crossed the Niemen at Kovno on September 4, and arrived at Smolensk on the 27th, over 20,000 strong. Napoleon himself did not leave the town till August 25. Halting and bemoing as it went, the French army marched forward across Old Russia.

The feeling in the Russian army and the difficulty of his own position had now convinced Barclay of the necessity of a battle. He intended to bring on a decisive engagement at Tauris-Zamiatzka, where the Russian army had arrived on August 19. But in the meantime his retention of command had become impossible. National pride, excited by recent events, demanded loudly that he should give way to a Russian. Yielding to this demand, Alexander appointed General Kutsoff (recently raised to the rank of Prince)-commander-in-chief of the Russian forces. Neither personal inclination nor confidence on the part of the Tsar had anything to do with Kutsoff's appointment; it was a political necessity.

Kutsoff was sixty-seven years old. Physically weakened by age, he lacked the mental energy required for contending with Napoleon, but he had talent enough to play a Fabian part. His chief want was that he could see when conditions were turning in his favour, and know that, if the worst came to the worst, the master would help him to equal the French. Endowed with much native cunning, he felt confidence in his ability to conquer the great man, by guile if not by battle. Barclay had saved the army in spite of itself. The enemy's numerical superiority, which, at the outset, had stood in the ratio of three to one, now stood only at that of five to four. Kutsoff knew how to turn this service of his predecessor to good account. The new commander-in-chief joined the army on August 23. He had to fight a battle, since that was the object of his appointment. But, as the position chosen by Barclay at Tauris-Zamiatzka was open to criticism, the retreat was continued on the 24th as far as Borodino, where the army arrived on September 8.

In the expectation that the new Russian commander would accept battle, Napoleon gave his army two days of repose (September 1, 2) at Spasik. On the 3th the advance was continued. A strong redoubt had been constructed near the village of Shevardino, in front of the Russian left. On September 5, Napoleon launched his advance-guard against this redoubt, which was defended by Prince Gortschakoff. Davout also took part in the attack. Later, Bonaparte, on the extreme right of the French, succeeded in turning the enemy's left, whereupon the Russians abandoned the redoubt and retired after annihilating upon their main position. Even after the losses of the last five days, the two Russian armies still numbered 105,000 men, with 640 guns, exclusive of the Cossacks and the militia. The French army was between 120,000 to 130,000 strong, with 587 guns. The Russian position formed a shallow convex curve. On the right, the line followed the bank of the Kalutza, a tributary of the Moskwa; in the center, near the village of Borodino, it fell back a little from the former, and then bent round by

Semenovskoe to Utiuzh on the old Smolensk road. While the right wing was unassailable, the left, being without natural protection, was a weak point in the position; yet the first army, forming the bulk of the Russian force, was drawn up on the right, while the weaker second army was posted on the left. The latter position, not being covered by the Kalutsha, was defended by trenches. Raikovsk's battery was posted to the right of this position, on the high ground between Borodino and Semenovskoe; on its left, between Semenovskoe and Utiuzh, three small entrenchments had been thrown up. Napoleon had not been able to obtain clear information as to the ground, and supposed that Raikovsk's battery and Bagration's entrenchments stood on the same ridge. The Emperor decided on a frontal attack; Poniatovsk alone, with his weak corps, was to turn the Russian left.

The battle of Borodino, or of the Minerva, began at 6 A.M. on September 7. On the French left, the Viceroy advanced first and took the village of Borodino; lost it, and took it again; then crossed the Kalutsha with the greater part of his troops, and deployed against Raikovsk's battery. About 10.30 A.M. this position was taken; but the Russians, reinforced by General Yermoloff, soon succeeded in recapturing the entrenched battery, and in repulsing the enemy with great loss. Meanwhile Davout, with the divisions of Devaux and Compans, had advanced at 8 A.M. against Bagration's entrenchments. Round these there raged for hours a fierce struggle, with varying results. On Davout's left, Ney's corps and Friant's division took part; Jancz filled up the space between Davout and Poniatovsk. About 11.30 A.M. the French succeeded in finally capturing the entrenchments, already three won and lost, and in driving back the second army with great loss over the depression of Semenovskoe, where part of the reserves came to its aid. It had lost nearly all its senior officers, Bagration himself being mortally wounded. Kutusoff remained inactive the whole time at Gorki, far behind the line of battle, leaving Barclay, Bagration, and Yermoloff to their own devices.

An attack by Murat's cavalry failed; and it was past midday when Friant succeeded in taking Semenovskoe—a success which forced the Russians in this part of the field back to the edge of the forest. But Murat, Davout, and Ney believed themselves unable to advance further without reinforcements; and then Napoleon ordered to send. The Emperor was suffering from a severe chill, and stayed for the most part far in the rear by the Ehrenkrantz redoubt. About midday, Platoff's Cossacks and Ussouff's cavalry vainly attempted, by outflanking the French left, to divert the enemy's attention from the Russian centre. The Raikovsk battery was captured by the French soon after the loss of Semenovskoe; and the whole Russian centre fell back behind the depression of Gorki. About 4 P.M. the battle gradually died out, in consequence of the complete exhaustion of the troops on both sides. Only on the French right Poniatovsk continued fighting till nearly 6 P.M.

The losses on both sides were enormous. The French lost over 20,000 men, the Russians half of their troops of the line. Napoleon had himself to thank for the fact that the result of the battle did not justify these sacrifices. If he had called up his Guards, who were still 20,000 strong, he might have annihilated the Russian army. Kutusoff had intended to continue the battle the next day; but, in view of his losses, he abandoned this intention, and on September 8, before day-break, began his retreat. Napoleon having withdrawn his advanced troops after the battle was over, the Russians were able to feel that they were not defeated; the commander-in-chief even obtained a victory.

The French Emperor remained at Majaik Hill September 16. Kutusoff meanwhile continued his retreat as far as the village of Fili. At a council of war, held on the 13th, Bessieres wished to renew the offensive, but Barclay was of the opposite opinion. His advice was adopted by Kutusoff, and the retreat was resumed in the direction of Riazan. The army retired through Moscow, and was followed by nearly the whole population of the capital. Out of 250,000 inhabitants only about 15,000 remained behind; among them many strangers, especially French, and the dogs of the population, besides thousands of wounded Russians. To cover the retreat, Miloradovich remained behind with the rear-guard. Murat and Sebastiani being very anxious to occupy Moscow intact, he demanded and obtained an armistice of some hours, which enabled him to withdraw undisturbed (Sept. 14). With him went the military governor of the city, Count Rastopshin. During the afternoon of the same day, Napoleon, who had vainly waited for a deputation from the authorities, made his entry into the Russian capital.

The abandonment of the city produced a strange and disquieting effect on the French army. Several fire broke out on the evening of the 14th, in different quarters of the city; but these were attributed to accident. On the following evening a great part of the city was in flames; a few days more, and three-fourths of the houses were in ashes. Napoleon, who had established himself in the Kremlin on the morning of September 16, was on the following day obliged to make his escape through the burning buildings; he took up his quarters outside the city in the Petrowski palace. Not until the 18th, when the fire had abated, did Napoleon return through the smoking ruins to the Kremlin. Moscow was burnt neither by Napoleon, nor by Count Rastopshin. Probably, the fire was in part accidental, and due to plunderers, both Russian and French; in part the deliberate work of patriotically-minded individuals. It began in the shops and warehouses, along the outer wall of the Kremlin, and around the Kremlin, a public square laid by. On the 16th the fire was at its height. The noise of the flames resembled the roaring of the sea; the sky glowed; and it was possible to read by night within three or four leagues of Moscow. Robbery went hand in hand with fire.

It was not so much the French themselves as their allies, the Russian troops and the Poles, who displayed the most hostility and greed. Every corner was ransacked, under the pretext of saving something from the flames. The victors turned the churches into stables for their horses, chugged up for fuelwood the panels adorned with icons, and used the silver for dinner-tables. A slaughter-house was set up in the Petrowski convent; and the conventual church was turned into a butcher's shop. The gold plate of the Cathedral of the Assumption and other churches was melted down. The relics of St. Philip were scattered on the church-floor.

But neither fire nor plunder could bring the enemy to terms, and the approach of winter warned Napoleon to abandon the capital for a more secure position. Retreat, however, meant a confession of failure, and this he was anxious to avoid. He therefore remained in Moscow as long as there appeared any hope of peace. But Alexander was firmly resolved to make no peace so long as a single hostile soldier remained on Russian soil, he would rather let his head grow and eat potatoes with the earth. Kutusoff, feeling that the unfavourable impression produced by the Russian retirement must be effaced, adopted the advice of Toll, and resolved to change the direction of the retreat from Ruzsa to Tula or Kaluga. The main army, therefore, returning to the right bank of the Moskwa, marched on September 12 by way of Pskolski to the old Kaluga road, and on the 21st took up a position on the right bank of the Pskolski, near Krasno-Pskolski.

Napoleon had ordered Murat to pursue the enemy on the road to Ruzsa with a strong advance-guard; but that general, in spite of his strength as cavalry, had completely lost touch with the Russians. About Sept. 20 Napoleon heard that the Russian army was posted on the road to Tula, and that the Cossacks were threatening the French line of retreat on Mozhaisk. He therefore despatched Proustschin and Bagration, one after the other, in the direction of Pskolski and Kaluga, to meet the enemy. In the Russian head-quarters a general attack was feared, in consequence of which it was decided, on the 20th, to continue the retreat as far as Tchernoo, beyond the river Nara. There the army remained for three weeks, receiving reinforcements which raised the number of regular troops to 87,000 men. An advance-guard, under Miloradovich, was now formed; while Tchernosoff, who arrived on October 26, took over the command of the main army.

Meanwhile guerrilla warfare began to assume serious proportions. Early in September, Denis Doryloff, a lieutenant-colonel of hussars, began to organize the partisan forces. Before long, officers, dragoons, and Cossacks, under Doryloff, Dorsikhoff, Figuea, and Solovitz, swarmed round the hostile army, seized its provision convoys, destroyed or captured French detachments in the rear, and drove the French guerrillas from the towns. The peasants flew to arms, formed bands, and wired

the French again, marauders, and strugglers, whom they slaughtered without mercy.

Napoleon had let September pass in complete inactivity. His position was growing worse every day; and he felt that, in order to enforce peace, something must be done, and that quickly. Early in October he formed a plan for a demonstration in force against St Petersburg; but, finding his generals were against it, he let it drop. As Alexander did not beg for peace, Napoleon was forced to take the first step himself. On October 5 he sent General Langeron to the Russian headquarters, to open negotiations, but, in so doing, he only betrayed the untenability of his own position, without getting any nearer to peace. In the end, therefore, he decided on retreat. It is true that, apart from soldiers, which had run low, there was still, in spite of reckless waste, a large quantity of provisions in Moscow. The difficulty of provisioning the army was chiefly felt in regard to the troops outside the city, especially those of the advance-guard. As to resources, the army, in spite of reinforcements, was, on the evacuation of Moscow, reduced to 100,000 men and 500 guns. Napoleon, at the outset, did not intend to retreat beyond Smolensk. The natural line of retreat was by way of Volokolensk, Zubtsoff, and Beloi to Vitolsk; it passed through a poor country, but was unobscured by war. But to choose this route would have implied a confession of fear. It was in accordance with Napoleon's character that he decided upon the route by Kaluga to Smolensk.

On the morning of October 18 Napoleon suffered a repulse at Vichera, opposite the Russian camp at Tzaritsa. Though the Russian success was of slight importance, Napoleon at once gave orders for the retreat. The same evening the greater part of the army bivouached on the old road to Kaluga. A strong detachment under Mortier was temporarily left behind in Moscow, for Napoleon wished to make it appear that his return to the capital was still possible. The cavalry horses were in very bad case; but the most serious symptom was the falling-off in discipline. The French host resembled a horde of nomads rather than an army; men, horses, and waggon were loaded with booty. The arrangements for the ammunitions and for the clothing and provisioning of the troops were utterly inadequate.

Napoleon had selected for his line of retreat the new road to Kaluga by Fominskole, on which, by hastening his pace, he might hope to get past the Russian army at Tzaritsa; but he had actually struck into the old road which goes through Tzaritsa itself, in order to anticipate a possible attack on the part of Kutsoff. The latter, however, did not advance farther; so, on October 20, the French army turned to the right to Fominskole. On the night of October 20-21 Mortier also evacuated Moscow. He had been directed by Napoleon to destroy the Kremlin and all the public buildings except the Fomskling Hospital, but he carried out the order in a very superficial way.

The Russian generals were very badly informed as to the camp's movements. It was not till the night of October 22-23 that they had definite news of the flank march of the French army from the old to the new Kaluga road; whereupon it was decided to head off the enemy at Yelka Yasnakovsk. On the 24th, at 3 a.m., Doltshagoff reached that place, and finding the French in occupation, at once attacked. After some hours of indecisive fighting, the Vicars Regent arrived with the rest of his troops, who were followed by the Guards and Davout's corps. A little later the Russian main army also came up, Borovoi first, and then Kutusoff himself. The struggle for the burning town lasted till 12 a.m.; eventually the French succeeded in driving the Russians out of the place. Kutusoff fell back a little during the night; but he had attained his end, and barred the road to Kaluga against his opponents. Napoleon had either to force his way through, or to retreat to Mjaguk and thence to Smolensk through an exhausted and desert country.

After long reflection, and much reconnoitring and consultation, the Emperor, on October 25, formed the momentous decision to retreat upon Mjaguk—a course which meant nothing short of destruction for his army. On the same day, Kutusoff, perceiving, as he thought, in all the movements of the French army an offensive directed against Kaluga, also gave orders to retreat. Tell and the British commissioner, General Wilson, in vain urged the commander-in-chief to fight a decisive battle. Kutusoff hoped that the Grand Army would melt away of its own accord, and preferred to build a golden bridge for his opponent. Moreover, he was by no means persuaded that the complete destruction of Napoleon and his army would really be a benefit for the world; he feared that the heritage of the French Emperor might fall, not to Russia, but to Great Britain. Consequently, at the last moment, Napoleon found the kindness to his retreat by way of Mjaguk renewed. But his power of decision was already impaired by consciousness of failure. He fell back upon a compromise, and drew off his troops on the road by Borovoi, thus taking a circuitous course, with all the disadvantages incident to such a route, which he might have avoided by marching straight on Mjaguk.

Winter, which this year had been slow in coming, now set in. By the end of October the men were shivering by the burning fires at Volkovo, with slight degrees of frost. Frosts were coming to an end, the men were thinning, the men fatigued; the Russian became colder in their attitude. Serious news reached Napoleon at Vienna: Doltshagoff had driven Schumacher back to Brest; Saint-Cyr had evacuated Poland; and Victor had hurried from Smolensk to his relief. The Grand Army itself was in peril. Napoleon alone, with the Guards and the Westphalian troops, had outstripped his pursuers. The main Russian army was close to Mjaguk at Vicars. Milordovitch clung to the Bank of Begova, Penatovka, and Dorost; Platoff and his



Cassels pressed on their rear. On November 3 Milosadevitch had advanced from the north towards the main road; his cavalry encountered the head of Davout's column, already hard pressed by Platoff. Eugene and Potemotzki were obliged to turn back to his assistance; but the former mainly tried to beat off the Russian infantry approaching from the north. Thereupon the French generals determined to continue the retreat toward Vienna; it was carried out amid incessant attacks. The French troops passed through Vienna in disorder; Ney was the last to leave the neighbourhood of the burning town.

For the next few days the march to Smolensk went on without a halt. Want and disintegration now reached a terrible pitch. Shortage had long composed the almost exclusive diet of the troops; the Guards alone received a small ration of meat. On November 4 it began to snow; two days later the ground was covered, and the roads became slippery with ice; the thermometer fell to 5° Fahrenheit. The soldiers were attacked with a strange sickness. A man would suddenly look as if he were drunk, stagger, fall down in the snow, and die. On November 7 fifty men of Ney's corps perished in this way.

On November 9 Napoleon arrived at Smolensk. There he heard that Vitelsk was taken by the Russians, and that Eugene's corps had been attacked by Platoff while moving the Vopr, and had lost heavily in retreating to Smolensk. In Smolensk efforts were made to provide the different corps with the necessities of life; but, as the distribution was made without respect to circumstances, many of the troops, particularly the stragglers, were neglected, and through sheer hunger committed violent crimes. In spite of all this the Emperor succeeded in bringing his effective force up to 45,000 men; and he still hoped to be able to get the army into winter quarters on the Dvina and the Dniester. With this intention he ordered the Poles, the Westphalians under Junot, and the Legion of the Vistula, with the trophies of war, to go ahead of him, on the high road to Krassoi; he himself left Smolensk in his baggage, on November 14, with the Guards and the cavalry.

The Russian main army still numbered over 90,000 men. Kutsoff might very well have appeared at Krassoi by November 15. Instead of this, he kept back his troops for a day's rest, and it was not till the afternoon of that day that he went forward Milosadevitch with the advance-guard to the main road; while Napoleon concentrated the Guards, the Legion of the Vistula, and Junot's troops at Krassoi. From some prisoners the Emperor learnt (November 16) that Kutsoff, with his whole army, was in the neighbourhood, and boldly resolved to wait for the Vienny, Davout, and Ney, at Krassoi. Inflamed by the presence of Napoleon, Kutsoff, in spite of his overwhelming superiority, advanced but slowly. It was late in the afternoon of the 18th before there was any fighting, when the Vienny approached with his slender force from Korytza. Thanks to Milosadevitch's excessive caution, the

Vincery was able to stop the fight at nightfall, and to mark Krasno by passing round the enemy's position. On the 17th Napoleon determined to advance in person to attack the Russian main army, with about seven or eight batts, in order to free the road for Davout and Ney. Success was thus able to march past Mikoudovitch, who confined himself to artillery fire, and to join Napoleon, who was engaged in a smart encounter with the feeble Russian centre. The Emperor, considering it hazardous to wait any longer for Ney, now gave orders to retreat. The consequence was that Ney, instead of meeting Napoleon on the 18th at Krasno, came unexpectedly upon the Russians under Mikoudovitch in the afternoon of that day, and was obliged to retreat with enormous loss. He turned northwards to the Dniester, crossed it by night near Syrokovnik, leaving behind all his baggage and guns on the left bank, and joined the Vincery with only about 500 men.

Katanyeff, having let the French escape, left Mikoudovitch to pursue them with the advance-guard alone, while with the main army he took the direction of Lower Bessarabia, in the hope of bearing the enemy's path again at that place. It was intended that Wittgenstein should follow alone on the tracks of Oudinot and Victor, while Tchitchagoff was to hold the narrow defile at Zastava. It was now Napoleon's intention to join Schwarzenberg by way of Minsk; and with this object his movements were directed towards Bessarabia. He hoped it would still be possible to take up winter quarters behind the Berezina. But on the 18th Minsk was taken by the Russians. Orders were therefore sent to Dombrowski to hold the bridge-head at Dorosoff with his Pole; Oudinot was despatched in that direction; and the French main army crossed the Dniester on the 19th at Orsha.

Meanwhile, on Napoleon's right, armies fighting on the Dnieper (July—October) had ended in Wittgenstein's advance to Chasidzin and Viasich and Victor's retirement towards Smolen; while, to the south, Tormasoff had successfully withstood the Austrian onset. On the retirement of the Prince of Bucharest, Tchitchagoff brought up the army of the Danube, and, taking Tormasoff's place at the head of the combined forces, marched towards the Berezina. The situation in the rear of the French main army, at the moment when its shattered remnants approached the Berezina, was thus very grave. Wittgenstein, with more than 30,000 men, stood ready at Chasidzin to advance against Oudinot and Victor, who were posted with 22,000 men at Glesin and Krasnagora; while Tchitchagoff, with more than 50,000, was marching upon Dorosoff, in order to drive Dombrowski from this important point.

Napoleon, believing himself to be in possession of the passage over the Berezina at Dorosoff, ordered the destruction of the positions taken, with their magazines, which had been provided at Orsha; but General Elie had fortunately preserved some waggons with coal, instruments, and iron material for building bridges. Meanwhile the situation of the French

army became more and more perilous. It was pursued by an enemy flushed by victory, and now, thanks to reinforcements, far superior in numbers. Mikulovich disposed of more than 25,000 men; the main army, under Kutsoff and Tormasoff, added 60,000 more. By November 14 the bridge-head of Borissoff was lost to the French. Next day Tchitchagoff crossed the Beresina at that point, and pushed his advanced guard towards Loshitsa, but was driven back again by Oudinst to the right bank. Napoleon was now convinced that the passage of the Beresina below Borissoff was barred by Kutsoff's approach as completely as that by the town itself was stopped by Tchitchagoff. His only course, therefore, was to force his way by Zaslava to Vilna between Tchitchagoff and Wittgenstein. On Nov. 15 he directed Oudinst to throw bridges across the Beresina at Yessikovo, where the road to Zaslava passes that river, and ordered Victor to stop Wittgenstein's advance against Oudinst. Victor, however, in the end, fell back on Loshitsa. Through the junction with Victor and Oudinst, the strength of the French main army again rose to between 57,000 and 60,000 men, not counting many thousands of stragglers. It was with this army that Napoleon was to attempt the passage of the Beresina, in the face of an enemy three times stronger, and surrounding him on all sides.

Both Wittgenstein and Tchitchagoff believed that Napoleon would cross south of Borissoff. Wittgenstein therefore advanced but slowly, although Victor, by his retreat upon Loshitsa, had left the way open; and he did not reach Studinka, near the crossing-place, till November 22. Thus, left to his own resources, Tchitchagoff failed at the decisive moment to bar the way. Convinced that Napoleon would make his way to Minsk below Borissoff, where Oudinst was making a dash of preparation, Tchitchagoff with his main force marched southward on the 15th, leaving behind him, opposite Borissoff, only Langroth's Silesia corps, and at Stud, opposite Studinka, a detachment under Chaplin. On the 16th, Chaplin also was ordered back to Borissoff, and there remained only a small detachment, under Kersloff, opposite Studinka.

Preparations for throwing the bridges across at this place were begun on the 16th. In order to prevent the enemy from opposing the passage, Oudinst's whole artillery, amounting forty guns, was directed on the heights of Studinka. On November 20, to the astonishment of the French, the further (right) bank of the river appeared almost free from the enemy. There was, in fact, nothing there but Kersloff's detachment, which was soon driven off by a small body of cavalry and sharpshooters who crossed the river on horseback or on rafts. Meanwhile two tooth-bridges were begun, a larger one for carriages and cavalry, and a smaller one above it for the infantry. The river being swollen and full of ice, the work was unusually hard; but, early in the afternoon, the smaller bridge was completed. Oudinst at once crossed by it, sent a detachment to secure the Zaslava delta, and then advanced southward

with his main forces. Three hours later the artillery followed by the larger bridge. The passage of Sey's corps was delayed by the break-down of the larger bridge during the night of November 26-27.

About midnight on the 27th Napoleon himself crossed with the Guards, and took up his head-quarters in the village of Zaslavl. On the left bank there still remained the corps of Victor, Drouot, and Eugene, with the great mass of the detached troops, and, mixed up with them, the whole of the baggage train. It was on this day that the Russians first appeared in the neighbourhood of the crossing. On the right bank of the river, Essenlof and Chaptiz failed to make any impression on Ordout; while Tchitchagoff, who had now returned, declined to order a general attack. On the left bank, Victor took up his position at Studzinka to cover the crossing against Wittgenstein. Instead, however, of attacking Victor, Wittgenstein continued his march to Borissof, and falling upon Partoussau's division, which had been left behind at Gary-Borissof and had lost its way, he surrounded it and forced it to surrender. Further delay was caused by a third break-down of the larger bridge; but, during the night of November 27-28, other bodies of troops passed over.

On November 28, Wittgenstein and Tchitchagoff, reinforced by Yermoloff and Platoff, made, for the first time, a combined attack on the French army on both sides of the river. The conflict was severe, and lasted all day. On the right bank, where the country was covered with woods, the Russians on the Borissof-Zaslavl road were unable to deploy, and were repulsed by Ordout and Sey with great loss. On the left bank, Victor's corps, posted on high ground, stoutly withstood Wittgenstein's attack and checked the Russian offensive. During the night Victor crossed the river, leaving only his rear-guard behind. Meanwhile, the unattacked troops and the carriages had been passing over without interruption. Those who stumbled were trampled under foot; many fell into the water. Many families, women, and children, who had followed the army from Moscow, here found a miserable end. On November 29, about 9 a.m., the bridges were set on fire.

The French losses were frightful. They amounted to at least half of the regular army, that is to say, from 20,000 to 25,000 men. On the other hand, Napoleon's reputation was saved. The passage of the Berezina should not be regarded merely as a dismal catastrophe, but as the greatest achievement in the retreat of 1812. The Emperor owed his deliverance, above all, to the magic of his name and the prestige of his arms. Wittgenstein and Tchitchagoff were both afraid of him; neither was anxious to come to close quarters. Besides, Kutsoff believed that he could attain his end without a pitched battle.

With the passage of the Berezina, the Grand Army of 1812 was extinct. Hunger, cold (-12° Fahr.), and the Cossacks, finished the work of destruction. The remnants fled in wild haste to the Niemen.

On December 2, three days after the passage of the Beresina, the ordered march of the main army numbered only 8500 men, rank and file, on the 10th, only 1000. On the Russian side, the light troops, who were entrusted with the pursuit, refused to complete the annihilation of the French army; the main body followed closely behind. In the face of his terrible losses, Napoleon gave up all hope of shaking the light. The thought of abandoning the army, which he had recovered on hearing of Makh's conspiracy, had now ripened into a resolution. The 22th bulletin, dated from Makhatchew, December 5, was meant to prepare the world for his return. He confessed the ruin of his army, but laid the blame on the early commencement of the Russian winter. At Smargoni, on December 5, he announced to his generals his intention of departing for Paris, in order to raise another army. He entrusted the supreme command to Murs, and left Berthier with him. Accompanied only by a few of his intimates and a scanty escort, he set out the same day, and, travelling by Vilna, Warsaw, Dresden, and Mainz, reached Paris in safety at midnight, December 18-19.

As head of the State, Napoleon was at this moment more indispensable in the capital than on the field. But Murs, the daring leader of an advance-guard, was by no means the right man to rescue the remnants of the army. Under him the last traces of discipline vanished. Only a few thousand men of the Guards still held together; all the rest deserted. Some reinforcements, Loison's division, Wrede's corps, came up, but they were speedily lost in the general wreck. On December 6 Murs reached Vilna, but the appearance of some Russian cavalry refused to make him retreat hastily on Kovno in the night of December 9-10. Near the hill of Pouschkins, where there was a steep rise in the ice-covered road, Ney, with what was left of Wrede's and Loison's firms, sought to check the Cossacks; but the attempt ended in the complete destruction of his troops. Everything that the French had hitherto dragged with them—guns, baggage, and trophies—was here lost. On the same day Vilna was occupied by the Russians. The misery in the town was indescribable. Nearly all the houses were filled with sick and wounded, the courtyards with the dead, and the streets with struggles defiled in rags. Beyond Vilna the pursuit was carried out only by Platoff's Cossacks and the cavalry of the advance-guard. These were sufficient to scare the French back over the Niemen. An attempt made by Ney to hold the bridges at Kovno and the town itself failed, as the Prussians and the Vilna were driven hard. On December 14 Kovno also was taken by the Russians.

Here, on the Niemen, which at that time formed the western limit of the Russian Empire, the pursuit ended. The Grand Army had disappeared. Only about 1000 men of the Guards remained in order; the rest roamed over the country, singly or in small bands, nearly unarmed and in rags. The only available troops were the two wings, under

Schwabenberg and Moultonville, which together amounted to over 60,000 men. Then, with the Prussians, who had crossed the Niemen at Giltia, and the stragglers, altogether about 100,000 men, were all that was left of the Grand Army. More than 500,000 men were lost, over 100,000 army horses, and about 1000 guns. The prisoners numbered upwards of 100,000; many others had deserted, or filled the hospitals; the great mass, about a quarter of a million of men, had found their graves in Russia. The Russian losses were estimated at 330,000.

Kutuzoff was retained to be satisfied with driving the invaders across the frontier, but Alexander was finally resolved to proceed from defence to attack. The prospects of a general sacking of Europe were feasible. On December 26, 1812, General York, the commander of the Prussian auxiliaries, concluded with the Russians the Convention of Tauxeggen, by which, of his own authority, he broke with the French and declared his corps, for the time being, neutral. On January 13, 1813, Alexander's main army crossed the Niemen.

The Napoleon of 1812 was, for the world, no longer the republican general of 1796. United by marriage with the Imperial House of Habsburg, he stood nearer to the ancient régime than to the Revolution. He no longer appeared as the deliverer of the nations, but as their conqueror and oppressor. For the restoration of Poland or the abolition of serfdom he displayed little genuine zeal. The part which destiny had assigned him in history was played out. He varied no longer in the interests of humanity, but for the selfish ends of his personal or dynastic ambition. He had no serious idea, in Russia, any more than in Spain, of furthering the revolt of the people against an obsolete social and political system; all he did, therefore, was to turn the national rising against himself as a foreign conqueror. When the "Patriotic War" was over, his defeat gave to the German national-conservative party complete supremacy in Russia. If Poland was to be restored, its restoration would be due to the Russian Emperor alone.

As far as the cause of Napoleon's overthrow—was, rather, the Russian front, not the national rising, but his own strategic blunders that brought it about. He desired, in one year, to bring to a victorious end a campaign which, at the very least, required two. It has been considered his capital error that he continued his march on Moscow beyond Smolensk. Even supposing that, during the first year, it was feasible to beat the Russian army at Moscow and occupy the city for a short time, nothing can excuse the folly of driving half a million of men by forced marches into the heart of Russia in order to reach Moscow with only 100,000. It is clear that, not only from a social and political, but from a strategic point of view, Napoleon, towards the end of his career, gradually degenerated. But, as his creative genius became exhausted, his vast schemes only grew vaster still.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE WAR OF LIBERATION (1813-4).

THE weight of the Napoleonic despotism lay heavy upon Europe, crushing alike her Kings and her peoples. Besides England, which controlled the sea, Russia was the only remaining independent State. The British power was to be broken by the Continental Blockade; and in the spring of 1812 huge columns of armed men marched eastward to the subjugation of Russia. Napoleon penetrated victoriously into that country, and made his way to Moscow. It looked as if the whole continent of Europe was to become French. For some time nothing was heard of the Grand Army. Then, on December 12, news reached Berlin that Napoleon had been forced to leave Moscow, and was in full retreat. Leader and leader grew the rumour of a terrible tragedy. But rumour fell far short of the reality. During the first weeks of 1813, broken masses of men, for the most part sick or wounded, crossed the Prussian frontier, begging and plundering as they went—soldiers, officers, even generals of the highest rank, wrung in rags, frost-bitten, hollow-eyed and wasted. This was all that was left of half-a-million of soldiers, all that was left of the Grand Army. At sight of such a disaster the mind of Germany was deeply moved; men felt that a new era was about to dawn; now was the time for action—now or never.

It was natural to expect assistance from four directions—from England, Sweden, Austria, and Russia. England was the implacable enemy of Napoleon. Allied with Spain, she had defeated his armies, advanced nearly to the frontier, and driven off part of the French forces against herself. But, though her wealth gave her the means to help—a means subsequently used to effect in the Treaty of Reichenbach (June, 1813)—she could not herself carry on war in Germany. Sweden, long dragged at the heels of France, was now, under the guidance of Bernadotte, aiding at the acquisition of Norway, hitherto in the possession of Denmark. When Napoleon refused his consent to this act of robbery, Sweden went over to his enemies. At the end of 1812 the French ambassador received his passports; on March 12, 1813, a treaty was

evacuated with Great Britain; and, soon afterwards, 15,000 men landed in Swedish Pomerania, without, however, pushing farther inland.

More important than Sweden was Austria. She was, it is true, in alliance with Napoleon, but she was longing to throw off his yoke, and was therefore merely keeping up an appearance of hostility against Russia. At the end of January, 1812, Austria concluded a secret agreement with that country to cease hostilities, in consequence of which she withdrew her forces, without, however, any immediate rupture with Napoleon. She left Russia and Prussia to bear the first brunt of the new conflict, while she formed an army of more than 100,000 men, with which she proposed to play the part of peacemaker at the right time. By the middle of April Austria seemed to be an ally of France, and had begun to mediate as an independent Power. Her leading statesman, Count Metternich, endeavored to strengthen his position through the Powers of the Rhine Confederation, proposing to Saxony, Bavaria, and Württemberg a kind of neutral league, which should aim at a peace creating the independence of Germany. But he only succeeded in winning over the King of Saxony for a short time, that monarch, dismayed by Napoleon's threats, instantly collapsed, and submitted to his overtures.

None of these three Powers, then, contemplated taking immediate action in Germany. Even victorious Russia played her own game. There were two parties in that country, one of which desired to terminate the war at the Prussian frontier, the other to carry it farther. The champion of the former policy was the commander-in-chief of the Russian army, Count Kutusoff; the latter was headed by the Tsar Alexander, who was strongly influenced by his German entourage and by the prospect of acting as arbiter of Europe. Alone, Alexander could hardly have carried his country with him; but he found France on his side. With France the decision really rested; and that country, as we shall see, pronounced in favour of war.

Even after the Russian disaster, Napoleon's situation was by no means unfavourable. Besides France, he had with him Italy, Illyria, the Netherlands, and all Germany with the exception of Prussia. Against him were Russia and Prussia alone; the former weakened by war, prostrated in movement, unprepared for a struggle beyond her frontiers; the latter financially ruined, with her government in disorder and her military strength reduced. France, it is true, was almost depopulated by her many wars; her prosperity was injured by the Continental Blockade; a profound and passionate longing for peace was dominant among her people. The subject or allied nations, which had once witnessed the French with jubilation, now groined under the foreign rule; even Italy, her racial ally, was in part hostile. But fear ruled them all; they murmured, but they obeyed. It was therefore probable that in the coming war Napoleon would be able to muster the larger force, while he



also enjoyed the advantages of single command and of a military genius unequalled in history. No wonder if at first the King of Prussia was alarmed, and hesitated until his people almost forced him into this apparently hopeless war, by the rule of an ally who had once before, at Tilsit, left him in the lurch. But, when Tilsit, the conditions were completely changed. It was no longer the Cabinets that waged war, but the nationalities revolting against the enormous domination of France.

When, on December 18, 1810, Napoleon entered Paris, his Ministers were agreed in advising the peace for which France, they asserted, was loudly decouraging. Napoleon made proposals for an armistice, but was unable to come to terms with Alexander; and Austria's mediation was of no effect. Nevertheless, in February, 1811, negotiations were actually begun, and continued without any formal rupture till June 4, when an armistice was concluded at Filtreite. This fact is important. Time was required for the setting on foot of another Grand Army. While on the march to Russia, Napoleon had created certain cohorts, as they were called, for the defence of the Empire, numbering about 80,000 men. In November, 1812, the levy (of 125,000 men) took place in the following January. Further levies raised the total demand to the enormous figure of 250,000 men, but this number was never attained; and there was great difficulty in providing a complement of trained officers, especially for the cavalry.

The result of Napoleon's energy, grasp of detail, and micromanagement, was that by the end of April, 224,000 men, including the Germans and Italian troops, with 407 guns, were with the cohorts on the banks of the Elbe and the Weser, that the fortresses on the Rhine, the Oder, and the Elbe were strongly garrisoned; and that reinforcements were pouring in along all the roads from France. The infantry was, on the whole, of first-rate quality; the artillery was good, the cavalry alone was inadequate, both in men and horses. Napoleon had desired to make it specially strong, but at first it numbered only 15,000 men. Such were the forces employed in the spring campaign. Things were different in the following autumn, when it became evident that the military resources of France had been overstrained. There was an army, numerous indeed, but an army of the most heterogeneous description, dug together at haphazard, new youths along with men over age, lacking in physique and discipline; while the corps of officers left, in the lower grades, much to be desired. Moreover, the troops never had their heart in the conflict, and were only kept together by a sense of military honour. In the higher commands there were grave defects. The marshals were gladdened with glory and honour, they longed for rest and enjoyment; they feared defeat. Good tactics there were among them, but no good strategists, except perhaps Davout. Napoleon himself was no longer what he had been. True, his genius remained; but his will, his decision,

his self-confidence, even his health, had suffered. His life had been too full, and even his Titanic strength, mental and physical, had been affected by the efforts and the catastrophes of the Russian campaign.

Of Napoleon's opponents the foremost was Russia. Her field-army numbered only about 110,000 men, including 30,000 cavalry. A vision of February 3 commanded the formation of a strong reserve army; but this dream was so slow in getting into shape that by the end of July only 60,000 infantry, 14,000 cavalry, and five batteries were available for reserves and reinforcements; and of these a third was lost on the way. This was not enough to keep the numbers at the front even up to their own low level during the spring campaign. The army was composed of tried soldiers; but, as they were thrown together at random, the tie of comradeship was lacking.

Prussia had been brought to the verge of ruin by the Peace of Tilsit. Her territory was reduced to four provinces, her population to 4,000,000 souls; she was burdened with a war-debt of 180 millions; her army was limited to 40,000 men. But her very misfortunes helped her to revive. Under Schwarzenberg's direction a new, a national army was created. Then came the war of 1812. Prussia was obliged to supply an auxiliary corps to Napoleon; the leaders of the reorganization were discredited and resigned their posts; everything fell into stagnation and disorder. The consequence was that in 1815 Prussia was unable to raise her forces to a war footing as quickly as had been expected. Difficulties arose from the fact that part of the country was occupied by the Russians (with whom as yet there was no treaty), another part by the French; still more from the terrible want of money; finally, from the character of the King, and from that large section of the bureaucracy which expected all salvation to come from above.

This time, however, it was a question, not of kings and officials, but of the soul of a people. The Prussian nation had endured too much under the pitiless hand of the conqueror of Jena, and in the grim school of suffering had acquired a moral force which now revealed itself in its elemental power. The people were resolved to risk their highest possessions, their rights as men and citizens, by desperate combat if there were no other way. The enthusiasm for freedom and fatherland swept through the country like a post-up mountain torrent. All classes, all ages, flew to arms; more lads and grey-haired patriarchs, even young girls, entered the ranks. Those who could not offer their own lives on the altar of their country gave what they had. In a few weeks the country, impoverished as it was, contributed in free gifts the value of half-a-million of thalers (475,000), and thus lightened—one may even say, made possible—the heavy task of the Government.

In the face of all this, King Frederick William maintained an attitude of shy detachment. He was concussions and painting, but slow and hard to move, and pusillanimous in his decisions. He dreaded the

an ordinary tendency of a popular movement. The conviction that a terrible end was preferable to ascending barbarism could not be expected in the representative of an hereditary dynasty. Many even of the best men, like Schamberg, at first found this popular violence but little to their taste; they regarded it as little sentimentalism. But the popular pressure was too strong, and in the end it carried away both bureaucracy and Court. Schamberg was recalled to office; Gneisenau came to his aid; and in the Chancellor Hardenberg Prussia found the man who could steer her straight in her time of need.

A series of orders was issued, calling the troops under arms. The want of officers was met, so far as possible, by promoting cadets and non-commissioned officers. Though sorely hindered by want of money, of uniforms, and of equipment, the mobilization of the field-army was almost completed by the end of March; but that of the reserve battalions, especially those of the *Landwehr*, was much in arrears. The *Landwehr* had been ordered by a royal order of March 17; but not a single corps took part in the spring campaign. A preliminary order for raising the *Landwehr* was issued on April 24; but it was impossible to carry it out. One unique feature of the war was to be found in the "Ersz Corps"—divisions of patriotic volunteers, who, not being Prussians, could not serve in the Prussian line. The best known was that of Lutze, raised by officers of Solli's former corps. In this band Theodor Körner, the foremost singer of the War of Liberation, fought and fell. Altogether, the strength of the Prussian army, after complete mobilization, was estimated at 250,000 men; but, at the beginning of the campaign, not more than 120,000 combatants could be counted. Typhus had already made great gaps in the ranks. But with each stage of the advance the military enthusiasm of the people grew, and with it the military resources of the State. This explains the fact that, throughout the spring campaign, the fighting troops were steadily reinforced, and that, during the armistice, the strength of the whole army was considerably increased. Although in numbers and discipline the Russian army at first appeared the stronger, the Prussian troops, in spite of their inferior numbers and the large proportion of young soldiers, were proved themselves the more formidable. This was attested by Napoleon himself.

What at the outset seemed so dishonourable—the presence of Prussian auxiliaries in the Russian campaign—had in the end the happiest result. The Prussian corps had operated on the left wing of the Grand Army, in the Baltic Provinces. It then escaped the destruction that befell the main body, and was enabled to form a firm nucleus for the national force. The commander, General von York, was not on good terms with his superior, Marshal Biondoli. The King had privately expressed a wish that fighting with the Russians should be avoided so far as possible, while they on their part made similar proposals to the Prussians. Negotiations became more lively after the retreat of Napoleon. The

King had, in August, directed York to break off from the French if they should be driven across the Prussian frontier, informing him further that he contemplated abandoning the French alliance, as soon as circumstances would permit. Thereupon, on December 30, 1812, York came to an arrangement with the Russian general, Diebitsch, under which the Prussian corps was to remain neutral until orders arrived from the King, and the Russians were to be allowed to march freely over the Prussian frontier-roads. This purely military convention induced the Russians to continue the offensive, and, indirectly, led to the great popular rising in Prussia. York threw himself to the neighbourhood of Tilsit, MacDonald to Königsberg, whence, on the appearance of the Russians, he retired to Danzig.

On January 15, 1813, Murat, King of Naples, the commander-in-chief of the Grand Army, now practically annihilated, transferred his headquarters to Poznań, where, six days later, he was replaced by the Younger Napoleon. The military situation at this time was as follows. The extreme left of the French position rested on Danzig, a fortress garrisoned by 30,000 men, of whom a third part were sick or unvaluable. The right wing consisted of the Austrian auxiliary corps under Schwarzenberg and the 7th corps (Russian and French) under Repulse, in all about 80,000 men, who retired upon Warsaw. In the centre lay the fortress of Thorn, with a garrison of 4000 men. The French thus practically held the line of the Vistula. Behind it lay Eugene with a left-wing of 16,000 men, mostly unfit for service. Behind the Oder stood Lagrange who, with 14,000 men, had to guard the Mark of Brandenburg and the fortress on the Oder. Grouchy's division, about 18,000 strong, was hastening from Italy towards Berlin.

Against these inefficient and widely-scattered forces the Russians could mass about 110,000 men. Their army, on crossing the Neeman, broke up into four divisions. Wittgenstein, with 50,000 men, pursued the fragments of the Grand Army towards Königsberg and Elbing; on January 13 he crossed the Vistula, despatched a portion of his troops to operate against Danzig, and marched with the rest to Stargard in Pomerania; here he halted in order to effect a junction with the second corps, 50,000 strong, which, under command of Tschischagoff, was approaching slowly by way of Thorn. Further south Kutsoff, with 60,000 men, was marching from Lyb upon Plock, while Milnarskiitch, with about 50,000 men, followed Schwarzenberg and Repulse.

Eugene employed the time allowed him by the division of the Russian movements in strengthening and reorganising his army. He could do nothing with the troops which had just come from Russia, except to use them as garrisons for the Prussian fortresses; with the rest, about 12,000 men, he stood fast at Poznań. Schwarzenberg, however, evacuated Warsaw without a struggle, and marched, not eastwards to Kalisz, but northwards to Cracow under the pretext of chasing Gólcia. Eugene

received no help from the Prussians, whose secret understanding with the Russians became more and more apparent. Consequently, though Gneisenau's division reached Berlin, where it was combined with that of Lagnave to form a new corps (the 11th), under Gervais Saint-Cyr, the growing disaffection of the inhabitants was such that this corps dared not abandon the Mark. When, therefore, Tschichagoff reached Frankenburg, where Wittgenstein's light troops began to raid the country far in Eugene's rear, and the French troops had suffered two reverses, the Viceroy's position became untenable; and on February 12 he was forced to evacuate Posen. On the 16th he reached the Oder at Frankfurt, where his position was rendered more secure by the neighbourhood of Saint-Cyr. Shortly before that date, on the 10th, Reynier had been surprised by the Russians and so severely handled that he reached the fortress of Glogau with only 5000 men. Thus the French line of defence was pushed back to the Oder.

The action of York was highly embarrassing for the King of France. Obviously he was Napoleon's ally; and the French occupied his country, as we have seen, up to the Vistula. No one could be more anxious than Frederick William to shake off the oppressive French yoke; but he dared not move in any direction, such was his fear of Napoleon, and his dread lest failure should endanger the very existence of his State. The hopes, for the present, were limited to an acceptable peace; and with this view he turned to Vienna. Not until he perceived that nothing was to be hoped for in that quarter did he begin to look outward to Russia. In order not to break with France, he informed the French ambassador that York's action had aroused his surprise and indignation, and followed this up by sending a special envoy to Paris with instructions to pacify Napoleon; he even ordered York's dismissal. But the officers who informed Murat of this order travelled on to the Emperor Alexander and proposed an alliance.

A double game of this sort was the natural resource of the weak; and Hardenberg played it very skilfully. He managed to explain every event proceeding on the grounds of necessity and the repellent attitude of France; and he was fortunately able to convince Saint-Marcq, the French ambassador at Berlin, who involuntarily played the part of a friendly reporter. It was, however, clearly necessary to get the King away from Berlin, where he was in constant danger from the French garrison. A report was therefore spread that he was going to Bruchsal, thence to raise a new contingent for Napoleon. In Berlin a High Commission of Registry was established to represent the sovereign in case of sudden need. On Feb. 23 Frederick William left Potsdam unobserved, and reached Breslau on the 26th. He was now free to act, and firmly determined to risk everything for the rehabilitation of his kingdom. As Austria hung back, he was forced to join with Russia, in the hope that events would bring Austria into line. But the utmost caution was

required. The object was to put Napoleon in the wrong, and to give the King an appearance of being forced to side with Russia against his will. Accordingly the Prussian ambassador in Paris, after settling fairly the difficulties of Frederick Wilhelm's position, made ready demands which it was certain the Emperor would refuse; while General Krusatck was sent to the Tsar with full powers to conclude an alliance.

For some time the negotiation made little progress; on the one hand, because Russia demanded a large slice of Pohl's (formerly Prussian) territory; on the other, because Frederick Wilhelm still shrank from decisive action. Eventually these hindrances were overcome—a result to which Napoleon's continued ill-treatment of Prussia contributed—and on February 26 an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded at Kielck. Russia undertook to furnish 150,000 men and Prussia 50,000, while the Tsar pledged himself, in a secret article, to restore Prussia to the political and financial position which she held previous to 1806. It was agreed that Prussia should be enlarged by acquisitions in northern Germany. The treaty was not published till March 18, when Prussia declared war against France.

Even more important than the Russian alliance was the strengthening of the national forces, a process which had been pushed forward by all possible means since the King's arrival in Berlin. The volunteer *Jäger* divisions were quickly formed; and all exemptions from military service were abolished. The country was divided into four military departments, with a military and a civil governor over each. The reorganization of the Prussian army was, for the time being, completed by the issue of regulations for the organization of the *Landwehr*.

Meanwhile important events were happening elsewhere. York had transferred his headquarters from Tilsit to Eßlinghausen, where he took over the functions of Governor-General of East and West Prussia, and raised his weakened corps to the effective footing of 50,000 men. These provinces being occupied by the Russians as officially hostile territory, they deputed as their representative Baron von Soden, who, as a former Prussian minister and now adviser of the Tsar, was admirably fitted to watch over the interests of both States. He ordered a meeting of the General Diet of the Prussian Estates, which, under York's influence, decided on the establishment of a militia force of 20,000 men, a reserve of 12,000, and a general levy (*Landsturm*), in which all men from eighteen to forty-five were to serve. Then York, in agreement with Wittgenstein, transferred his troops to the left bank of the Vistula. The conclusion of the alliance with Russia, though it was not yet made public, hastened their movements. During the advance the Russians remained in front, for until March 16 the Prussians were not to engage in overt hostilities against the French, and even then to avoid them as far as possible.

On February 16, as we have seen, the Tlornoy Express had reached

Frankfort on the Oder with 15,000 men, and had effected a junction with Saint-Cyr's force of 15,000. The fortresses on the Oder—Stettin, Kustrin, and Glogow—as well as that of Spandau near Berlin, were strongly garrisoned. Russian scouts, under Tchernitsheff and Dittichenborn, had already crossed the Oder; and on the 15th the latter had even pushed his way into Berlin, whose fighting went on in the open streets. But, as the capital could not be held with cavalry alone, the Russians retreated northwards, carefully watching all roads leading to Berlin. These events in his rear made a very sensible impression upon Eugene. He left his van-guard on the Oder, and betook himself and his main army to Berlin and the neighbourhood, retreating the capital on February 22. Thus he practically abandoned the line of the Oder, and that without any necessity: for Wittgenstein had not as yet approached the river: Kutusoff, with the main army, was a long way off at Eilsbade; and Berlin remained in Poland with about 50,000 men. As yet the Prussians had not declared war. In these circumstances Eugene ought to have continued to hold the line of the Oder. He was able to man on that river 40,000 men and 184 guns, while in Magdeburg a new corps was being formed, which by March 1 amounted to 35,000 men. But general uncertainty and fear of a popular rising drove him to retreat. Meanwhile Wittgenstein had come up; and his van-guard, having crossed the Oder on March 1 and 4, pushed on to Berlin. Eugene did not wait for him, but in the night of March 2-4 fell back upon Wittgenburg towards the Elbe. He and his 50,000 men had retreated before about 15,000 Russian light troops, and abandoned without a struggle the capital of Prussia.

Meanwhile the Prussian forces in Silesia, drawn from various parts of the kingdom, had been raised to 25,000 men. The command was given to Blücher, whose courage and energy inspired unbounded trust. But he was essentially a practical soldier, not given to wide-reaching plans and strategy: therefore the two most talented officers in the Prussian service were associated with him—Scharnhorst as chief of the staff, and Gneisenau as quarter-master-general.

Things were now so far advanced that the Russo-Prussian alliance could be carried into effect. Kutusoff took command of the combined armies. Wittgenstein, with York and Blüen, led the right wing: it numbered 24,000 men, and was to march upon Magdeburg by way of Berlin. The left wing was under Blücher's command. It included Wittgenstein's Russian corps and the Prussian corps, in all 50,000 men. Dresden was its objective. Kutusoff took a mobile route with the reserve, the so-called main army, numbering hardly 40,000 men.

Early in March the Vistula completely abandoned the line of the Oder and fell back on that of the Elbe, where he soon received reinforcements. His main body he transferred to Magdeburg and Dresden. Distance also obliged him (March 12) to abandon Hamburg, which was

entered by Tattenbarn and his Cossacks amid the jubilation of the inhabitants. Napoleon, disapproving of many of Eugene's measures, ordered him to collect 50,000 men before Magdeburg, making that point a centre from which to defend the line of the Elbe. This led to the withdrawal of most of the French troops from Saxony.

An energetic offensive was obviously the right strategy for the Allies. This was what the Prussians desired, but the advance was staged because the vanguard was too weak, and Kutsoff, reacting to agreement, remained at Kalisch. Wittgenstein and Blücher, however, approached the Elbe. Through the weakness of the French forces at Magdeburg their position at Dresden was so far weakened that they were compelled to evacuate the Saxon capital, which was occupied by Blücher. Soon afterwards York's vanguard appeared west of Magdeburg, and the lower Elbe was crossed by light troops. Napoleon, well knowing the importance of the lower Elbe, appointed Duvet governor of that district, and gave the command in Bremen to Visslaume. On April 1 General Morand, having crossed the Rhine, occupied Lüneburg with 2000 men and then gave Hatz he was surprised by Dümberg's and Tschernikoff's light troops, and his force was annihilated. It was but a small affair, but its moral effects were far-reaching. It was the first real victory won on German soil, and the news was received with general rejoicing. Unfortunately, on the very next day, Duvet appeared with a superior force, and drove Dümberg and Tschernikoff back across the Elbe.

There was brief fighting at Magdeburg also. Here, on April 6, Eugene crossed the Elbe with about 45,000 men, forced Bentzel to retire, and took up a position with his centre at Kallitz. Wittgenstein determined to attack him on the 9th with 25,000 men. In three places the advanced French forces were engaged, and were everywhere defeated. Eugene lost or killed and wounded 700 men, besides 1000 prisoners. The next night he began to retreat. His attempt to recover Berlin and counter the forces of the Allies was badly executed, and altogether unsuccessful. Blücher and Bentzel followed his retreat, with the object of reaching Magdeburg. York, with the Russians, marched up the Elbe to Rostock and Doorn, where a bridge was built over the river. The further plan of campaign was that Wittgenstein should operate in conjunction with Blücher to the west of the Elbe; but, as the enemy had over 50,000 men in Magdeburg, Blücher dared not lose touch with Fölow. York reached Kallitz on April 16, while Eugene occupied the left bank of the Saale, and approached the Harz mountains with his main army. Meanwhile Blücher had reached Leipzig and the Mulde, where he was compelled to halt, as the French were and to be gathering in force about Hof and Erfurt. All he could do was to make himself master of the territory between the Elbe and the Saale, and to keep in close touch with Wittgenstein.

Not till March 7 did the Russian main army begin its march from



Katbach into Saxony. It numbered only 33,000 men, and could not expect to be reinforced by more than 50,000 recruits before the end of May. On March 18 it reached Bautzen on the Elbe, where Klüber was afterwards dead. Klüber then found himself crippled as before, the more so since, in spite of all the efforts of his scouts, the enemy's designs remained obscure. Wittgenstein was in a similar situation. It was known that Napoleon had gathered a powerful army on the middle Elbe, and that it had begun to march eastward. When Wittgenstein received more certain intelligence of the movements of the enemy's main army towards Erfurt, he began (March 20) to draw nearer to Klüber on his left. The latter also concentrated his forces in order to effect a junction with the rest of the Allies.

As the news from the west grew more and more threatening, Schwarzbach proposed to abandon the defensive, and to attack at once. It was however determined that the main army should cross the Elbe and accept battle on the left bank, presumably between Leipzig and Akenberg. Wittgenstein proposed, in this case, to fall suddenly on one of the hostile columns during their approach. Schwarzbach looked forward gloomily to the future; he thought that they would all be too late.

It cannot be denied that the Allies showed themselves incapable of using the favourable moment when the main French army was still distant. Klüber's and Wittgenstein's united forces amounted to 65,000 men, a strength amply sufficient to engage Eugene, drive him from Magdeburg, and fight him in the open field. The opportunity had now passed; their hour was, it is true, strengthened by the Russian main army, but this reinforcement could not compare with the masses which Napoleon brought into the field. Previously they would have had to deal with an opponent by no means eager for the fight; now they had to contend against the genius and irresistible resolution of the Emperor.

As for Napoleon, while with indelible zeal he was gathering together an immense army in France, he kept his eye all the time on Germany. About the middle of March he was thinking of crossing the Elbe, and relieving Dantz. This was a revival of his Russian scheme, and had little prospect of success. The situation of the French in Germany was growing steadily worse, consequently Napoleon found himself compelled to meet the enemy on the Elbe and to protect Saxony. He therefore concentrated two armies, a main army under the command of Marshal Ney on the lower Main, and another not far from Magdeburg under Eugene, which served to secure the middle Elbe and could also advance north-eastward into Saxony. The two armies might effect a junction behind the Saale. On April 18 the army of the Main began its march, while an Italian corps approached from the south. On the 19th Napoleon left Paris. He stayed in Mainz till the 29th, in order to overcome the various difficulties which obstructed the raising of the new army. His plan was as follows. The army of the Elbe, about

40,000 strong, was to take up a defensive position, guarding the Thuringian Forest: the army of the Main, comprising over 100,000 men, was to concentrate at Erfurt under Napoleon's command, while the Saxon and Bavarian, 40,000 strong, approached from the west, by way of Coburg. Napoleon had thus a force of more than 200,000 men, with which he hoped to engage and defeat the far weaker enemy in the neighbourhood of Leipzig. From three directions the troops pressed forward towards the lower course of the Saale, between Halle and Jena. On April 25 Napoleon joined the main army at Erfurt, which five days later appeared on the banks of the Saale; while the Allies took up a position behind the Elster and the Pleisse, extending from Leipzig to Altenburg on the east. The Emperor had at his disposal 145,000 men, including 30,000 cavalry and 400 guns. The Allies at the most could only muster 80,000 men. A swift and decisive victory was required by Napoleon if he was to recover his reputation; and this victory seemed secure. All he had to do was to press forward.

On May 1 he crossed the Saale, and marched straight on Leipzig. As Napoleon had no precise information about the enemy's position, he hoped, by marching in this direction, to turn their right wing, drive it in upon the centre, and crush it by a series of heavy blows. He therefore kept his main force in a central position near Eka and Lützen. At 5 A.M. on May 2 the movement began. Napoleon succeeded in pressing back the Allies on the left and occupying Leipzig. Further south, his centre advanced towards the Elster with its front to the east. As none of the enemy's forces were to be found here, Napoleon betook himself to Leipzig. Suddenly a violent cannonade was heard on his right flank from the direction of Görschen. The Emperor at once took to the situation, and, while holding Leipzig, turned his whole force against the enemy. The Allies had taken up a position somewhat south of Leipzig, supposing that Napoleon would approach by way of Zeitz. When it became known that he was advancing by Lützen, and, it was supposed, in extended columns, Wittgenstein determined to attack him in the flank, while Blücher was to make an attempt on Leipzig. The army began its march during the night; but it was 11 A.M. before it reached a point north of Grand-Görschen, where it formed three lines, with Bücher in the front and the Russian Guard in the rear. The troops were so fatigued that they had to rest an hour. At midday Blücher advanced upon Grand-Görschen, surprised the French at that point, and routed them; but behind the village he encountered a stubborn resistance. At one o'clock the whole line was engaged, from Klein-Görschen to Stenndorf. At first the Allies had a numerical superiority, but French reinforcements kept coming up. At 2.30 P.M. Napoleon, with the Guard, appeared behind Eka. The fighting was extremely severe, especially round Grand-Görschen and Eka; but the superior forces of the French steadily gained the upper hand, and at

8 p.m. Napoleon ordered a general advance. In spite of desperate resistance, the Allies were forced at 7 p.m. to retire to a position northward of Gross-Görschen. In the centre the battle was lost.

Under cover of night the defeated army pulled itself together. The Russian Guard, 11,000 strong, had taken no part in the struggle, and a large Russian corps, that of Miloradovitch, remained inactive at Zeitz. Wounded as he was, Blücher hurled eleven squadrons upon the enemy during the night, but they were repulsed. The Allies withdrew in perfect order, and subsequently crossed the Elbe at Dresden and Meissen. The French lost 18,000 men, the Allies only 10,000, exclusive of the slightly wounded. During the pursuit many more fell out, so that eventually Napoleon, on reaching the Elbe, had 85,000 men less than when he crossed the Saale—a proof of the bad moral of his army.

Early on May 6 Napoleon pressed on with the main army towards Dresden, while Ney with an auxiliary force operated on the left. The pursuit, however, was not effective: it was not till a week later that the French occupied Dresden-Neustadt. Meanwhile Ney pushed back the Prussians under Bülow, and, at Napoleon's bidding, the Saxon fortress of Torgau surrendered. The Allies were in bad case. Each laid the blame of their defeat on the other. The Prussians were for pressing northwards to guard Berlin; the Russians for marching southwards to Bendera, in order to remain near to Russia and Austria. The armies were about to separate, when Frederick William, knowing this would be fatal, gave in. Leaving the defence of Berlin to Bülow's weak corps, the combined forces slowly moved to Bautzen, and took up a position on the heights behind that town, where they were joined by Barclay with 10,000 men. Napoleon remained in Dresden till the 17th to strengthen and reorganise his army. His main force amounted finally to 120,000, Ney's army to 85,000; the army of the lower Elbe under Davout numbered 50,000. Against these forces the Allies, with Bülow's corps, could only muster 120,000 men.

Napoleon, on being informed of the movements of the Allies, determined to attack and defeat them in conjunction with Ney. His troops advanced cautiously towards Bautzen, until it became clear that the Allies intended to accept battle there. On May 13 the French main army deployed west and north-west of Bautzen, with the Spree in their front. Ney was on the march with two corps, his object being to turn the Allied right. Wittgenstein, unaware that Ney had more than one corps, planned to attack him unexpectedly with the forces under Barclay and York. Soon after 1 p.m. the fight began. During its course, Barclay committed the blunder of first ordering York to abandon his position, and then bidding his reverse it. This second advance led to a fierce struggle, which lasted, with varying fortunes, till 11 p.m. The attempted surprise had failed; and during the night the Russians and Prussians fell back on the main body.

The position of the Allies was now as follows. In front of them flowed the Spree, as yet a shallow stream, its banks covered on the centre by the town of Bautzen. Their main force rested on the heights above the town, while their advanced posts reached to the Spree. They numbered 50,000 men, including 50,000 Prussians. Gortschakoff's Russians were on the left, Blücher in the centre, and Barclay on the right wing; the Russian Guard formed the reserve. The position was a strong one, but too extensive, and it was broken up into three ill-connected portions; moreover the ground was unfavourable for cavalry. The weakest point was on the right, which was incompletely covered. This was the very point that was threatened by Ney.

At noon on May 18 Napoleon crossed the Spree and attacked the Allied advanced posts, in order to prevent them from withdrawing on the approach of Ney. He cleverly aimed at defeating the detaches until the next day, when his second army would come into action. By nightfall Bautzen and the ground in front of it were won from the Allies. The Russian left wing appeared to be seriously threatened; whereupon 4000 men of the reserve were sent to its relief. Napoleon's plan for the 18th was admirably conceived. At daybreak a fierce attack was made on Gortschakoff's divisions; and Ney quickly followed suit on the right. Supposing that the issue would be decided on the left, Alexander sent forth another 8000 of the Guard, thus reducing the reserve at the very outset to 6000 men. Napoleon's tactics were entirely successful on the Allied left, where the Russians were fully occupied all evening. He was equally triumphant on the right. Here the Russians had to meet the enveloping attack of Ney's superior force; they received no reinforcements, and were pushed back in spite of a fierce resistance. Finally Blücher was forced to intervene in order to meet the important position of Pöhlitz from the French. It was now midday. Napoleon's entire began to move. The Prussians made a desperate but ineffectual defence; their right was turned. Meanwhile Ney's force had increased to 40,000 men. In full strength he rushed himself upon Pöhlitz, took it, and, attacking Blücher in front and flank, forced him to retire. Had Ney continued his advance against the Prussians, they would have been destroyed; but he failed to grasp the situation. Part of the centre still held its ground firmly; and thus Blücher gained time to extricate himself from his perilous position. The French, however, again made a ground advance, and the Allies withdrew from the field. They retreated in good order, without losing a single gun. The losses during the three days amounted to about 50,000 on both sides. A second time Napoleon had conquered, but again the victory was indecisive.

Still fighting, the Allies slowly retired, protected by their powerful cavalry. Almost daily there was fierce and ground fighting. It was evident that from a military point of view the Allies were still strong; on the other hand, in the field of diplomacy they showed a deplorable lack of

causality. Wittgenstein was now replaced by Barclay, who was disinclined to risk another battle and advised the abandonment of Silesia, if necessary, and a retreat to Poland. The Prussians, on the other hand, were for defending Silesia and consisting in the neighbourhood of the Austrian army. Alexander was won over to this plan. The army swung round to the north-west, and on the 26th took its stand on the heights of Flörs, not far from Schweidnitz. The northern provinces of Prussia were thus abandoned to the enemy.

Elsewhere the successes of the French were slight. Generals and troops were depleted by the unbroken struggle and fruitless fighting with an enemy ready at any moment to fall upon them with the superior cavalry. Ney, in a fit of ill-temper, actually sent in his resignation. The French advanced but slowly, and so slowly did the Allies maintain their ground that Bernadotte and Marmont even fell back. Napoleon despatched one division to Breslau and another, under Gudinot, to Berlin. Before had mustered 50,000 men, including a large body of militia, for the defence of the capital. Supposing that he had a small force to deal with, he attacked Gudinot on the 21st, but was repulsed. Victor also now turned northwards. If Gudinot had made an energetic advance, it would have gone hardly with the Prussians; but his slowness allowed Bulow to take up a strong position at Luckau, where he repulsed Gudinot with the loss of 3000 men.

The French had better luck on the lower Elbe under the command Davout. That district was to have been defended by the Russian general Wallmoden; but he was inadequately supported, and, finding the Danish forces on the enemy's side, he abandoned Hamburg, which the French recaptured on May 28. But strange in the rear of the French constantly impeded their communications; Prussians and Russian partisans ravaged the country beyond Halberstadt; and on June 7 a body of 6000 men actually penetrated into Lützen.

On the other hand, Napoleon, whose main army now extended over a front some 80 miles long, threatened the allied line of retreat with his left wing. The position of the Allies was bad; they were in danger of being forced back upon Austrian territory. But suddenly there came a complete change. As early as May 18 Napoleon had despatched General Caulaincourt to Alexander to treat for peace. On June 1 it was agreed, through Austria's mediation, to suspend operations on the morrow for thirty six hours. Finally, on June 4, at Pläswitz, the Powers accepted an armistice to last till July 30, a period afterwards prolonged for another month.

The question arises: What were the causes that led to the armistice? Napoleon has indicated two—the want of cavalry and the doubtful attitude of Austria. Evidently he overestimated the strength of Austria, or did not realise the deplorable condition of the allied forces. His own troops had proved insufficiently trained; though he had won two

victory, he had lost 25,000 men more than his opponents, and he had 10,000 men in hospital. His ammunition was exhausted, his commissariat inadequate; generally his hands lacked his resources; and, worst of all, his soldiers desired peace. An armistice, Napoleon hoped, would give him time to complete and reorganise his army, to win back Austria, and possibly to drive Russia and Prussia.

But the Allies were as still were not. Their numbers had sunk very low. They suffered all manner of want: the Russian and Prussian commanders were always at odds. The long retreat, the incessant fighting, and the want of supplies, had weakened the discipline of the troops; they had been driven back almost to the frontier: the hopes of including a Napoleon were almost at an end. There could be no question that not was for more necessary for the Allies than for the French, who, with one supreme effort, might possibly have reached their goal. If, nevertheless, Napoleon concluded an armistice, this proved that he was no longer the general he had been, that he no longer possessed that confidence and iron will which had invited victory to his banners. The Armistice of Platts was one of the greatest errors of his life; its acceptance sealed the preliminary conditions of his fall.

The armistice was not the prelude of peace, but a season of preparation for the decisive campaign. On both sides the work was carried forward with the greatest zeal. The Allies succeeded in winning over Sweden and the Crown Prince with the promise that his army should be reinforced by strong Russian and Prussian contingents. To arrange with England was more difficult, for Anglo-Prussian relations were traversed by Gothic interests in Hanover; nevertheless British subsidies were sent. The most important Power to gain was Austria. Metternich had kept up relations both with the Allies and with France. He was aware of Napoleon's pretensions, but was not anxious to see Russia's position made too strong; it was to the advantage of Austria that both Powers should be enclosed within their natural limits. This end he tried to gain by intervention, with a view to ending the war. On June 7 he proposed certain definite bases of peace, to which the Treaty of Hohenzollern, made during the armistice, added the important undertaking that, if the conditions therein laid down were not accepted by July 30, Austria would declare war on France.

The proposals made by Austria were that the grand-duchy of Warsaw and the Confederation of the Rhine should be abolished; that the Illyrian provinces should be restored to Austria; that the Hansa Towns and other portions of northern Germany annexed in 1806 should be restored, and that Prussia should be replaced in a position as good as that which she had in 1806. These terms were by no means unfavourable to Napoleon; but he could not bring himself to renounce his dream of universal sovereignty. Even the disastrous defeat of Vittoria (June, 1812),

while it encouraged the Allies, could not break down his obstinacy. Metterrich finally sent an ultimatum, being August 10 as the last of time for Napoleon's reply. On the 12th Austria declared war. It was well for Europe that Napoleon's ambition allowed no change of conditions at the crucial moment. At the head of a powerful army he still hoped to defeat a loose coalition.

Nobody was more pleased with the turn of events than the Prussians and German patriots, inspired as they were by a profound and passionate resolve. Speaking of this time, at St Helena, Napoleon said, "I saw the decisive hour drawing near; my star waned, and I felt the reins slipping from my hands." Military preparations were pressed forward. On the renewal of war, the whole force of France amounted to 871,000 men; and that number was raised to 900,000 in the course of the year. It was indeed a nation in arms.

The Russian field-army now numbered 164,103 men and 699 guns; the Prussians 161,704 men and 568 guns; the Austrians 127,245 men and 320 guns; the Swedes, the Anglo-Germans, and the Mecklenburgers, 58,571 men, and 90 guns—in all 512,163 men and 1587 guns. If to these are added the reserves and the available Austrian troops in Italy, amounting to 550,000 men, we have a total of 862,163 combatants. But Napoleon, on his side, had command the strength of France and the *Allemands* to his camps in Saxony, Silesia, and the Mark; to the number of nearly 700,000 men—a large part, it is true, being unseasoned recruits. Both armies presented a strange mixture of nationalities, but Napoleon's troops were all drilled on the French system; they were armed alike; and, excepting the *Allemands* troops, were mostly commanded by French officers. The French had the advantage in the military experience of their senior officers, their artillery also was superior, but their cavalry was inferior to that of the Allies. Lastly, the French were guided by one safe will, while the Allies were clogged by divided command and divergence of interests.

Various plans of operations were discussed by the Allies. Eventually a scheme, the so-called Reichenbach plan, was accepted by Russia, Prussia, and Sweden, and subsequently by Austria. Its purport was that three armies should be formed, the largest, known as the main army, in Bohemia, under Austrian command; the second, about 180,000 men, in the Mark, under the Crown Prince Bernhardotte, and a third, of 50,000 men, under Prussian command, in Silesia. They were only to accept battle if their superiority were undoubted. If the enemy in mass should attack one of the armies, it was to retreat while the other two advanced quickly, with a view to pressing hard upon his flanks and communications. The whole plan proved that the Allies did not dare to dine with so great a strategist as their opponent.

Napoleon was expected to begin the attack in Bohemia. He deferred the formation of a plan till the last moment. Then he determined to

adopt the line of the Elbe and its fortresses as his base, to retain 300,000 men, facing east and south, to watch the enemy's movements in Saxony and Silesia, and to dispatch 110,000 to attack Berlin and the Swedish Crown Prince. Napoleon thus abandoned all idea of a rapid offensive, and allowed himself to be reduced, apparently, by belief of his late marshal and of the Prussian capital, into a wide movement which could lead to nothing decisive. The youthful conqueror of Marngo would have acted very differently.

The Russian and Prussian troops succeeded in joining the Austrians before the termination of the armistice, thus bringing up the score in Bohemia to a total of 254,000 men with 638 guns. The chief command was given to Prince Karl von Schwarzenberg. The three sovereigns were at his headquarters; and, as he acted with their consent, he possessed a certain authority over both the other armies. Schwarzenberg was a man of honour and devoted to duty, but he had neither self-confidence nor talent for supreme command, and his generalship was over-cautious, dictatory, and uncertain. This led the self-entitled Alexander to interfere not unobsequiously in an arbitrary manner; and many others put in their word. It was under these conditions that a Council of War was held on August 17, by which it was determined to advance with three columns upon Leipzig. But as Dresden, not Leipzig, was the decisive point, the meant being touch with the army of Silesia, and giving the enemy a chance to invade Bohemia.

On August 22 Schwarzenberg crossed the frontier of Saxony and occupied the Elzephyge, then turned towards Dresden. To his astonishment he met with no serious resistance, for Napoleon, with the Guards, had marched off to attack Blücher. Dresden was covered only by Saint-Cyr's corps; and, if Schwarzenberg had pushed on with speed and resolution, the Saxon capital must have fallen. But he was half-hearted, and it was not until the afternoon of the 24th that the Allies, to the number of 50,000, stood before the gates of Dresden. Even then they did not attack at once, thinking they had plenty of time, and yet the defenders could already see the smoke-puffs of the approaching French. The favourable moment had passed. Napoleon was at last badly informed as to the movements of his opponents, and supposed their main force to be in Silesia. He hesitated for a time, but finally decided to advance into Silesia with 150,000 men, to beat the Silesian army, and to return to Dresden in time to prevent its fall.

After the departure of the Russian and Prussian divisions, the force which remained in Silesia, near Neudau, consisted of a Prussian corps of 26,000 men under York, and three Russian corps numbering 66,500, about 100,000 men in all, with 358 guns. They were commanded by Blücher, a very different man from Schwarzenberg. A good tactician, but ignorant of strategy, he personally hated Napoleon, and was probably the only general who did not fear him. Schwarzenberg having



dead from the effects of a wound, his place as Blücher's adviser was taken by GutsMuths, a far-seeing, courageous, and talented man, who, by much study of Napoleon's campaigns, established the principles of the modern art of war. The higher Prussian officers, especially Langeron, were mostly lukewarm; Sacken, though brave and impetuous, was inclined to timidity. Unfortunately, too, the self-willed, spiritual York was on bad terms both with Blücher and with GutsMuths. It was only the common purpose and the firm and prudent conduct of Blücher that kept together these conflicting forces.

The struggle in Silesia was severe. On August 18 Marmontail was forced to abandon the line of the Katsbach; and the French army of the Bober, though numerically superior, was pressed back. Three days later Napoleon arrived, at once took the offensive, and repulsed the Allies with the loss of 5000 men. Blücher actually perceived where he had to deal with, and therefore retreated, according to the general plan of campaign, but so as to keep close to the enemy. By this the French onset grew weaker; and Blücher supposed they had given up the pursuit. As a matter of fact, they were advancing all along the line, they repulsed the Allies in three successive fights, and continued their forward movement on the following day.

The situation of the Silesian army was now very serious. Provisions, equipment, and clothing were insufficient; the troops were tired out, in spite of great sacrifices they were unable to hold their ground. Blücher feared that his army would be destroyed piecemeal, and determined to try the desperate remedy of a pitched battle. On August 25 Napoleon had moved back to Dresden with a portion of his army, leaving over the command of the remaining troops to Marmontail. The Marshal dispatched 54,000 men in a side direction, and crossed the Katsbach and the Neisse with 47,000 men, intending to fall upon Blücher's flank. As the Prussians also advanced, the two armies came unexpectedly into collision. In consequence of the heavy rain the river Neisse was running back-high. The French crossed the swollen torrent, and climbed up the steep right bank. Firing into disorder, they were attacked by York's corps at close quarters before they could gain a foothold on the plateau. A fever fight ensued, the Prussian cavalry were forced to give way, but the Russian squadrons broke through the French flank and rear and decided the battle. The French cavalry were flung back upon their own infantry; and the whole force was driven in confusion down the hollow lanes and precipitous slopes. Prussian batteries placed on the edge of the plateau fired into the disorganized masses hurled on by the torrent below. Darkness alone put an end to the work of destruction.

The French were beaten, but it was only their centre that had been engaged on the high ground; their left wing had not come up. It was the pursuit which turned the partial into a decisive defeat. The French were hampered in their retirement by the rivers; their retreat became a

cent. The Prussians also suffered terribly, owing to the weather; hunger and want of clothing and ammunition hindered the pursuit. On the 19th Mackintosh crossed the Elber, finally, after another fierce fight at Barden, the river Quisa separated the two armies.

Blücher now recovered the news of Napoleon's victory at Dresden (August 26-27). Fearing that the Emperor would hasten to relieve the army of the Elber, the Prussian general left his main army, on the Quisa, and with his van-guard only pressed on Mackintosh, who at last succeeded in concentrating his army at Glogitz. On September 3 Blücher was able to report that Silesia was free, and that 150 guns, 300 ammunition wagons, and 15,000 prisoners had been taken. If Prussian generalship had not yet attained its full perfection, it had already demonstrated its cardinal principle—ruthless employment of all forces, cooperation of all branches of the service, energetic use of cavalry, and strenuous pursuit.

We turn now to the army of the north, which consisted of 112,000 Prussians, Hanseans, and Swedes, under the command of Bernadotte, together with Tauentzien's 4th Prussian corps, which, after deducting the garrison troops, comprised 35,000 men for action in the field. Tauentzien was independent, but he was directed to keep in touch with the Crown Prince, whose main force consisted of Bülow's Prussian corps of 38,000 men. Napoleon had appointed three divisions of his army, to act against the army of the north—the Berlin army under Gudinot, with 62,000 men; Grouchy's intermediate corps, with 25,000, and the army of the lower Elbe, about 25,000 men, under Davout.

The Crown Prince of Sweden had his political as well as his military aids; he was cunning, shrewd, and untrustworthy; as a soldier, he was a mixture of capacity and incapacity; moreover, fear of Napoleon, his former master in warfare, made him downright cowardly. Of his generals, Bülow, a clear-headed, enterprising commander, though self-willed and difficult to manage, was by far the most notable. The conflicting views of the Crown Prince and the Prussian generals were apparent from the first. Bernadotte certainly wished to cover Berlin, but he preferred retiring behind the shelter of the Havel and the Spree to being beaten by Napoleon. For the Prussians the defence of Berlin was the main point. They desired, therefore, if it must be, to have their bases to the north before and not behind the capital. But, as there seemed no serious risk in delay, the Crown Prince also remained in the north, until he received news on August 17 that the army of Gudinot, then in process of concentration, was all he had in front of him.

Napoleon was busy with Blücher and Schwarzenberg; but, as he stood in need of a moral success, he ordered Gudinot to break through the combined army of the north and occupy Berlin. On August 31 the Marshal began to advance, and after two days' fighting succeeded in passing the ditches and marshes of the Sattel. The chief difficulty was

overcome, and Oudinot, believing that he would meet with no serious resistance till he reached Berlin, continued his march in three divided columns. But things fell out otherwise. Bernadotte rushed to attack him with his whole army, while Tauschen engaged the French right wing. Oudinot's right therefore came into collision with the Prussians at Hagelsfeld, and was repulsed. In the centre Reysier was victorious at Gross-Beross, after which he impudently broadcast. Hardly were his troops engaged when Prussian shells burst suddenly in their midst. Below had heard the sound of fighting. He first advanced his gun, the infantry taking up a position behind them. The village of Gross-Beross and the wooded hill were stormed. A French counter-attack failed. Reysier was forced to give way; the support of the left French column came too late; and Oudinot was forced to retire with the loss of 2000 men. Berlin was saved.

Unfortunately the pursuit was weak, partly through Bernadotte's fault, partly through Below's. The Gross-Pruss was hampered by his two batts of a renewed attack by Napoleon on his front and of a flank attack from a corps on his right. This was not, as Bernadotte supposed, Davout's army, but Graw's division, which on the 27th was encamped about 2000 strong, at Hagelsberg, not far from Fehlg. Against it the Gross-Pruss dispatched the Prussian general Hirschfeld, with 12,000 men, all militia. He succeeded in surprising Graw, and all but annihilated his division. Only six battalions got away.

Meanwhile the main army of the Allies was drawn up before the Saxon capital, garrisoned by Saint-Cyr with only three divisions. Napoleon was approaching to its relief. Had the Allies made a comprehensive and energetic attack, they might have taken the place. Fighting actually began early on August 25, but was carried on in so slack and disconnected a fashion, that Saint-Cyr was able to hold out till the arrival of reinforcements. Napoleon had been at Dresden since 9 a.m. He halted by the bridge over the Elbe and directed the reinforcements to their places as they came up. By 5 p.m. all his infantry had reached the left bank. He had despatched General Vandamme with a strong corps to Pomm, there to cross the Elbe and enchain the retreat of the Allies. Meanwhile it was decided at head-quarters to cease fighting; but, as Schwarzenberg gave no orders to that effect, the battle blazed out afresh about 8 p.m. The defeat of the Allies was a foregone conclusion. Their front was nearly two miles long; and there was on their side no unity of generalship, no connected movement, no clear aim. On the other side there was moral generalship, masterly use of the ground, the capacity to seize the decisive moment. When the Allies were worn out, the French began to attack. By nightfall the Allies had gained nothing, but, rather, had lost ground; while Napoleon, on the other hand, had deployed all his forces and prepared for a steady advance.

The Allies were still 140,000 strong, and the next day were reinforced

by 80,000, while Napoleon had only 120,000 men. But this numerical superiority was more than cancelled by the moral disposition of the one side and the resolution of the other. The Council of War, chiefly influenced by the King of Prussia, decided to stand firm the next day. Napoleon planned a comprehensive attack on both of the enemy's wings, in order to drive Schwarzenberg into the difficult mountain country. This operation was facilitated by the fact that the left wing, 24,000 strong, was divided from the main army by the valley of Pilsna. Meanwhile Vandamme had arrived at Pilsna. At 7 A.M. on the 27th the French began to advance, and before long a fierce fight was raging. At 5 P.M. the allied left was completely broken. Till then Schwarzenberg had held his ground, but now the defeat of his left wing began to tell. Schwarzenberg announced that want of the least moment would compell the Austrian army to retreat into Bohemia—a resolution which decided the fate of his allies. The retreat was to be made in three columns, the centre consisting of the Russian and Prussian divisions, which were to move by Delitz to Torgau; the other two of Austrian troops. Accordingly, as circumstances permitted, the troops left the field. The losses of the Allies on the 27th amounted to 85,000 men, besides from 8000 to 9000 lost in the retreat. General Morra, who had joined the Ties, was killed in the battle.

On a pitch-dark night, amid torrents of rain, over rough and obstructed roads, marched the dense masses of the main army, fatigued, starving, and dejected. Under a hot pursuit their destruction would have been certain, especially that of the eastern column, which had been ordered to take the Pilsna road, already, in all likelihood, occupied by Vandamme. When Napoleon heard next day of the retreat, he determined on an energetic pursuit. His first idea was to get ahead of the enemy with a strong force on the Pilsna road; subsequently he transferred his main strength westward, where Mout was to fall upon the Austrians in flank and rear. Vandamme was to continue his march upon Torgau. On the 28th, his advanced troops came up with the Russian rear-guard at Peterswald; the latter, however, held their ground till the whole column got out far Nollendorf. Fierce rearguard actions were fought, first at Nollendorf, and later at Kuba, which enabled the French to debouch from the hill country.

At this point the Russian general Ostermann received a letter from the King of Prussia, describing the perilous position of the main army with the Emperor Alexander, and requesting him to hold back the camp. Seeing the lost shattered position, Ostermann risked the unequal combat. Meanwhile the King sent his adjutants in all directions to gather troops for the relief of the main army, and Alexander adopted a similar course. They hoped to collect by the next day (August 28) a force sufficient to check Vandamme's impetuous advance. In the interval, Ostermann, with his 15,000 men, was thrown on his own resources. In

front of the Russians was the village of Pristina. The battle, which began about 10 a.m., grew hotter as the French forces increased. Three times Pristina was taken and lost. When, late in the afternoon, Vandamme advanced to the decisive attack, Duke Eugene of Württemberg hurled the cavalry against his flank. The French advance was checked, but they hoped to renew it next day with large reinforcements, for Vandamme believed that either Saint-Cyr or Mortier was ready to support him. More than 8000 Russians had fallen, but they had gloriously discharged their task. Strong reinforcements poured in, until the Allies could muster 80,000 men. A counter-attack was planned for the following day. Great anxiety was felt for Kléber's Prussian corps, which was still entangled in the hill country behind. But this very circumstance might be turned to advantage. Kléber was ordered so to direct his movement as to fall on Vandamme's rear. In compliance with these instructions, and also because his own retreat was cut off, Kléber turned outward and took the same road by which the enemy had advanced before him.

Vandamme now stood before Kulm across the road, with his right wing resting on the high ground. The Allies resolved to throw their superior forces on his left and drive him up against the hills. If Kléber came up in time from Nollendorf on Vandamme's rear, he would be surrounded on three sides. The battle began early on August 30. In spite of a stubborn resistance the Austrians were already marching in their aim when the sound of Kléber's guns was heard. Having reached the heights of Nollendorf, he fell upon a French detachment between that place and Kulm, and brought his artillery into play. Recognising the dangerous nature of his position, Vandamme at once determined to retire all his forces at Kulm, and, if possible, break through the Prussian line. But now the Russian and Austrian pressed forward. Before long all was confusion, and at Kulm two French divisions laid down their arms. Meanwhile the main French force halted itself upon the Prussians, and with the fury of despair swept three brigades out of their path; but, rushing forward in confusion, they encountered a fourth Prussian brigade, which completed their destruction.

Vandamme's division was almost wiped out, 10,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the Allies, including Vandamme himself. The fact is that Napoleon had left him in the lurch. He had mistaken the direction taken by the enemy, and, when he ascertained the truth, he had delayed to send speedy help. The battle of Kulm marks a turning-point in the campaign. It cancelled Napoleon's victory at Dresden and completed the effects of the reverses at Gross-Beross and the Katzbach, to which indeed that of Kulm was partly due. At Kulm, for the first time, the combined efforts of the three allied nations had won a victory. Even the disaffected Schwarzenberg began to hope; and Metternich finally broke off his secret relations with Napoleon.

Napoleon himself began to hesitate. He abandoned the Napoleonian method, which consisted in dealing rapid and crushing blows. He had, by his delay, forfeited the overwhelming success which a relentless pursuit of the allied army would have attained; now he thought of advancing upon Berlin, but, as he dared not move so far from Döberitz, he sent Ney instead. He himself meant to take up a central position near Hagenowitz, which would enable him to fall upon Blücher's right flank, to support Ney, and to cover Döberitz. On September 5 he received news of the disaster that had befallen Marlborough, whereupon he advanced against Blücher; but the latter again withdrew beyond his reach. At the same time the Emperor received news that the army of Bohemia was upon the march, while his own troops were in extremity from hunger and want. He therefore abandoned his pursuit of Blücher, and hurried back to Döberitz, where he entered on the 6th. Meanwhile Saint-Cyr had yielded slowly to superior numbers. Napoleon reached the front on the 6th, and attacked and repulsed the enemy. The situation seemed to be improving, when news arrived of fresh disaster, the defeat of Ney at Dennewitz. Napoleon appeared to take it calmly, but he sent secret instructions to the Minister of War in Paris to take measures for the defence of the French frontier.

Ney had had orders to move towards Jüterbog on September 4, so as to attack Berlin in conjunction with the Emperor on the 6th or 10th. He found the Prussian army, about 54,000 strong, on the right bank of the Elbe, in evil case; and he had no precise information as to the enemy. In obedience to his orders he set out on the 6th, and drove the Prussians under Thormann back upon Jüterbog. Blücher was further west; but in the night he moved eastward, and, unknown to the enemy, encamped within two miles of him. Early on the 6th, Thormann marched to join Blücher with 9000 men, when he observed the French approaching, and took up a position on the high ground north of Dennewitz. Ney, not expecting any serious combat that day, had made no reconnoissances. His three corps set out at different times, and consequently arrived at long intervals on the battlefield.

The country near Dennewitz is a lofty table-land, intersected from west to east by the Albeck, whose marshy banks could only be crossed by bridges at Dennewitz and Batschbach. The rivulet then cut across the French line of advance and divided the battlefield into two parts. When Bertrand had got past Dennewitz, he attacked Thormann, and after an hour's fighting compelled him to give way. A cavalry charge temporarily relieved the pressure, and gave Blücher time to throw himself on the French right. Blücher's first advance was repulsed, but, as fresh reinforcements appeared, he succeeded in gaining possession of the prominent hill, an important point, and occupied it with 54 guns. The French line of battle was then forced in a westerly direction, so that its centre now rested on the village of Dennewitz. The Prussian

left now advanced, and after a fierce conflict drove Bortnow to retreat. Meanwhile Reynier's corps came into action on the French left between Damerwitz and Gohlisdorf. Oudinet came up later, and forced Bortnow's division, which had joined the Prussian line on the other side of Gohlisdorf. The French were now in overwhelming superiority; they recovered Gohlisdorf, and, as the Crown Prince was still two miles away, the battle was apparently won.

Ney, however, threw away his chance. Failing to perceive that the decisive point was to the south, he ordered Oudinet to reinforce the troops on the northern bank of the stream. Oudinet obeyed, and withdrew his men from the front. At this moment the Prussians threw themselves in force upon Gohlisdorf, took it after a desperate struggle, and captured also the commanding position of the vicinall hill. Reynier and Bortnow were now forced to abandon their positions; and Ney failed in a desperate attempt to break through the enemy's line. The arrival of reinforcements from the Crown Prince crushed the last efforts at resistance. Exhaustion and exhaustion put an end to the pursuit. The Prussian losses amounted to more than 30,000 men, the French lost 25,000 men and 50 guns.

The defeat at Damerwitz prevented the French army of the north from preventing the attack on Berlin, while it placed the Crown Prince in a position to molest the Emperor's combinations—an opportunity which he neglected to use. It was Blücher's flank march to the middle Elbe which brought about a turn of the tide. Further north, the course of the campaign was influenced by the reverses at Gross-Born and Damerwitz. In that quarter Davout commanded an army neither numerically formidable nor otherwise trustworthy. Napoleon had intended that Oudinet and Davout should simultaneously advance upon Berlin, the former from the south, the latter from the north. But the course of events had condemned Davout to comparative inactivity; and Oudinet's defeat had forced him to withdraw farther from Hamburg. Wallmoden was therefore able to cross the Elbe, and, defeating a French division on the Gölzke, to surround Hameln. Hamburg became an isolated outpost.

We left Napoleon in the Elbingerhagen, where tidings reached him of Ney's defeat. He determined at first to continue his advance towards Bohemia, but subsequently, finding to move too far from Dresden, he returned thither, directing Bessier-Cyr to hold the crest of the Elbingerhagen. From the commencement of hostilities, the Emperor had lost nearly 150,000 men, 500 guns, and an immense quantity of war material. His communications were constantly disturbed by roving bands. It was almost impossible to provision his army; the hospitals were full to overflowing; the courage and efficiency of his troops diminished daily. The Emperor no longer attempted great enterprises; he restricted himself to taking advantage of the enemy's mistakes, while he himself

submitted the gross blunder of clinging obstinately to Dresden, though his position there had become untenable.

The army of Bohemia was equally inactive. For some time no important movements took place. After the defeat at Dresden, it was considered desirable to withdraw Blücher from Silesia to Bohemia, and on September 11 orders were actually sent him to that effect. Fortunately, however, he remained in Silesia, and, with Bütt-Cor's retreat to the east of the Erzgebirge, the situation changed. Nevertheless, in spite of their numerical superiority, the Allies were still unwilling to come to close quarters, and attempted only minor operations. Hope lay rather with Blücher and the army of the north. Eventually the Prussian general succeeded in urging the Crown Prince, and finally the main army, to more energetic measures.

Napoleon found himself half surrounded by superior forces, which, with the army of Poland, amounted to 400,000 men. His position becoming increasingly critical, he finally abandoned the right bank of the Elbe, and drew up his army in a loose line, facing east along the river from Naumburg to Königsbrunn, and south from the Erzgebirge to Freiberg. Hearing that the army of Bohemia was at last marching to the north-west, towards Chemnitz and Leipzig—a plan which had more than once been taken up previously and dropped—he was in hopes that he would now be able to attack it, when news came that part of the army of Silesia was on the march. He expected an attack on Dresden, and discovered too late that Blücher had crossed the Elbe.

On September 3 Napoleon, abandoning his advance against Bohemia, had turned against Blücher, whose main base was at Görlitz. Blücher received early information of the danger, and retired during the night. The Emperor reached Görlitz, but returned to Dresden. Blücher now again advanced, and drove back Macdonald beyond Bautzen, but, with Napoleon so near him, did not feel equal to an energetic attack. He decided to await Bernadotte's arrival, and then to push forward rapidly, and cross the Elbe between Torgau and Wittenberg. Bernadotte, with the army of Poland, at length reached Bohemia unharmed. The numerical superiority of the Allies was now such that a decisive battle became inevitable; but, at Schwarzenberg and the Crown Prince still hesitated, Blücher decided to force their hand. Leaving one corps to cover Silesia, he marched westward on the 25th. The Crown Prince declared himself ready to cross the Elbe with him, and restored the bridge over that river near the village of Elster. On hearing of this, Napoleon despatched Borsdorf to Wittenberg, a town on the left bank of the Elbe opposite to Elster. Borsdorf here assembled his whole corps, about 14,000 men, with 32 guns, in a position rendered almost impregnable by the surrounding marshes and water. An attack was only possible on the extreme right by the village of Haiditz. Borsdorf, aware that he had the army of Silesia in front of him, garrisoned the



place with only 1500 men and six guns. With great difficulty the Allies succeeded in breaking through at this point, while the main French force was held fast at Wartenburg. The Prussians suffered fearful losses, one battalion was reduced to sixty men. Blücher taken, Mälar gave orders to attack Wartenburg from this point. The Russian divisions forced their way through water and smoke into the French positions. Other divisions now advanced from different sides, and Bernadotte was forced to beat a hasty retreat with heavy loss. The passage of the Elbe was accomplished. From the strategical point of view it was the most eventful action of the campaign.

The situation was completely changed by the simultaneous advance of two allied armies upon Leipzig, one from the north, the other from the south. Their object was to combine, Napoleon's to frustrate their combination by defeating them singly. He had still 407,000 men; but he was obliged to divide his forces, employing the larger half for the attack, the smaller for the defence. In spite of this division, his offensive force was still a match for either of the hostile armies. He determined to hold Dresden and its environs with Saint-Cyr's corps alone, and himself to advance with 100,000 men against Blücher and the Crown Prince, while the King of Naples was to hold up the slowly advancing army of Bohemia. After defeating the armies of the north, the Emperor intended to join Marsai by way of Leipzig, and to reach Schweinsberg.

On October 3 Napoleon set out against Blücher. He advanced to the district between the Mulde and the Elbe, while the Crown Prince crossed the Elbe near Dresden and marched continually for a short distance along the left bank of the Mulde. On the 9th, near Dölzen, Napoleon almost caught the army of Bohemia, which hardly succeeded in avoiding the attack of his immensely superior forces by falling back on the Crown Prince. Napoleon found himself in painful perplexity, he knew nothing of the enemy's designs; he received bad news from Marsai and Saint-Cyr. On the other side Blücher and the Crown Prince were at variance. Bernadotte was anxious to avoid fighting, and preferred to take shelter behind the Saale; Blücher, on the other hand, wished to approach the army of Bohemia, to march on Leipzig, and, in combination with the Crown Prince, to risk a battle. Eventually, nothing was left for Blücher but to cross the Saale at Halle. In his new position he confronted the French, while the Crown Prince behind him.

Meanwhile a French detachment crossed the Elbe at Wartenburg, dispersed the Prussians occupying that place, and took Dresden. The Emperor hoped that this movement would force the Crown Prince to withdraw to the right bank of the Elbe, leaving him free to fall upon the army of Bohemia with 200,000 men. But, learning that Blücher was still at Halle, and that the retreat of the Crown Prince was doubtful, he made up his mind that the time had come to concentrate his forces at Leipzig. The forces which had crossed the Elbe were therefore

ordered to seize the bridges over that river, and then to march upon Leipzig, whether the French divisions on the left bank of the Elbe had already begun to move. The French occupation of Bonna had a depressing effect on the Crown Prince. Blücher begged leave to march straight upon Leipzig; but he preferred a junction at Halle. Finally, on October 15, in accordance with orders received from head-quarters, the army of Blücher set out alone, following the right bank of the Elbe in the direction of Leipzig.

Napoleon had hoped, by taking advantage of the winter loss, to beat the allied armies singly before they could effect a combination. But his design had failed; it was he who in the end was compelled to fall back on Leipzig, while the Allies pressed forward against it from the north and south. We left the army of Bohemia on the borders of Saxony. When joined by the army of Poland it numbered 240,000 men. But Schwarzenberg was incapable of an energetic offensive. Leaving Demmigau and Collendo to guard Bohemia, he commenced his north-westerly march on September 26; but his movement was so undecided and dilatory that he did not reach Altona till October 14. Nothing went right. Though the cavalry were exceptionally strong, they were not sent forward, but kept in the rear; the divisions continually fell into disorder; above all, Schwarzenberg dreaded an encounter with Napoleon, and endeavoured rather to manoeuvre the enemy out of Saxony. Such a scheme was doomed to failure. In spite of his great numerical superiority, he failed to turn rounder the veil which Napoleon had drawn over his operations against the northern army, and did nothing to hinder its eventual defeat. It was entirely owing to Blücher that, on October 14, the three allied armies were near enough together to be able to plan a combined attack for the 16th. Marmé recommended the force operating against the main army, but had only three weak corps at his disposal. Nothing but his own boldness and the enemy's indecision enabled him to hold Schwarzenberg in check, and thus give the Emperor time to engage Blücher and Bernadotte.

On the 15th news was received at head-quarters of the conclusion of a treaty with Bavaire, also a despatch from Blücher saying that he was at Halle, with the Crown Prince in his neighbourhood. The despatch ended with these words: "The three armies are now so close together that a simultaneous attack, on the point where the enemy has concentrated his forces, might be undertaken." Blücher proved himself, now as ever, the propelling power. Schwarzenberg, however, could not make up his mind to any comprehensive movement against Leipzig, but persisted in his endeavour to avoid an encounter with Napoleon, with which aim he pushed his army a little to the left—a movement which would either have crushed the enemy, with superior numbers, to attack the allied forces separately, or to withdraw in time before being surrounded. At this point Russian influence intervened, and effected a

combined movement upon Leipzig. Unfortunately it was carried out in three sections, on the right of the Pleisse, between the Pleisse and the Elster, and on the left of the Elster. Wittgenstein was to make a reconnaissance in force, and this led, on the 16th, to an engagement at Liebertsdorf, the greatest cavalry fight of the campaign.

Musart had at his disposal about 22,000 infantry, 14,000 cavalry, and 100 guns. These he posted on hilly ground south of Leipzig, his left resting on Liebertsdorf, his centre on Wachsen, and his right on Nächstleberg. The range commanded the country stretching north, its highest point being the Gölzberg, between Liebertsdorf and Wachsen. It thus formed a position well protected against an enemy approaching from the south. The Allies began the battle with inadequate forces. Attacks and counter-attacks were made and failed; a turning movement was vainly essayed by Musart; a general advance of the French cavalry was repelled. Meanwhile the Austrian infantry had succeeded, after a hard struggle, in occupying the greater part of Liebertsdorf, but the French artillery prevented them from advancing further. At Wachsen the fighting was indecisive. The cavalry attacks having failed all along the line, Musart pushed forward his infantry; but it was too late. The Allies were reinforced; and the French abandoned their attempt. Round Liebertsdorf the conflict raged all evening, when the Austrians evacuated the village. In the end, both armies retained their positions. Musart still held the heights, and thus secured for Napoleon an advantageous ground for the decisive battle, but his cavalry was severely shaken.

At the allied head-quarters it was decided to employ the next day in preparing for a great battle on the 16th. Blücher received orders to march upon Leipzig, and to effect a junction with an Austrian division at Markersdorf. On the 15th the mass array took up the positions which had been assigned as the starting-point for the operations of the 16th. On the 16th Napoleon had arrived at Leipzig. There were many reasons against his venturing on a decisive battle. His troops had suffered greatly, particularly the cavalry; the *Mahomedan* troops were demoralised and exhibited desertion; the generals were sick of fighting. If, nevertheless, the Emperor stood firm, he did it trusting to his guns and his star. He hoped to annihilate Schömannberg before the army of the north could arrive. With Blücher in the field this was a risk hope; it failed, and the mistake proved fatal.

Napoleon still had 190,000 men with 734 guns, a force amply sufficient for victory, seeing that it was under single control; whereas, on the side of the Allies, a multiplicity of leaders destroyed the requisite unity of command. The allied armies numbered over 300,000 men, with 1335 guns. But, on the first day of battle, the Allies were short of 100,000 men, while only 24,000 were missing on the French side. On the other hand, the moral of the allied troops was decidedly

superior. At last they were face to face with the arch-enemy, and could repay him with interest for the suffering he had inflicted on them. Less confidence was felt at head-quarters. Schwarzenberg, as usual, appeared to dread an encounter with the greatest of living commanders.

Napoleon directed General Bliicher to take up a position at Lindenau, west of Leipzig, with 30,000 men. A force numbering 30,000 was to cover Leipzig on the north; but, as the enemy was supposed to be still distant on this side, this force was to co-operate, if possible, with the main army. The latter, amounting to about 110,000 men, was drawn up in the form of a crescent south of the city, at much the same position as that already held by Masséna, stretching from the banks of the Elster to Holzhausen. Against this position the Allies advanced in a wide outflanking. There was a wide discrepancy in the views of their commanders. Schwarzenberg was for attacking from the west, so as to crumple up the Emperor's line and bar his retreat; but, in order to carry out this plan, they would have had to cross the Elster, between which and the Elbe lay nearly impassable flats, where a few thousand men could have sufficed for the defence. This plan was therefore given up; and, by Alexander's advice, the Russians and Prussians remained on the right bank of the Elster, while only the larger portion of the Austrian line crossed that river. The result was that the Allies had only 64,000 men on the main battlefield, which left them numerically inferior to the French; and that three separate engagements took place, at Lindenau, at Connewitz, and on the right bank of the Elster. As Schwarzenberg led the Austrian contingent, the supreme command in a manner devolved upon the Russian general Barclay. The monarchs of Russia and Prussia stationed themselves on the Wachberg. Napoleon was at Warten. The 16th of October dawned dull and cold; rain and mist partly hid the operations.

The Allies advanced in four columns. The attack was opened about 8.00 a.m. by Klein's Prussians, who after an hour's fierce combat wrested Markklothberg from the French. Meanwhile the second column, under Duke Eugene, advanced against Napoleon's centre at Warten. The village also fell; and the whole French line seemed to waver. Suddenly everything was changed. Napoleon appeared on the field, and at once took advantage of the scattered formation of the Allies. Sending 177 guns to the front at Warten, he opened an overwhelming cannonade, under cover of which dense masses of infantry moved forward. After an obstinate resistance the Russians were forced back into the plain, where, having no cover, they were mown down by thousands. Meanwhile, on the east, Markklothberg was several times lost and won; on the west the Austrians under Klenau captured Liebertsdorffitz, but had to surrender it again. The allied line began slowly to give way.

Napoleon now determined to break through the weakest part of the enemy's line at Warten, despatching Moutonville to turn their right. The sovereigns, recognising their danger, requested Schwarzenberg to

transfer the Austrian reserves to the threatened quarter, and called up from the rear the Grenadiers and gendarmes; but much time was lost before these reserves were carried out. Between 12 and 1 o'clock the French advance began. Under cover of a smoke-screen fire from 140 guns, 10,000 cavalry under Murat galloped forward. They divided into two parts, the smaller advancing against Stuart, the larger against Eugene. Behind the cavalry the Emperor moved his infantry, while Marmont advanced on the French left. At first all went well. Murat's powerful column rode down two battalions of infantry, took 35 Russian guns, dispersed a division of Russian cavalry of the Guard, and moved on to within a few hundred paces of the Wachtberg, where the Emperor Alexander stood. If the infantry had followed up the charge, the battle would have been won. But at this point the cavalry, already in some disorder, was checked by a march between two lakes; the defenders hurled up from all sides; and the French advance was stayed. Unsupported by reserves, one regiment after another turned round, the huge force streamed back, while the French guns fell indiscriminately upon them and for. The effect on the allied left showed the same fate; here, too, a fatal blow was all but dealt, when the Austrian reserves came up and checked the charge. It was doubtless owing to Napoleon's orders that the infantry had failed to come up at the right moment; and now the retreating squadrons prevented the foot from deploying. All they could do was to form squares and repel the counter-charge. sanguinary collisions occurred at various places; and at 5 P.M. the battle in this part of the field ended in a serious routade.

Meanwhile the main Austrian force had been moving hitherly and to no purpose among the swamps and forests on the left bank of the Platte. Schwartzenberg at last recognised his error, and sent a detachment to the chief scene of action, whither he himself followed. On the extreme left, at Landau, the Austrians, in spite of their superiority, had no success. Thus, on the whole, the French had won the day, for they had repelled the attack of the army of Bohemia; but they had gained no decisive victory, and this was all-important. Such a victory would have been theirs if Ney and Marmont had joined in the main battle. Napoleon called them up, but Marmont was engaged with Blücher; and Ney, who was already on the march, was forced to go to his colleague's assistance. He arrived on the field too late, having dragged his corps—which might have decided the issue on the north, as on the south—backwards and forwards to no purpose.

Just as the cavalry charge at Wagram was at its height, a dull rumble was heard from the north. Blücher took it for a distant thunderstorm; but Napoleon's practiced ear recognised the sound of guns, and knew what it meant. He turned his horse round, and rode full speed to Wagram; knew his absence from Wagram at the decisive moment of the fight. Blücher had started early, and his steps were hastened by the

word of help being at Wachen; but, as the Crown Prince gave him inadequate support, he was compelled to advance with great caution. He arrived when Marmont was on the point of starting, and the latter at once saw that everything depended on keeping him back. With this view he took up a strong position between Miedern and Kottbuck, posting forty guns behind the former village. Blücher, for his part, knew that the army of Blücher must be relieved, and that therefore he must go forward without consulting the cost. Six times did the Prussians under York attempt to storm Miedern, which was stubbornly defended by the French. A savage hand-to-hand struggle raged in the narrow village streets. House after house was taken; but the French artillery prevented a complete occupation, and even enabled their infantry to recover the larger part of the village. An attack on the heights behind Miedern was repelled with heavy loss; and the battle seemed lost. In the extremity, York hurled his cavalry upon the enemy; the charge was successful, and the French gave way. The infantry instantly followed up the attack; and Marmont's forces fell back upon Leipzig in disorder.

The struggle for the possession of Miedern was the bloodiest episode of the whole war. The Prussian losses were estimated at between 5500 and 7000 men; those of Marmont were about the same. The total losses of the two armies cannot be exactly reckoned; approximately they were, on the side of the Allies, 55,000 killed and wounded, besides 5000 prisoners; on that of the French, the numbers were 32,000 and 3500 respectively. The "Battle of the Nations" had thus cost over 87,000 men. After the battle of Borodino, it was the most sanguinary in modern history.

On the morning of the 17th the allied armies stood ready to renew the struggle; but, as Napoleon did not attack, they put off the combat till the following day, when the arrival of the Crown Prince and Bernadotte would give them a crushing superiority. The only movement was made by Blücher, who drove the French further back upon Gellin; but, as quiet reigned to the south of Leipzig, he too paused.

Napoleon's position was clear enough. He had been mistaken about Blücher, and had gained no real victory at Wachen. Two courses alone were open to him, either to hasten a speedy retreat, in order to extricate himself from the coils, or to resume the battle instantly, in order to make the most of his advantage over Schwarzenberg. He did neither, but gloomed and undecided, sat brooding over the prospect. Finally he despatched to his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria, the offer of an armistice; but no answer was vouchsafed. While he hoped and waited, time went by; and his doom implacably approached.

In the evening of the 17th he decided to continue the battle on the morrow; but he despatched Bortnow to cover a possible retreat by securing the passages of the Saale. Märtler had orders to guard the pass of Lindenau; and the whole army was concentrated round Leipzig

The French here formed a sweeping semicircle on the south, west, and north sides of Leipzig, resting to the southward on the *Plaine* at Leipzig, to the southward on the *Kleiner* at Göditz. The centre of this position, at *Petersdorf*, was left weak, because Napoleon believed that the army of the north would not take part in the battle. The comparative strength of the forces had changed very much to his disadvantage. The French army numbered only about 116,000 men, of whom 5000 *Saxons* and *Wartburgers* subsequently deserted. The *Allys* were twice as strong; they were able in the course of the day to bring up about 225,000 men, of whom over 100,000 were fresh troops. Nevertheless, Napoleon, unaware of this fact, still hoped for victory.

Schwartzberg had kept only a weak Austrian detachment on the left back of the *Poles*. The main army was to the south of Leipzig, *Bücher* to the north. The space between was to be filled on the left by *Bessières*, when he arrived, on the right by the *Crown Prince*. But the latter was unwilling to expose himself unless *Bücher* made over to him *Langeron's* corps and *Saint-Pris's* division; that is to say, half the army of *Silesia*. It was an exorbitant demand; but the *Field-marshal*, with perseveringly self-deception, was ready to grant anything, in order that the army of the north should go forward.

Schwartzberg formed the main army in three columns. The first, under the *Prince of Hesse Homburg*, was to drive the French from the *Plaine*; the second, under *Bücher*, was to advance by way of *Wachau*. On third, under *Bessières*, to the right of that position, was to push forward by way of *Hellmuthen* and *Stötteritz*. The three attacks were to be made simultaneously at 7 a.m.; but *Bessières* did not arrive till 2 p.m., nor the *Crown Prince* till 4 a.m.; while, in spite of the large number of troops available, the reserves were not brought into play. These circumstances, combined with a gross lack of generalship at head-quarters, enabled Napoleon for some time to hold his own.

The Austrians, on the extreme left, began by capturing several villages, and won their way to *Connewitz*; but here they were again driven back by the *Young Guard* and the *Poles*, until the arrival of reinforcements enabled them to make another stand. It was a serious disadvantage to the Austrians that *Bücher*, their neighbour on the right, did not make a simultaneous advance. He found *Wachau* and *Leubitzsch* unoccupied, but was met at *Probstheide* by a heavy fire. The Prussians and Saxons forced their way into the village, and, though repeatedly driven out, had occupied the greater part of it, when the fire of 150 guns brought them to a halt. Shaken by this cannonade, they were attacked by the *Old* and the *Young Guard* with some fine squadrons, and driven from the village. The slaughter was so horrible that Schwartzberg withdrew his troops, and left *Probstheide* to the French.

The cause of *Bücher's* delay was his desire to await *Bessières's* intervention. When the latter at length came up, he led a costly

superior force against Macdonald. The French made a desperate defence, especially at Halbersham, but numbers eventually told. All the neighbouring villages fell into the hands of the Allies, still they could make no further advance. To the left of Macdonald stood Reper with the Saxons and Wurtembergers. Both, especially the Saxons, had long been disaffected; but the King had not dared to desert Napoleon. These troops now took the matter into their own hands, and the emperor went over to the Allies. The march and the surrender were with cries of joy, the generals with sadness. The King of Prussia nearly remarked, "These gentlemen from Saxony are a little late; they could have saved us every one." Napoleon left with only 8000 men, defended Pommendorf obstinately, and till 4 p.m. kept the enemy at bay.

At this point the northern army struck in, the Prussians under Blücher in front. They stormed the burning village, but a further advance was repelled with loss; and Napoleon, coming up with the Young and the Old Guard, recaptured Pommendorf. It was only for a time: the Allies were reinforced, and the place became untenable. The French retired, but, till night fell, they held their ground in the village of Stanz. The next village to Stanz was Schönfeld, which formed the key of the French position on the left bank of the Parthe, north of Leipzig. Here stood Marmont with his weakened corps. Langens attacked him at 3 p.m.; and a conflict ensued, which, if possible, exceeded all the rest in violence. Finally Langens engaged his entire corps; but not till nightfall did the French evacuate the village, in which there lay 18,000 killed and wounded men. Here, too, Blücher's advance finally told. On the extreme right Sacken led the attack, while York had charge of the reserves. The Russians, after some preliminary success, were driven back beyond Gohlis, so that the Prussians had to come to their relief and to storm the village again. Pommendorf fell after severe fighting. The French were at length forced back to their encampments before the Half-gate of Leipzig.

The sun went down in thick weather of mists and the thunder of 1800 guns. Each side had lost about 25,000 men, the French rather less, the Allies rather more. Even now the battle, as a whole, was undecided. The French had repulsed every attack on their right wing; on their left and centre they had lost a number of villages, but it was only in front of Blücher that they were driven back upon Leipzig. Their line of retreat by Luckau still remained open. The Allies could not claim a victory; rather they expected a renewal of the fight next day. Schwarzenberg gave orders accordingly. Blücher judged the situation more correctly, his opinion being that the essential thing was to block the enemy's retreat. He made little impression on Schwarzenberg, but Frederick William agreed that York should hasten on to Merseburg. York's cavalry reached Halle by the following morning.

On a low stool by the window sat the Emperor of the French



He recognised that his position was untenable, and gave orders for the retreat. Then, utterly exhausted, he fell asleep. The directions which he appears to have given to construct bridges were not obeyed; and the army had to find its way through the narrow streets of Leipzig, to pass out by a single gate, and to cross the river Pleisse at Lindenau by a single bridge. The operation necessarily took a long time. The retreat began at night, part of the troops being left to defend the outskirts of the city as long as possible. The confusion was terrible; all order was lost, Napoleon himself was carried away in the stream of fugitives.

At daybreak on October 19 the Allies perceived that the field was empty and the battle won. They marched in from all sides towards Leipzig, singing and rejoicing; but the possession of the city was disputed for hours, and the struggle was continued in the streets. On the Sandbühl bridge there was a fearful crash. It was already threatened by Sacken's Russians, when suddenly it was blown into the air. This cut off the retreat of the troops who were still on the further side of the Pleisse. The Russian and Saxonian troops laid down their arms, or turned them against their former comrades. The Pruss and French, who acted as a rear-guard, made a desperate defence: when all was over, they flung themselves into the river. Many were drowned, among them the brave Marshal Forstnerich. Whole regiments and many generals, including Beyrer, Lauritzen, Bertram, and Macdonald, were taken prisoners. But the victory was dearly bought. It was calculated that during the four days' battle 150,000 men were killed or wounded. The losses of the Allies were even heavier than those of the French: not 20,000 sick lay in the hospitals of Leipzig.

Napoleon's position was critical, all but hopeless. His line of retreat, or rather flight, passed across the left wing of the Allies, and almost the whole of Germany had to be traversed before a halt could be made. It was obvious that an energetic pursuit and an intelligent use of the resources offered by a hostile country were all that was needed to complete his annihilation. But neither was attempted. The Coalition was incapable of such swift and purposeful action. One Austrian detachment approached Napoleon's track obliquely, but effected nothing. York alone showed himself dangerous, by securing the passage of the Saale and compelling the Emperor to take the route through the Thuringer Wald by Erfurt. At Eisenach a detachment of Blücher's force vainly tried to stop his march. Instead of being allowed to pass the pursuit, Blücher now received orders to march upon Gießen and Wiesbaden, so as to oppose a possible passage of the Rhine at Coblenz; but Napoleon kept his straight on to Mainz. Near Mainz his further progress was hindered by the Russian general Wrede with some 40,000 men. The Russians fought obstinately, but after a three days' combat (October 23-25) they were thrust aside. The French continued their march, and on November 2 crossed the Rhine at Mainz. Lack of

generosity and selfish generosity on the part of the Allies had melted Napoleon's army. Not he had suffered serious additional losses on the way, and brought back to France only about 70,000 men, of whom 20,000 soon afterwards fell victims to typhus, and many others wasted away. Within little more than a year, two French armies, amounting together to nearly a million of men, had perished.

The autumn campaign of 1809 was by no means a masterpiece of Napoleonic strategy. The Emperor met the Allies with an army of almost equal strength; his generals were the most experienced in Europe, while two of the hostile armies were led by men of inferior ability; and yet he was completely defeated. The main cause of his defeat were in the man himself. His old genius still glowed within him, but he had left behind him in Russia his energy and his magnetic certainty of victory. Formerly his armies possessed both mobility and staying power; now he was tied and bound by the connection with Dresden. Dresden offered many advantages; with it he held Saxony in his hand; but it lay too near the Erzgebirge, and too far from the enemy's vulnerable points; and it was its unfortunate town. Magdeburg, with its fortifications, would have made a better base of operations. Had it been occupied, the posthumous Schwarzenberg would have had to come out into the open field; Berlin would have been within reachable distance; and the Emperor could have left the defence of the city to its own resources and its own guns. He would then have been to a certain extent free, whereas now he was crippled in every movement.

Moreover, he was always avoiding new plans, but executed none of them with energy, independence, and completeness. Instead of using to the full the advantage of inner lines, by first annihilating one opponent and then attacking the next, he kept making partial advances and strokes in the air, which fatigued his troops and finally led him to Leipzig. He even allowed his victory over the main army to be turned into the defeat of Kulm. It must, however, be allowed that in the conduct of single battles he displayed far greater energy than in the strategic handling of his armies as a whole. A French officer, who was taken prisoner, told the Emperor that his present strategy was strikingly different from the past; he had lost his old activity; he betrayed a great craving for comfort, especially for sleep; he was irritable and morose. In short, he resembled a sick Titan, suffering from some secret hurt; and his achievements were no longer proportionate to his resources.

Germany was now free to the Rhine; her territorial Princes returned to their capitals; only a few fortressmen still remained in the hands of the enemy. It might have been expected that the Allies would have at once invaded France; on the contrary, there ensued a long pause in the military operations. Military and political reasons, the very nature of

the Coalition, brought about a kind of armistice, a relaxation after the storm. The allied armies occupied the line of the Rhine, and the sovereigns of the Great Powers assembled at Frankfurt, where their conflicting aims and wishes at once asserted themselves.

Austria had, in the meanwhile, fought victoriously in Italy, and fully recovered her earlier position. The loss of her former Belgian possessions might now be counterbalanced north of the Alps. Thus she had no interest in the complete overthrow of Napoleon. On the contrary, to continue the war implied further sacrifice of men and money; and its result could not be foreseen. If it ended favorably, it would advance the prospects of Russia and Prussia more than those of Austria. The Great Power of Sweden, who commanded the northern army, was opposed to the invasion of France. He could not forget that he had once been a French Marshal, and he had his eye on the French throne; but his influence was rendered comparatively ineffective by the fact that he signed at the conquest of Norway, which involved war with Denmark. The army of Silesia, on the other hand, descended on energetic offensive, but Blücher and Gneisenau were only generals, and Frederick William was anything but warlike. Timid and oversteering, he chiefly aimed at preserving his army, his only defense among dissatisfied states. In the Russian headquarters opinion was divided. Here many generals and diplomats held that to continue fighting at an ever-increasing distance from their own frontier would bring little profit to Russia. The Tsar, on the other hand, was eager to press forward; he hoped to counter Napoleon's entry into Moscow by his own entry into Paris. Besides, the more strongly he digged at the tumor of the Revolution incarnate in Napoleon, the more would his veins weigh in the final settlement, when he meant to assert extensive claims to Polish territory. On this point Austrian and Prussian interests were naturally opposed to those of Russia. On the other hand, his warlike mood chimed in with that of Blücher, and of the Tory party now in power in England. For years her army had fought victoriously against Napoleon in the Peninsular, and Wellington had now crossed the Pyrenees with some 80,000 men, and occupied a fine position in the south of France.

The claim of so many opposing views might well have brought about an agreement with Napoleon; and Europe actually beheld the remarkable spectacle of the four Powers making overtures to their vanquished enemy and offering him the "natural" boundaries of France. Early in November a French envoy had two interviews with Metternich at Frankfurt. The terms proposed by the Allies were that France should retain behind the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, resigning her conquests in Germany, Italy, and Spain. This offer meant, practically, a return to the limits of 1792, it left Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine, Savoy and Nice, on the banks of France. But Napoleon could not abandon the dream of national empire, he returned (Nov. 16) an evasive answer, suggesting a

Europe at Congress. A fortnight later, Castlereagh practically accepted the terms, but it was now too late: the Allies had virtually withdrawn their offer. It may be doubted whether they had ever really agreed in making it. England was determined not to leave Antwerp in Napoleon's hands: Prussian statesmen denied the presence of his armies on the Rhine; the Tsar would not discuss peace at Paris. The policy of Austria was, at worst, doubtful; but Metternich himself does not appear to have expected that Napoleon would yield. It was therefore with feelings of relief that most members of the Coalition heard the news of a decision which implied a fresh recourse to arms.

Troops were, however, military grounds which brooded an immediate resumption of active operations. The armies of the three eastern Powers were in bad case, those of the Rhineland Princes who had come over had to be incorporated, and it was necessary to determine the further conduct of the war. Various plans of campaign were projected, the boldest being that of Goussier, which aimed at Paris as the final goal. The scheme proposed by the Emperor Alexander was eventually adopted as its essential features.

The allied forces were now distributed as follows: on the right, the army of the Grand France, 100,000 men and 116 guns, and the army of Rhine, under Blücher, 65,000 men and 513 guns; in the centre, the main army, under Sacken, 200,000 men and 693 guns; on the left, the Austro-Italian army, about 51,000 men, and that of Wellington, about 50,000 men. To these must be added about 100,000 men, not yet concentrated, who were to besiege the German fortresses still held by the French, making a total of about 600,000 men.

The forces at Napoleon's disposal were numerically far inferior. Of the 600,000 men with whom he had begun the campaign, only about 75,000 had recrossed the Rhine. His position was far worse than it had been a year before. He had lost Germany, and with it the Rhineland troops; and he could no longer carry on war in the enemy's country. France, moreover, was becoming exhausted, while the strength of the Allies, now joined by Russia, Saxony, etc., was proportionately increased. A new army had to be created by means of partial conscription. But the French people were tired of war, the men came in slowly; and in December only about 51,000 troops were available for the defence of the Rhine, a line upwards of 600 miles in length. The Emperor's resources were increased by want of arms, ammunition, and horses, by the untrustworthiness of his marshals, and finally by a superfluity of fortresses in Holland and Belgium and on the frontier. His greatest fear was for Belgium, on account of the huge factories of arms situated in that country; he therefore concentrated his chief force in that direction and on the lower Rhine. The upper Rhine and the Swiss frontier were insufficiently protected. Marmont commanded the northern sector of the frontier as far as Cologne, and Maunourie the southern.

Napoleon secretly hoped that the Allies would leave him in peace till the spring, but he was disappointed. Austria, not without an eye to the war in northern Italy, proposed the plateau of Langres as their first destination and the most important scene of operations. According to the plan finally adopted, half of Bernadotte's army was to march into Holland by Düsseldorf and Cologne; while Blücher with the army of Silesia was to cross the middle Rhine and occupy the river, till the main army should have penetrated into France from the direction of Basel and Schaffhausen. The latter was then to press upon Napoleon's right, and effect a junction with Wellington's army, and that of Italy.

On December 31 the Bavarians, under Wrede, crossed the Rhine and laid siege to Elzengen. Blücher transferred the main part of his force to the left bank, on New Year's Eve at Coblenz, the rest remaining at Lahrscheid and Mannheim. The Crown Prince contented himself with besieging Hunsburg, which was held by Dörnau, and despatched but a weak division to the conquest of the Netherlands under the Prussian general von Bülow. Blücher pushed vigorously forward, took Coblenz, and laid siege to Mainz. An attempt to retake Maymont at Kaiserslautern miscarried; but on January 30 and 31, 1814, Blücher crossed the Saar, and Maymont was forced to retire hastily upon Metz, before whose walls York's van-guard appeared on the 15th.

Meanwhile the main army had moved forward on an extended front to Colmar. The forces opposed were very small, and it would have been easy to reach Langres, but it was rumoured that Napoleon was assembling 60,000 men, and action rendered progress slow. Since, however, no serious resistance was encountered, the army advanced on January 14 to the neighbourhood of Langres, where it awaited the enemy. Three days later an officer was sent to demand the surrender of the fortress, which, to his amazement, he found empty. Mortier had left it unobserved, and retired beyond Chaumont. Further operations were deferred, in order to allow the rest of the army time to come up.

The French abandoned the line of the Moselle to the army of Silesia without a blow; and Blücher, leaving York before Metz, turned towards the Meuse. He had vainly tried to persuade the commander-in-chief to initiate a general movement on Paris. Gneisenau wrote to the Austrian chief of the staff: "We only need a single battle to make us complete victors. For this purpose the main army should advance to the middle Seine, and the reserves which are to cover its flank and rear should be posted, not on the Rhine, but at Châlons-sur-Marne. All we have to do is to press on towards Paris without delay." But the advice was unheeded, and the weakened army of Silesia was then thrown on its own resources. It pushed on, however, and on the 15th captured the town of the Meuse with little difficulty. Continuing the pursuit, Blücher defeated the French at Ligny, and pressed on to the Meuse, which Silesia's van-guard crossed at Jülich on the 15th. In nine days, in spite of floods,

broken roads, and the resistance of the enemy, the army of Blücher had scarcely advanced five miles, crossed three rivers, and joined hands with the main army.

Schwarzenberg had not yet left the commanding position of the plateau of Langres, partly owing to military, but still more to political considerations. Castlereagh, Foreign Minister at Paris, had suggested negotiation—a proposal agreeable to Metternich, but not to the Tsar. It was eventually settled that a congress of plenipotentiaries should meet. Meanwhile the army slowly groped its way forward. On January 24, the vanguard encountered Mortier at Bar-sur-Aube. There was a sanguinary but indecisive battle, after which Mortier evacuated his position, by night as skillfully and secretly as at Langres. He retired on Troyes, closely pursued by the Allies.

Blücher, having reached Reims, and come late touch with Schwarzenberg, now urged the commander-in-chief to advance directly on Paris. His resolution was not distracted by an attack upon his rear-guard at St. Dizier, so fully did he rely on the co-operation of the main army in this operation. But Schwarzenberg declined to move, merely ordering the two nearest corps to go to Blücher's assistance if he were hard-pressed. With a general so mislaid, disaster was to be expected. The attack upon St. Dizier was the beginning of Napoleon's offensive.

Domestic politics, the new conscription, and other causes, possibly even indiscipline, had hitherto detained Napoleon in Paris. He left the capital on January 25, and reached the camp at Châlons on the following day. Here, among his troops, he was once more possessed by the old warlike spirit. He had about 40,000 men near St. Dizier; MacDonald was coming up with 18,000, and Mortier with 25,000 was in the neighbourhood of Troyes. Without delay Napoleon attacked the nearest division of the enemy at St. Dizier, surprised it, and thus separated York and Blücher. He then turned on the latter, and, in order to prevent his junction with the main group, attacked him at Reims (January 26). Blücher was not unprepared, but the fighting went so much against him that in the night he withdrew the field, and fell back on Schwarzenberg, making a further stop between La Rothière and Trianon.

At this moment the storm under Blücher's command happened to consist almost entirely of Prussians. As Napoleon did not advance, Blücher pressed forward. At 1 p.m. on February 1 he fell upon La Rothière. The roads were impassable, and it was raining heavily, with a strong wind. After some hours' fighting, Wrede decided the action by repulsing the enemy's left wing. The Wurtembergers joined him, and at nightfall La Rothière was taken by the Prussians. A fresh advance on the part of the French was only repelled with the aid of reinforcements. The battle was now won; but lack of reserves and a terrible inclement

prevented Blücher from following up his victory, which, even so, cost Napoleon 8000 men and about 70 guns.

Down to this point the conduct of the campaign leaves the impression that Napoleon was not himself; now he shook off his lethargy and rose to the greatness of his task. For the victorious Allies there began a series of defeats. They believed that Napoleon's power was shattered, that the way to Paris lay open, and that all they had to do was to follow up their advantages in leisurely fashion until the peace negotiations should bring matters to a definite conclusion. With this object, Blücher was again to separate from Schwarzenberg, and, keeping to the right of the main army, to march on Paris by way of Châlons, while the main army kept on in the direction of Troyes. On February 7 the place was occupied. On the 9th it was reported that Napoleon, far from being crushed, was advancing against Blücher. Next day Blücher sent word that he was attacked by a superior force, and begged Schwarzenberg to assist him by falling upon the enemy's rear. Under pressure from the Emperor Alexander a half-hearted movement was made; but Schwarzenberg's lack of energy and insight, and the divergence of Russian and Austrian diplomacy, spoilt everything, and the army of Schœn was left in the lurch.

The political causes of this disastrous error must now be briefly explained. In view of the prevailing want of harmony among the Allies, the British Government sent out Lord Castlereagh, then Foreign Minister, to take part in the pending negotiations. On his arrival at headquarters, about the middle of January, he found the Coalition in imminent risk of breaking-up through the mutual jealousy, suspicion, and selfishness of its component parts. The great thing was to bring Austria into line; and this Castlereagh succeeded in doing by allaying Metternich's fears about Prussia and Saxony, and persuading him that France must be left to her old boundaries to secure the safety of Europe. On the 15th, Prussia and Alexander had to be coaxed into entering upon any negotiations at all; and this was only effected by a threat on the part of Austria to withdraw from the Coalition. The Conference opened at Châtillon-lez-Bains on February 3. Castlereagh represented France. On the 15th the Allies stated their terms, which went far beyond those of 1801 only. France was now to give up Belgium, the Left Bank, Saxony, and Nijmegen; she was to retire within the boundaries of 1791; England would restore some colonies by way of compensation. The news of these demands reached the Emperor at Nogent at a moment when his fortunes seemed almost desperate. Castlereagh had been instructed to make peace on the basis which had been offered and refused two months before; but Napoleon was not yet beaten so low as to accept the new demands without a further effort. He shut himself up for a day and a night, by the morning of the 16th he had resolved not to accept the terms, but to annihilate Blücher.

then to drive back Schwarzenberg. The first part of his plan all but succeeded.

Blücher had marched forward some of cavalry, and York, believing Napoleon to be held fast by the main army near Torgau, drove Marmont out of Châteaux; the Russian cavalry pursued Macdonald. Thus the opposite divisions drew far apart. Finally York pressed on down the Marne against Châteaux-Thierry; Sacken advanced in the center. Napoleon forced the left wing of Blücher, the other divisions of the army were still farther to the rear. As most of the cavalry was spending against Macdonald, there was a lack of troops for reconnoitring. On the 9th there was a skirmish on the left at Sévres. This caused some alarm at head quarters, but nobody believed that there was any serious danger. York occupied Châteaux-Thierry, and proceeded slowly down the river. Sacken engaged the enemy at La Ferté, and met with a stout resistance. The news from the left wing became more threatening; it was reported that Napoleon with some 25,000 men was at Sévres. Thereupon Blücher ordered up York, Sacken, and Kleist, and summoned Wittgenstein, whose force formed part of the main army. But, before these movements could be executed, the storm broke.

Napoleon, with the greater part of his troops, had abandoned his former position at Torgau in order to fall upon Blücher, and, holding the main line, was able, by rapidity of movement, to attack the enemy before he could collect his force. On February 19 he repulsed the Russians at Hagen and turned their flank at Champagny. It was only by furious fighting with the bayonet that 3000 men with 15 guns were able to break through and reach Châtillon-sur-Marne. On the 17th York and Sacken attempted to effect their junction at Montcaumon. Napoleon hurried thither, a re-est was attacked Sacken, who had arrived first. Had Sacken been met head by York at the right moment, it would have gone hard with the French; but the Prussian commander deliberated too long, and sent only two régiments to the support of his Russian colleagues. Sacken's 14,000 men were defeated by superior force, the enemy breaking through between the Russians and the Prussians on their left. As the Allies had to move in their rear, their retreat was extremely difficult; that they succeeded in effecting it was due to the courage of a Prussian brigade, which lost heavily in covering the retreat. Next day, at Châteaux-Thierry, where two bridges had been hastily constructed, the Allies were again attacked, and had to fight a severe rear-guard action before they could place the Marne between themselves and their pursuers. Thence they directed their march on Soissons.

Meanwhile, Blücher with 18,000 Prussians and Russians, had remained stationary on the rapid railway westwards from Montcaumon, in complete ignorance of what was passing. It was not till the evening of the 19th that he received the news of York's retreat. In order to relieve York, he advanced towards Hagen on the 15th, repulsed the French division



them, and pushed forward until he stumbled on Napoleon. The Emperor had left only a small force to pursue Sacken and York; with the chief part of his army he turned towards Montmirail, and behind Vauchamps succeeded in massing 30,000 men. Blücher's vanguard had advanced too far; it was driven out of Vauchamps and retired in disorder on the main body. When Blücher recognised the strength of the camp and discovered with whom he had to do, he at once retreated. It was almost too late. The French cavalry pressed hard upon him, and continuous man-to-man fighting inflicted on the Prussians a loss of 4000 men, half of their force, while the Russians lost 5000; the French loss was not over 500. The army of Silesia was thus defeated in detail, and completely broken up. The total loss amounted to 15,000 men.

The cause of this disaster may be briefly stated. It had been intended to march upon Paris in concerted formation, but this plan was gradually abandoned. The main army stopped more and more towards the left, and moreover delayed its advance; the troops which should have linked it up with the army of Silesia were diverted from this purpose; consequently Blücher's left flank was left uncovered without his knowledge, and the danger came upon him unawares. Carelessness, mistaken orders, want of unity, and various mishaps did the rest. Had Napoleon been able to follow up the army of Silesia, it would have been annihilated; but threatening news from the Rhine recalled the Emperor to the defence of his capital. Thus Blücher gained time to reassemble and reorganise his scattered divisions at Châlons. Reinforcements were already on the way; and Blücher was expected from the Netherlands. Blücher therefore remained in Châlons till the 18th, when he again set out to join the main army. "We acted," said Goltzmann, "as if we had not been beaten. Five days after the defeat we again took the offensive."

Schwarsenberg had been slowly advancing. His cavalry already ranged as far as Mohon and Forbachstein. But the news of Blücher's misfortune caused him to halt; he lost heart, and even began to draw back. The French in front of him recovered courage and gained some small successes. Napoleon himself now appeared. Leaving Marignan behind after the fight at Vauchamps, he had, on the 14th, turned against Schwarzenberg. Having only 55,000 men at his disposal, he summoned over the veterans to join him in the field. Mülton was ordered to detain Blüke in Holland; Angereau was to attack the Austrians in southern France and threaten their left flank. Having himself defeated two advanced bodies of the enemy, Napoleon took measures to secure all the passages across the Saine from Namur<sup>228</sup> to Montreux.

Meanwhile the mobsters at Châtillon had been suspended for a week (February 9-17), owing partly to a mandate from Alexander, partly to Napoleon's anxiety to defeat Blücher. They were only aroused when Metternich reported his threat to withdraw the Austrian forces.

The Allies were willing to make peace on terms which would have left France the limits of 1791, provided that Napoleon would renounce all claim to influence beyond them. Castelnau was ready to accept these conditions; his master, encouraged by his recent success, was more ambitious. He was resolved not to cede Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, and he instructed his army accordingly. He deposed the Allies that, at Schwarzenberg's suggestion, they asked for an armistice; but Napoleon refused to parley except on the basis of the "natural frontiers" of France. In these circumstances, Schwarzenberg conceived his only hope of safety to lie in a general retreat. His decision was hastened by a fresh alarm. In order to cover the withdrawal, he pretended to hold the existing position of Montreuil till the evening of the 18th. But on the 18th the Crown Prince of Würtemberg, who commanded there, was attacked by Napoleon, and, after a stout resistance, driven out of the town with the loss of 8000 men.

Schwarzenberg, believing his own strength to be insufficient, now called on Blücher to join him, on the understanding that, if the latter could reach Mayen-sur-Saône by the 21st it might then be possible to renew the advance. Blücher replied that he would be on the spot. There seemed to be every prospect of a decisive battle; and on the 20th Groussier and Godeaux went to head-quarters to discuss a plan of action. But again a change occurred. Schwarzenberg had received news that Angereux was passing up the Saône from the north, and that other hostile forces were marching towards Geneva. Instead of effecting his junction with Blücher and then attacking Napoleon with a superior force, he became anxious about his flank and rear.

On February 21 a council of war was held at Troyes, at which Schwarzenberg's proposal to retreat prevailed. He informed Blücher that for the present he dared not risk a battle, and directed him accordingly to retire northwards towards the Meuse, to join Wülschgröbe and Dabau (whose corps were to be at his disposal), and, having effected his junction, to divert the attention of Napoleon from the main army. This meant yet another separation<sup>1</sup> of the two armies; but it did not at once inform Schwarzenberg<sup>2</sup>, for <sup>the</sup> Napoleon gave him no rest. Pushing on, he stormed Troyes; and <sup>the</sup> his army retired beyond Bar-sur-Aube. On the 22nd, at a council<sup>3</sup> war held at that place, it was decided that the main army should continue its retreat by way of Chaumont to Langres, and that Blücher should act independently. The Field-marshal had already set about executing his part of the plan, having at Schwarzenberg's retirement, but occupied at recovering his independence, together with a large accession of strength. After some fighting at Mory, he attacked Marcourt at Sézanne, in order to draw off Napoleon's forces. Marcourt was defeated; and Napoleon now became seriously anxious about Paris. Leaving his position in front of Schwarzenberg, he marched northwards with a large part of his army on the 27th.

On his approach Blücher hastily withdrew, and around the Marne the object of the Prussian commander was then attained.

Hitherto, the conferences at Châtillon had produced no result. But, within the Coalition itself, actual relations had improved, and the war even more important than immediate successes in the field. On February 21 Napoleon had written to his father-in-law, urging him not to sacrifice the interests of Austria to those of his sister, but to accept peace on the basis offered at Fontenoy. Revoked a little earlier, this proposal might have broken up the Coalition; while, on the other hand, Alexander and Frederick William were seriously considering whether they should not abandon the connection with Austria and prosecute the war alone. What prevented so disastrous an issue was Napoleon's obstinacy and the very success which he had recently obtained. His refusal of an armistice disgusted the Emperor Francis, who, on the 27th, returned an unflinching answer to his son-in-law. Under pressure of misfortune and alarm the alliance was now compacted into a closer bond, which took shape in the Treaty of Chaumont. By this important treaty the Four Powers bound themselves not to negotiate separately with Napoleon, but to continue the war till France should be reduced to her pre-revolutionary limits. The terms that such war to maintain were defined: Great Britain promised large subsidies; the League was to be defensive or offensive as might be required. Napoleon was given till March 11 to accept the terms mentioned above.

Even while the Treaty of Chaumont was in the making—it was dated March 1, though not actually signed till the 26th—the efforts, combined with those of Blücher's movement, began to be felt. After Napoleon's departure from Troyes, only a few troops under Oudinot, Macdonald, and Milhaud remained in front of the main army; and on February 27 Schwarzenberg was again able to order a general advance. This proved the turning-point of the campaign. After a brave resistance, Oudinot was utterly defeated at Bar-sur-Aube. The Allies took heart; Troyes was retaken; and the whole French force was driven back beyond the Seine. On March 7 Schwarzenberg drew up a memorandum designating Paris as the goal of a victorious campaign. On the same day Blücher fought the first of the <sup>new</sup> <sup>type</sup> battles.

The French had been forced to abandon <sup>Paris</sup> almost without a struggle. On December 8, 1813, the Prince of Orange had made his entry into the Hague. Blücher occupied the country with his Prussian corps and some Russian detachments under Winningrode, and the French were slowly driven out of Belgium. Before this operation was complete, Winningrode and Blücher received orders from Blücher. The troops that remained behind were under the Duke of Berwick, who failed to drive the French altogether from the Netherlands. In the south Wellington defeated Soult at Orlhès (February 27), and following up his success occupied Bordeaux (March 12).

With awaiting the arrival of reinforcements from the north Blücher was hard-pressed: first by Marmont and Mortier, then by Ney, finally by Napoleon. His only course was to go to meet his supporters. He therefore crossed the Aisne, and, taking advantage of the surrender of Soissons on March 3, effected his junction the same day. Blücher's army now numbered 100,000 men, a force as superior to that of his opponent as to enable him again to take the offensive. That the advance did not immediately take place was due to various reasons. Exhaustive strain and excitement had laid the veteran Field-marshal on a sick-bed; Grouven and Muffling also fell ill, and, in consequence, unity and energy of command were wanting. Political considerations also came in. It was felt that all the work was being thrown on the Prussian army; its numbers were dwindling; and yet this army was all that secured to France a place among the Great Powers. It was therefore determined to proceed to Laon, a strong position on high ground, surrounded by open country which would give full advantage to the superior strength of the Allies. On Napoleon's approach, Blücher occupied the plateau of Craonne with a force of 25,000 Russians. These troops were attacked on March 7, by 60,000 French, against whom they held out for a whole day, inflicting on the enemy very heavy losses. It was only with difficulty that the army of Silesia effected its concentration at Laon; but that operation was practically completed by March 8.

The position at Laon was extremely favourable to the Allies. Facing south, it sloped steeply upwards to the flat summit on which stands the town, and on the north-eastern side it was protected by a marsh. On March 9 Napoleon advanced to the attack. A thick mist in the early morning enabled the French columns to deploy unseen. The Guard, under Ney, formed the centre. At 9 a.m. began a struggle, with varying fortunes, around two villages at the foot of the hill. When the mist dispersed, the weakness of Napoleon's force became apparent; but the Prussians still remained on the defensive. In the afternoon Victor's corps arrived. Once more the battle flared up and continued until dark, but without result. While Napoleon was fighting in the north, Marmont, on the other side of the marsh, attacked from the east, but, in the face of superior numbers strongly posted, had even less success than the Emperor. After nightfall York made a counter-attack on Marmont. The French were taken completely unawares, and Marmont's corps was put to flight with a loss of 4000 men. An energetic pursuit combined with a tanning movement would have destroyed Napoleon. But at this moment Blücher was incapacitated by illness; and Grouven, who took over the command, dared not risk a decisive battle in the face of the reluctance of his generals.

In spite of the defeat of his right wing, Napoleon remained in position, and on March 10 there was some more fierce but ineffectual fighting. The Allies ran no risk; and the Emperor perceived that victory

was out of the question. He therefore withdrew early on the 11th, and crossed the Aisne almost unopposed. Even now the Allies failed to make use of their victory; Napoleon, on the other hand, displayed marvellous energy, although his position was really desperate. On the 14th he wrote to his Minister of Police, "I am still the man I was at Wagram and Austerlitz." He surprised the Bussian garrison, Sedan-Fort, at Hockes, and captured the town. From Rheims he departed on March 17 his last proposals for peace. The limit of time allowed by the Allies had expired on March 11; but a further prolongation was granted, at Gendarmes's request, in order that he might still persuade his master to listen to reason. But not even the failure at Laon could close Napoleon's eyes. He now demanded that the Allies should evacuate French territory, offering, when that was done, to recognise the independence of Holland, to hand over Belgium to a French prince, and to give up the control of countries beyond the borders. But he said nothing definite about the Left Bank, and he claimed the restoration of all colonies. These terms could only have been justified by such a victory as it was no longer in Napoleon's power to gain. They were not even discussed. Before the army reached Châtillon, the conference was closed. Its only result had been to strengthen the cohesion of the Allies.

When Napoleon recognised Blücher's strength, he left Marmont and Mortier to watch him, in order to fling himself upon the main army. The latter, instead of advancing, had meanwhile been moving steadily farther and farther. On March 18 Count Paris announced the Emperor's approach on the right flank. Schwarzenberg, rightly assuming that Napoleon meant to cross the river at Arrière-Aube, took his measures accordingly; and there the battle was fought. Napoleon was unable to bring as many troops together as he wanted, because Blücher had again begun to advance and had defeated Marmont. On the other hand, he did not come upon the six corps of the main army, but only on the Bavarian corps under Wrede, whom, after a hard fight, he compelled to fall back. On the following day Schwarzenberg succeeded in concentrating his forces. The moment had come for destroying Napoleon, but for this Schwarzenberg lacked determination. He delayed the attack, whereupon Napoleon led his troops boldly against him. The enterprise would have been his last, had he not perceived the enemy's strength in time and beaten a hasty retreat. Only the French rear-guard was caught by the Allies and driven from Arrière-Aube. Thus the Emperor had fallen back before Schwarzenberg as before Blücher. It was to no purpose that he brought together on the same day 40,000 men; the number was insufficient.

Recognising the facts, Napoleon now endeavoured to gain by skilful manoeuvres what he could not achieve by fighting. He retired, not westwards upon Paris, but eastwards towards St. Denis, hoping to check the allied advance by an attack upon their communications. But the plan

misguided. The allied commander decided to join Blücher and march on Paris. Blücher's illness hampered the movements of his army; but, when Marmont and Mortier disappeared from his front, and the sound of fighting was heard from Arch-en-Arche, it marched in that direction. The junction was to be effected on the 28th at Meaux. On the way thither, the main army came unexpectedly upon Marmont and Mortier. Had it been in closer formation, the two marshals could hardly have escaped; as it was, they fled badly. The Crown Prince of Württemberg engaged Marmont at Sainte-Gertrude and drove him over the Somme, where he took up a position with Mortier. There was a hot fight, in which the French, after a brave resistance, were worsted, losing many men and guns. The remainder were attacked at Laifreul-Gauchier by York; but he could only reach them with his rear guard, and the French beat off the attack. Blücher was more fortunate; he fell in with a detachment of 8000 men, and drove it back upon Laifre-Champenoise, where it encountered the main army and was annihilated.

The march on Paris now began in earnest. The Emperor's plans having been discovered through an intercepted letter, the Allies left 10,000 men to watch the movements of, and, turning their backs upon him, marched down the valley of the Marne with 180,000 men. Paris has two natural bulwarks—to the north Montmartre, to the north-east the fertile populated plateau on whose northern edge stand Boulogneville, Pantin, and Belleville. There the French drew up all their available forces for the defence of the capital, Mortier at the foot of Montmartre forming the left wing, and Marmont the right. Here, on March 30, the last battle was fought. The result was a foregone conclusion. The main army opened the fight by attacking Boulogneville, first with inefficient forces. The French made a courageous defence, so that the Allies advanced but slowly and with heavy losses. At length, however, a vigorous advance drove Marmont back to the extreme edge of the plateau, whereupon he despatched an officer to negotiate. Meanwhile the army of Sibiers had engaged Mortier. The latter had repulsed the Prussians at La Villette, but was unable to withstand the onset of Prince William of Prussia and an attack on the barriers of the city. On the right flank Blücher deployed his forces against Montmartre. Other divisions occupied Vincennes, and pressed on towards Charenton.

On the preceding day the Emperor had fled from Paris. King Joseph and his brother Jerome watched the battle from the heights of Montmartre. When they saw that all was over, they evacuated their horses and rode away, directing the marshals to treat with the enemy, and then proceed to the Latin. The negotiations resulted in an armistice, by the terms of which the capital was to be evacuated. In the evening the Allies bivouacked on the slopes in full view of the city they had so ardently desired. But as yet they had not settled with the Emperor, and they prepared for a renewal of the combat.

Napoleon had meanwhile wasted his energies in futile plans of retreat and uncalculated movements against a force consisting of a few mobile squadrons of horse. Surrounded by a gaping void, cut off from all resources with the diplomacy of Europe, he saw all the cards broken out of which he might have woven a ladder of escape. At Vitry he received the tidings of the fate that threatened his capital. He hurried towards Paris and, accompanied by a few loyal adherents, reached Fontenoyblanc in the advance of his army. Here, on March 30, he was joined by Marmont's cavalry. He was pressing on towards the capital, when he heard that Marmont capitulated, and in despair he returned to Fontenoyblanc. On the following day more troops came up, he took heart again, and dreamed of hurling himself boldly upon Paris at their head. The idea was madness. His marshals refused to follow him, and explained him to throw up the game. He still clung to the belief that something might be saved by diplomacy. But it was too late; the overture was complete. On April 11, Napoleon signed his abdication.

Already, on March 31, the *clercs* had made their entry into Paris. At noon the monarchs, with their guards, reached the Porte St Martin, then turned to the right towards the *Champs Elysees*. They entered in full military pomp, trumpets blowing, drums beating, bayonets shining, banners waving, and uniforms of all colours glittering in the sun. The people of Paris cried, "*Vive le roi! vive Louis XVIII!*" The glory of the Bourbons rose from its ashes; that of the Empire seemed for ever departed. Yet it was only in seeming; the wings of the Imperial eagle were not yet finally clipped.

During the brief campaign of 1814, Napoleon had displayed all the greatness of his insupportable military genius, but at the same time the shewiness of an overwrought brain. He had lost all sense of reality, like a desperate gambler he tried to win back what had long been lost. Instead of continuing the war with the sole object of obtaining by negotiation desirable and rational results, he betrayed in his diplomacy an unworldly ambition, which he could not realise by victory in the field. The material resources and the military strength of France were at length exhausted; and she succumbed to half Europe in arms.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## THE FIRST RESTORATION (1814-15).

At 10 o'clock on the morning of March 31, 1814, the rulers of Russia and Prussia rode into Paris. From early dawn a vast crowd had posted itself along the route from the Faubourg St Martin to the gardens of the Tuilleries, and watched in sad and anxious silence the long procession of foreign troops. A few shouts saluted the noble presence of the Tsar, as he advanced along the Boulevards; but it was not till he reached the Boulevard des Italiens that he was made aware of the existence of a Bourbon party in Paris. Here loud cries of "*Vive le Bourbon*!" rent the air; and a party of some forty young nobles shamed by their noisy demonstration for the wilful tranquillity of the mob. Elsewhere there was hardly a token of royalist sympathy, or a clue to the real feelings of the capital. Yet a royalist emissary, Baron de Vitrolles, had assured the Tsar that Paris would declare in no uncertain terms for the Restoration.

In the absence of the Emperor of Austria, it lay with Alexander to determine the future government of France. It was a problem which he had for some time past been seriously considering, yet without reaching a positive solution. He was clear that Napoleon was impossible; but his views as to the succession were still fluid and uncertain. Bernadotte and Eugene were thought of for a moment and waived aside. A wisely organised republic—as it was hinted to a royalist agent—might best accord with the French spirit; but, if the French did not care for a republic, there was the alternative of the Bourbons. Upon the qualities of the Bourbons came the Tsar had pondered much, and he found them deficient. The princes would return unbattered by misfortune; and, even if they could master their own movements, the ambassadors of the despots would prove too unmanageable to discipline. The clergy, the Protestants, the spirit of the new generation, would be opposed to them; and it was doubtful whether they could rely upon any substantial amount of support. It was true that royalism was making head in some regions of the north, and that the Duc d'Angoulême had been received with acclamations in Bordeaux. But Alexander and Metternich were both impressed by



the fact that in the wide area covered by the eastern campaign they had been unable to discover the faintest traces of a Bourbon party. Still, if France should decline for the old monarchy, Alexander was not prepared to oppose her choice. There was a statesman in Paris who had laid a plan for fixing the wavering purposes of the Tsar. Talleyrand, whose special gift it was to seize "in a crisis or at a congress," had determined to have a direct and personal share in the political settlement. When the official world fled by command to Blois, he contrived to be turned back at the barrier, and thus to be left the sole person of importance in the capital. He had gauged Alexander, knew that he had impressed him once, and was confident that he would be able to impress him again. In an interview with Metetrade he invited the Tsar to be his guest.

The Tsar accepted the proposal. "M. de Talleyrand," he said, "I have determined to stay in your house because you have my confidence and that of my allies. We do not wish to determine anything before we have heard you. You know France, its needs and desires. Say what we ought to do, and we will do it." Talleyrand replied, "We can do everything with a principle. I propose to accept the principle of legitimacy, which results in the throne of the Princes of the House of Bourbon." The Tsar remembered his doubts. Could France be detached from the chief for whose cause she had just fought with such desperate heroism? Would she accept princes for whom she had manifested the most bitter hatred during a period of twenty years? Would the old monarchy receive any constitutional support from councils created by Napoleon and manned by his creatures? To these objections Talleyrand replied—and his assurances were confirmed by Dalmay, Lom, and de Pradt, who had been summoned to the conference—that, if even it were made clear that no peace or truce would be made with Bonaparte, the Legislative Councils would themselves invite the Bourbons. Alexander was deeply impressed. He walked up and down the room, enlarging with emotion upon the horror of war and the crimes of Napoleon, and then, turning to the King of Prussia and Prince Schwarzenberg, invited them to consent to a proclamation, which should pledge the Powers not to treat with Napoleon or any member of his family. Two hours afterwards the proclamation was posted, and a regency under Marie Louise was thus formally excluded from the sphere of possible solutions. On April 1 a Provisional Government was named, including, in the person of Metetrade, at least one confidential friend of the deposed King. Next day, the Senate, so placed under Talleyrand as under Napoleon, decreed the deposition of the Emperor. The Legislature ratified and the law-courts confirmed the decision. Sensible men saw that enough had been done for delivery, and that only those could France obtain liberty and peace.

Forty miles away, in the palace of Fontainebleau, sat Napoleon. It is true that the force around him did not exceed 30,000 men, but

what might not desperate courage and skillful leadership effect? At a council held on the morning of March 31, the Marshals advised a retreat to the north; but Napoleon, viewing as ever the more dangerous and attractive alternative, decided to maneuver before Paris and to oblige the enemy to give him battle. He ordered the corps of Marmont and Morrieu, which had just evacuated the capital, to stop at Fontenay, where they would form his advance-guard in an aggressive movement. The allied generals, with a sickle population of 300,000 souls to watch, looked forward with anxiety to a resumption of the strife.

Alexander had often told his French friends that the army was the center, and that nothing solid could be done unless the army were gained over. A few generals had sent in their adherences to the Provisional Government, and Dupont and Drouot had accepted posts—the one as Minister of War, the other as Commandant of the National Guard—but the defection of individual generals was a matter of slight moment, so long as the army remained faithful to Napoleon. It was therefore determined to invite Marmont to put his troops at the disposal of the Government, and to march them into Normandy, where they might serve as the nucleus of a constitutional army. Marmont owed everything to Napoleon, and had fought with brilliant skill and courage during the last campaign; but he complained that he had been constantly placed in the most difficult and hazardous positions, and that he had been rebuked and insulted after the defeat of Laon. He knew that his surrender of Paris had spoilt Napoleon's calculations; he was disillusioned and weary of war, and perhaps also desirous of playing a great rôle in history. Siding his conscience by the command of the Senate, and making an express stipulation that the personal safety and liberty of Napoleon should be respected, should he fall into the hands of the Allies, he promised to move his troops from Fontenay to Versailles in the night of April 4-5.

But momentous events were occurring at Fontainebleau, which threatened to put a new complexion upon affairs. On the morning of April 6, as Napoleon was preparing to strike his final blow, news came that the Senate had deemed his deposition. The general order was that headquarters were to be transferred to Fontenay; and, after the midday parade, Napoleon retired to his room to make his last preparations for the march. But the discontent of the Marshals and the officers of their respective staffs had now reached a crisis. The army was demoralized, and was melting away by desertion. The loss of the capital, the news of its altered political attitude, not to speak of sheer weariness, affected the judgment of the senior officers. They were stripped of illusions, satiated with achievements, and unprepared to face civil strife. They marched into Napoleon's room and represented the situation. A letter from Beaumarchais was read out. "Very good, gentlemen," replied the Emperor with unexpected complacency, "since it must be so, I abdicate"; and then, as all present accepted his proposals for a regency in the

name of the King of Rome, he drew up the Act of Abdication, and appointed commissioners to treat for a suspension of arms. Suddenly, swept away by a convulsion of feeling, he threw himself on a sofa, stood, his thigh, and cried, "No more, gentlemen; let us have that and march to-morrow! We shall beat them." An impassioned argument followed; but the Marshals were in earnest and bore him down. He wrote and signed with his own hand an abdication in favour of his son. Caulaincourt, Ney, and Marmont were sent to lay the document before Alexander. On their way through Moscow they induced Marmont to go with them.

The Tsar had formerly predicted his intention of never treating with Napoleon or any other member of his family; he had then already decided against the proposal of a regency. But what if a regency were the only plan which the army would accept, the only plan which would avert further bloodshed? The members of the Provisional Government waited anxiously as Alexander's aides while the corps expéditionnaire their came in an inner chamber. Then, dismissing the envoys, Alexander called to the Government, and explained with animation the advantages which would accrue from the acceptance of Napoleon's proposition—a Government served by able and experienced men, enjoying the sympathy and support of Austria, respecting the habits and the true interests of France, and finally commanding, as no other Government could, the entire allegiance of the army. Talleyrand, Dülberg, and Demichiey replied that, if a regency were established, Napoleon would be back again at the end of a year, that many members of his family were too ambitious to be content with a subordinate station; and that the claims of the Bourbons had now been so far revived that it was impossible to discard them without injustice and injury. The Tsar listened attentively, and admitted the envoys to a second audience. Again the envoys were dismissed, the members of the Government admitted, and the arguments of the army warmly pressed and energetically combated. It was 4 a.m. before this singular and crucial debate came to a close.

Count Pozzo di Borgo got up on April 5 to look at the sunrise. As he was standing at the window a hand was laid upon his shoulder; and the Tsar appeared him of the joyful tidings that Marmont's corps had arrived at Versailles. "You see," he said, "it is Providence who wills it; the marshals and leaders himself. No more doubt, no more hesitation." General Souham had in fact taken the decisive step without waiting for Marmont's orders, having learnt that Napoleon was about to be informed of the intended desertion of the corps. Alexander's way was now cleared. The army was divided against itself. The envoys were instructed that the abdication must include the whole family of Napoleon.

On the evening of April 12, after many painful hesitations, Napoleon ratified the Treaty of Fontainebleau, which banished him to the island of Elba and settled the rank, title, and revenue to be enjoyed by himself and the nuclear members of his family. The terms of the treaty were

on the whole, Marm—on several occasions of two millions francs for himself, with revenues of one million to the Empress, a revenue of two millions, and a half to be distributed among the members of his family; a capital sum of two millions to be expended in gratifications to his followers; the full sovereignty over the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla for the Empress, with succession to her son and descendants; and both the island of Elba for himself in full sovereignty. The place of exile was chosen by himself, as preferable to either Corsica or Cádiz—alternatives which had been offered by the Tsar. Yet at times the transaction appeared intolerably humiliating to his proud and sensitive nature. "Why should they make a treaty with a vanquished man?" he asked; and over and over again, catching at straws of hope, he demanded the return of the Act of Abolition. On the 15th he relaxed resistance and talked coolly with Marm of suicide. In the night he took a poison or an opiate which he had carried on his person all through the Russian campaign; but his recovery seemed to him to indicate that he was still destined for high things, and on the 19th he signed the Act. A week later he took leave of his Old Guard, embraced the eagle, and left Fontainebleau.

Thus was the way prepared for the Bourbon. It was, as Galot truly says, a trait of Napoleon's genius that he never forgot them and knew them to be his only rivals for the throne of France. They were not exactly restored by the foreign armies; they were not restored by the voice of France; they owed nothing to their own merits or ambitions. They came back because France was tired and dumb, disinclined to found a republic, or to embark upon a sea of experiment. To the Napoleonic man, such as Talleyrand, who interpreted France to the foreign conqueror, a constitutional monarchy was the only solution. It would entail a long array of glorious memories; it would preserve the heritage of the Revolution; it would make the least possible disturbance in the administration. The white and the red spectra would alike be ascribed by a monarchy restored on constitutional conditions.

But there was a fundamental difficulty in the schema. It was of the essence of the old monarchy that it was absolute and unconditional, and that its title was based not upon the will of the people but upon hereditary right. If, then, the Bourbons were restored, and if their restoration were not only made to depend explicitly upon the grant of the French people, but were also accompanied by conditions voted beforehand by the popular voice, what became of the principle of legitimacy or the old monarchical tradition? The head of the Bourbon House had always claimed that he had never ceased to be King of France. How could he then loyally accept terms which implied that this claim was false? And yet, if no terms were settled, if it were not made clear that the basis of the monarchy had been changed, all the conquests of the Revolution might be lost, all the evils of the ancient régime might be

retained. The Constitutional Charter—the phrase came from Talleyrand—which was adopted by the Senate on April 6, frankly departed from the old principles. It commenced “*fidelity to the throne Louis-Stanislas-Xavier of France, brother to the late King,*” conspicuously exchanging any mention of an official title. It provided that the Charter should be submitted to a plebiscite, and that Louis-Stanislas-Xavier could only be proclaimed King of France after he had agreed and sworn to adhere to the constitutional and practical provisions contained in the document. There was such as met the general needs of the situation—the King, master of the executive power; the legislative power divided between King, Senate, and Elective Chamber; responsibility of ministers, taxation by consent; the peer system; the inalienability of the sale of Church lands, the continuance of military pensions and ranks, the recognition of the new as well as of the old nobility. The influence of Montaignon obtained the unreserved attribution of the executive power to the King, the royal right of nomination to the Senate, and the inalienability of ministers to the two Chambers. But the greed of the senators threw a dark shade of discredit upon the Act. A provision was inserted to the effect that all the existing members of the Senate were to form part of the new Second Chamber, and that the senatorial endowments were to be equally divided among them. The leaders of liberal opinion agreed that this transparent exhibition of cupidity had been permitted by Talleyrand in order to favour the establishment of monarchy, and as brief was the shower of opprobrious pamphlets that the Provisional Government reserved to the ownership of the press. It was a grave misfortune for France that no solemn transaction as the establishment of a limited monarchy should have been discredited from the first by the selfishness of some of its principal promoters.

Louis was in England, protesting with grief, but Monnier (the *Comte d'Artois*) was at Nancy, and Wicquès persuaded Talleyrand that it would be well to receive him in the capital as his brother's lieutenant. There was brilliant sunshine on April 18, the day of the solemn entry. At the Palace, attired in the uniform of the National Guard, rode down the Boulevards, the enthusiasm was uncontainable. His few attendants were *filibusters*; and one, whom we invented for him afterwards by Count Darguet—"Nothing is changed now that there is one Frenchman the more"—went round France like wildfire. There was no every eye as the "*Romain, sworn for regem*" was cheered by ten thousand voices. At the end of the ceremony, the old servants of the Prince, who had kept his chamber for five-and-twenty years, embraced him knee; and he named them with a touching grace. When he reached the Tuilleries, he dismounted from his horse, addressed the National Guard in some appropriate words, and, shaking hands with several officers and soldiers, bade them remember the day, protesting that he would never forget it. "How can I be forgotten?" he said in the evening to Darguet,

"It is the only day of happiness which I have tasted for thirty years. "Do you understand such enthusiasm, such exaltation?" said "Not turning to Vitrolles during the session of Native Deeds. "Who could have believed it?" "Courage and loyalty, nobility and manly experiences and hope, were all combined in the rejoicings of that day.

As yet nothing had been done to settle the title and constitutional position of the Prince, who was moreover loudly described by Talleyrand as the "Chief of the Government." His royalist advisers wished him to assume the title of Lieutenant-Governor of the kingdom, arguing that his brother was already sovereign of France and competent to delegate his authority. Such a claim was however in clear contradiction to the spirit and the terms of the Charter. The Senate declined to acknowledge powers delegated by a sovereign whose title it had not admitted, and was unwilling itself to confer them without limiting conditions. As the contest threatened to become acute, Alexander intervened, and a prudent compromise was arrived at. On the one hand, the Senate confirmed the provisional government of France upon the Comte d'Artois with the title of Lieutenant-Governor of the kingdom; while, on the other hand, Monsieur replied that he was acquainted with the constitutional act which recalled his brother to the throne, and that, while he had no authority to accept the Constitution, yet, knowing his brother's sentiments and principles, he could assure them in the King's name that he would admit the fundamental conditions, which he then proceeded to state. The Senate and the Legislature were delighted with the admission of an address which seemed to promise so fairly for constitutional rule. But to his principal opponent, Vitrolles, the Prince spoke words of evil omen, "Yes, the engagement is taken. We must keep to it faithfully; and, if after some years it appears that things cannot go on, we shall have to try something else." The experiment was made in 1830.

Pet and party, indolent and sloven, with a vacillating turn of phrase and the inconsistent and playful temper of the dilettante student, Louis XVIII was watching the course of events from his exile at Harcourt. Sixty years of life had opened his wit and enlarged his knowledge of the Latin classics without bringing him ideas or passions, or whetting him to the management of affairs. His assiduous book, completely prohibitive of horse exercise, disqualified him from playing the rôle of popular hero. Despite the countervailing advantages of a finely cut countenance, a resonant and agreeable voice, and flashing eyes. He had been so long absent from France that he was ignorant of her new men and her new ways, and, coming at an advanced age out of the shadow of a staidness retirement, he was unfitted for strenuous action in glory and heat. Yet, despite all this, he had some qualifications for the part which he was now suddenly called upon to play. His bearing was dignified and grave, his language delicate, and in all the smaller concerns of life he possessed an exquisite taste. A kind of fatalism, half religious, half

aplomb, if it conduced to the neglect of business, suggested him with a stock of passive courage, which was occasionally impressive. His natural moderation and evenness of disposition, his absence of religious animosity, his wise abstention from the intrigues and exaggerations of the *Anglais*, his power of silent and sensible criticism, were all clear advantages. "He is," said the Duke of Wellington, "the most courteous man I ever saw, and the best sovereign for this country." Nor was he put roundly opposing. In the Assembly of Notables he had supported liberal measures, and during the early months of the Revolution he was generally understood to be in favour of a hereditary monarchy. It is true that he subsequently proclaimed his complete attachment to the system of the *ancien régime*, describing it as the "Ark of the Covenant", but in later years he had publicly receded from so desperate a position. In a declaration published at Mitau on December 4, 1804, he had promised to forget the past, to recognize liberty and equality, and to secure existing interests if he were recalled to the throne. He was prepared, in fact, to accept the position of a constitutional king—a situation, so his friend the Prince Regent may have taught him, by no means incompatible with the pursuit of pleasure.

An acceptance of the amended Constitution was accordingly passed, when advice from Paris intervened and prompted a higher flight. Learning that his brother had been received without promise or wish, that the Senate was divided and its Charter without authority, Louis determined to assume the royal title, and to ignore the pretensions of a discredited body to confer a crown or to impose conditions on its return. At St Omer, before the gates of Paris, he issued a declaration which promised constitutional rule, while it safeguarded the legislative principle. The document declared that the plan of the Senate, though good in its essential particulars, was hastily composed and would require modification. Accordingly Senate and Legislature were summoned for June 12, with a pledge that the terms of a liberal Constitution would be submitted to them. With this profession, as disastrous to the extreme republic as it was disagreeable to the liberals, Louis XVIII entered Paris.

His entry took place on May 3, under a stormy sky; but "it was not," says Braguet, "like the entry of Monsieur. The heart did not speak in loud." *Sallie* alone was mingled with rapturous enthusiasm, else he the King with acclamations of the Imperial Guard, which constituted too companion to the escort. Yet, even if Chamberlain, the greatest living master of French sentiment, had not professed them, the celebration of the House, long *Sallie* and now returned, would have struck the common heart. In the evening a vast crowd filled the Carrousel and the gardens of the Tuileries, calling upon and again for the King and his name the *Duchesse d'Angoulême*. A pamphlet from the pen of Lady-Tollendal ran through the town, celebrating the virtues and the sorrows of that simple, narrow, and austere lady. But, with her meagre features,

merciless slave, and stern mystic creed, she was not destined to capture the heart of France. Her life had been fatally blighted in the Temple prison. In the walls members of her House there was little of romance, of tragedy, or of heroism.

The two first tasks of the new Government were to draw up a Constitution and to sign a peace. A select number of senators and deputies was appointed to confer with three royal commissioners under the presidency of Decker, the new Chancellor, and to prepare a Charter for the acceptance of the Chambers. The institution of a House of Peers, named by the King, selected by members, deliberating in secret, and invested with the power to try cases of high treason, was passed with the understanding that the senators should preserve their independence. A Chamber of Deputies, to be composed for the present of the existing legislature, but in the future to be elected on a higher franchise, was to initiate all money-bills. It was in accordance with French tradition that the head of the Government should have power to make rules and ordinances "necessary for the execution of laws and the security of the State"; and no danger was anticipated from this branch of the prerogative. The right of initiative and legislation was accorded to the Crown; but the Chambers were given the power to suggest the principles and even the details of bills. The expedient of a Civil List voted for life was one for which the French mind was long prepared. The system of the vote, by which the Chamber of Deputies was to be renewed by a fifth every year, had been tried under the Directory; and, though perhaps undesirable to the establishment of strong party government, it seemed likely to diminish the intensity of electoral crises. Freedom of worship was readily accorded to all the creeds, and only four vows were ruled against declaring the Catholic faith to be the state religion. After a heated discussion, the maintenance of the revolutionary land-attachment was unconditionally guaranteed; and nine provisions were added to secure the abolition of confiscation, the extension of the jury, and the independence of the judicial bench. But, while the liberty of the press was formally permitted, it was distinctly stated that laws would be passed to chastise its abuse. Such were the main outlines of the Charter. Extreme royalists wanted no concessions; and Bonapartists were outraged by the closing words "Given at Paris in the year of grace 1814 and in the nineteenth year of our reign." The word "Charter" itself, and the ancient phrase, "*Mais concédons, nous faisons concession et octroyons*," showed clearly enough that the contracted theory of sovereignty had been cast to the winds. Still the bulk of the matter was unaltered. The Charter embodied the highest political wisdom which had been extracted from twenty-five years of democracy and despotism.

Even more important than the Charter was the Treaty of Peace between France and Europe, signed on April 30, and published on June 4. The situation was such that, while peace was a most imperative



necessity for France, no glorious or honourable peace could be concluded. It was necessary to withdraw the French garrisons beyond the Rhine in order to purchase the removal of the foreign armies from the soil of France; it was necessary to accept the proposal of Metternich that all specifically French concerns should be there and then settled in Paris, while questions affecting the balance of power in Europe should be reserved for a congress in Vienna. It would have been too dangerous to defer the conclusion of the peace, in the hope of extracting advantages for France from the discussions which were sure to arise in Vienna. Indeed, the Allies were masters of the situation, and could dictate their terms. They were fully alive to the necessity of treating France with generosity, and of connecting the advent of the new dynasty with a popular peace. When France declined to pay a ransom-money to Prussia, Russia, England, and Austria expressed no her refusal, and the demand was withdrawn. The art-galleries of Paris were permitted to retain the spoils with which Napoleon had enriched them. The provisions with reference to the ships in Dutch waters were liberal. But it was a settled principle that neither in Europe nor in the colonies must France ever again be permitted to exert a dangerous preponderance. Belgium, the Left Bank of the Rhine, the conquered lands in Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy were to be ruled by France. The frontier of the fallen monarchy (1793) was to be the frontier of the monarchy restored, with an addition of territory comprising Montebellard and Angera, Chambéry and Annecy. The *Île de France*, Tobago, and Santa Lucia were returned by England, which had acquired them during the war. The country, which had nourished many dissensions, and the Court, which had tried to obtain Luxembourg and a loss of strong Belgian fortresses, were bitterly disappointed at so meagre a salvage; and it was not the least of the undesired misfortunes of the Bourbons that their restoration was associated with the national humiliation of a contracted frontier and diminished colonies.

In spite of the temporary satisfaction which the return of the Bourbons had evoked, the condition of public opinion in France was disgusting. The army was for the most part disaffected to the white cockade, and to such extent depleted by desertion that in April scarcely 20,000 men remained under arms. The three or four million peasants of national lands troubled for their property, which had become enormously depreciated by reason of the prevailing insecurity. The peasantry half expected the reappropriation of tithes and feudal dues. In many places the villagers, indignant at the maintenance of the *droit vicinal*, drove out the tax-collectors and burnt their registers. The Bretons and Vendéens went still further, and refused even to pay direct taxes. "We have fought for the King," they said, "we ought not to pay any taxes at all." In some places the old quarrel between those who had accepted and those who had resisted, the *Chouan* and the *bonapartist* broke out

men, and the members of the *Petite Église*, returning from a twelve years' exile, hardly claimed to exercise their old functions, and quickly adjusted for the institution of Church property. "The country districts," wrote Dupont, "and a large number of the towns are opposed to the friends of the King." This opposition was, however, scattered and discouraged; and a large part of it might reasonably be expected to catch away under a strong administration, all the more so since the world of politics and finance, literature and law was, with few exceptions, on the side of the monarchy. The vast body of the middle class, the manufacturers, the merchants, the indifferents, were heartily glad of peace and willing to support the new régime. The general staff of the army had put on the white cockade; and Ney, Angereau, Macdonald, and ten other generals drawn from different branches of the service, joined the King's Council of War. Men of such diverse antecedents as Carnot and Fontanes, Fouché and Braguet de L'Écluse, accepted the situation. There was likely to be plenty of quiet support if the monarchy managed well, and plenty of criticism however well it managed.

The ministry of Louis XVIII contained many able and well-meaning men, but it was neither strong, compact, nor properly organized. The three most prominent members, Talleyrand, Montespaul, and de Blacas, were none of them well-suited to deal with a situation of exceptional difficulty. Talleyrand had no taste for regular work, no parliamentary gifts, and little interest in the problems of domestic administration; consequently, when he went to Vienna to represent the interests of France at the Congress, he left no gap behind him. Montespaul, Minister of the Interior, was reasonable and disinterested, and a blunt and clear speaker in the Chambers; but his temperament was light and inconsequent; and, being a strict regular by conviction, he had accepted the Constitution with little faith in its virtues and much suspicion of its vices. De Blacas resembled at the Tuilleries what he had been at Hartwell, a favorite and an *Angel*, devoted and laborious, a reminder of moderation, out of fear that his master might be compromised by excess, but a stranger to France, and absolutely devoid of the knowledge of a statesman. Of the other members, Fournau, Director-General of the Posts, the Chamberlain Daubigny, and Dupont, Minister of War, were unfortunate selections. The dark scholar of the Capuchins of Baylen fell along in the train of Dupont, and made him unpopular with the army, while the other two belonged to the familiar type which had for a quarter of a century learnt nothing. There was no French Minister, no collective responsibility; and the business of the Cabinet was transacted in a series of secret conferences held between the King, de Blacas, and the Ministers in turn. If the King had been a sternness man with a coherent policy, this "government by departments" might not have been detrimental; but Louis debated weak, was slow in signing his names, and liked his mind to be made up by others. "What is the good of asking

reports to him?" said Baron Louis to Bugeot. "You might as well make them to a wren as a raven. I just simply give him orders as to *do*, and he *does*."

The wits aptly described the system of government as "personal anarchy"; and Wellington said truly that there was no Ministry, only *Ministre*. Every view, from the strict constitutionalism of Baron Louis to the reactionary republicanism of Dumas and Fourné, was represented among the Ministers. Side by side with them sat the Prince-Monarch, the absolute of the intractable royalists, who kept his own counsel, his own cabinet, his own police, and made no secret of his longing for the Charter; Angoulême, narrow, egotistical, clever, and awkward, but with some grains of good sense; and lastly Berry, passionate, spontaneous, and impulsive, a good fellow with a bad temper, who loved women and horses, and would interrupt serious councils with the language of the barnack or the stable.

Seldom has any Government been confronted with a less enviable situation. There was a financial deficit of three five to six hundred millions of francs; there was an immense dislocation in the taxable area, owing to the loss of the Napoleonic conquests; and there was a terrible though temporary impoverishment of France herself. It was certain therefore that large reductions would have to be made in the naval and military establishments; and it was equally certain that such reductions could not be effected without consuming widespread destruction and distress. Nor was it possible, with due regard to the economic situation of the country, to make any material remission of taxation, in spite of the general expectation that with peace the most onerous imposts would instantaneously disappear. Under such conditions, a Government of sagacity and courage could not have failed to make enemies and to disappoint hopes. Yet the measure of impopularity would depend upon the wisdom with which affairs were administered, and the loyalty with which the Charter was observed. In both respects the Government did short of the standard which the country had a right to expect.

There was something vigorous and heroic about the finance of Baron Louis. He made provision for the liquidation of a debt amounting to 750,000,000 francs, and successfully resisted a debatable proposal, emanating from the extreme royalists of the Chamber, that the State should repudiate one-fourth of the debt contracted under Napoleon. He maintained the unpopular taxes of 1813 and 1814, though Monnier and Angoulême had been profuse in promises of remission. In one year he diminished the naval, military, and civil expenditure to a third of its former amount, reducing the army from a war footing of 400,000 to a peace footing of 201,145, and discharging ten or twelve thousand officers on half-pay, with the right, however, to ascend in order of seniority to two-thirds of the commissions as they became vacant. It was part of his design to make the Legislature an accomplice in his parsimony.

By a resolution in French financial methods he proposed the budget of revenue at the same time as the budget of expenses, and provided that the taxes should be assigned to the purposes voted by the Chambers. The policy was perhaps over-strict, over-pedantic. It might have been wiser to extend the process of reduction over a longer period of years and to raise more money upon loan, for the goodwill of the army was worth the price. But no one will deny to Napoleon Louis the qualities of courage, skill, perseverance, and honesty; and the movement of the funds, which now ran parallel upon the introduction, and three years upon the passing, of the budget, was an indication of his version towards the restoration of French credit.

The situation was, however, needfully aggravated by several pieces of gratuitous folly. Before the arrival of the King, and despite the strong representations of Talleyrand, it had been decided to substitute the white cockade for the tricolour, and thus to destroy the colour which in the mind of every French soldier were intimately associated with his own personal achievements and with all the military triumphs of the Empire. By the bad advice of the Princess, the Government consented to revive the old Household Corps, which had existed from the days of Louis XIV down to the eve of the French Revolution. The plan burdened the budget with the cost, amounting 20,000,000 fr., of a small army of 6000 officers highly paid and expensively equipped; but expense was far from being the most objectionable feature in the new luxury. The establishment of the Household Corps was an intimation that the Imperial Guard could not be trusted to defend the throne. The starving half-pay officers—and the embarrassed Treasury could not always pay even the half-pay—contracted his sorry lot with the affluent officer thus opened to the young noble who had never smelt powder, and to the old comrade whose sword had rusted in its scabbard for twenty years. The whole army realized that some of the money lavished on the decorated corps might have kept deserving officers upon the active list, or repaired the battered uniforms of the men. It might have been expected that the Government would have disbanded the seven foreign regiments which had formed part of the Imperial army; on the contrary, an eighth was added to the number. It would have been easy to exclude from the army *Anglais* who had fought against their country, but they were maintained in large numbers, and in many cases promoted; and, when we remember that for every *deserteur* who was flogged on a regiment, two old officers were discharged on half-pay and another disappointed of promotion, we may imagine the passions aroused. Napoleon had advised the King to trust the Imperial Guard or to disband it. Louis did neither. It is true that the pay of the Guard was maintained, and that it was placed under the command of Ney and Grouchy; but the Royal Grenadiers of France, as they were now called, were removed from Paris and supplanted by the new Household troops. "You are short,"

and Frequier to Depont, "to place at the head of the army a most formidable centre of discontent."

The sacred ark of the Napoleonic army was the Legion of Honour, and the Government had the good sense to preserve it. But the publicity with which the decoration was distributed to civilians seemed to induce a desire to depreciate its value; and an insertion in the ministerial papers that the Order of St Louis would henceforth be the sole military Order caused deep resentment. To calm these suspicions, the King issued an ordinance on July 15, approving and confirming the Order. But the salaries were reduced and the decorations changed. The Duc de Berry, IV was substituted for that of Napoleon, the three lions for the eagle, and an archbishop—the Abbe de Prodi—was named Chancellor of the Order. The intended suppression of certain schools for the daughters of legionsaries with a view to effect an economy of 40,000 francs, the dismissal of 8000 veterans from the public institutions which had been burdened with their support, the suppression of the military schools of St Cyr and St Germain, the intended establishment of a royal military school "in order that the nobility of the kingdom may enjoy the advantages accorded by the edict of 1751," and the changing of the number of almost all the regiments—all this added to the indignation of the soldiers. Stories too were circulated, telling how the Duc de Berry had struck a soldier on parade, torn off his epaulettes, and spoken of the wars of the Empire as "Five-and-twenty years of brigandage"; how the Duc d'Angoulême had entered Paris in an English uniform, how Monsieur had replied to General Latorp of the dragons of the Guard, who had offered the services of his horse men, "Paris is made; we have no need of brave men." The Maitre had received high commands and good pensions from the monarchy, but they, and still more loudly their wives, were made to feel the difference which divided the parvenu from the noble. "*Je ne connais pas cette femme-là*," said a great lady of the old regime; "*c'est une marchande*."

For the army, then, the new dynasty was associated with a harassing peace, a meagre economy, and diminished opportunities of promotion. Ragged, barefooted, without regular pay, the veterans of Napoleon watched with anger the distribution of the Legion of Honour to civilian civilians, the formation of the Household Brigade from foreigners, Germans, and Belgians, and the ordinance of May 22 which reserved two-thirds of the vacant promotions to the officers on half pay and the remaining one-third to the King's nominees. The army had ceased to be a democratic profession, for no non-commissioned officer could ever now expect to be a sub-lieutenant. It is no wonder that the troops, especially the returned prisoners, cherished the memory of the great exile who had made them, as Foy said, "a nation apart," that they kept the tricolour as a sacred relic, mixed the ashes of their burnt eagles in wine and drank them down to save them from discovery,

disturbed many a review by their seditious cries, and diffused the spirit of discontent through the villages of France.

It might have been expected that the Church, which had been so obsequious to Napoleon, would not have received special favours from the new monarch. But the Comte d'Artois and the King, subservient to the English Sackey, put pressure upon the director of police to remove the lax notions which prevailed in France. Without consulting the Council or any of the ministers save Decazes, Decazes signed an ordinance (*June 7*) prohibiting under severe penalties all work and trade on Sundays and Festivals, and two days afterwards issued a decree enforcing respect to the possessions of the *Fils-Dieu*. The first ordinance was universally blamed, "because it was too strict, because it changed the habits of an infinite number of people, and because it imposed those who broke it with a heavy money fine, and was in fact a penal law which the King had no right to promulgate without the consent of the Chambers." The second was regarded as an infringement of the religious toleration granted by the Charter, as well as a violation of an as yet ungrasped law prohibiting out-of-door religious processions. Both together were taken as an indication that the Court was willing to violate the Charter in order to promote the predominance of the Roman Catholic Church. So general was the indignation that the Government was compelled to withdraw the two measures.

In the course of the summer, party feeling defined itself more clearly in Paris. A monarchy which accepted a biased Constitution, allowed Bonapartists and Jacobins to sit in the Legislature and even in the Ministry, returned the prefects and judges of the Empire, paid life-pensions to the ministers, received the Marshals' wives at Court, and declined to restore the royalists to their old homes, was not the kind of monarchy of which the exiles had dreamed. Men who had suffered years of banishment in the name of the old France wished to see the old France once more—provinces instead of departments, parliaments instead of law-courts, monarchy in place of constitutionalism, the old Order instead of the Legion of Honour. The same intense cry for the deportation of the regicides and the repudiation of the Napoleonic debt and their organ, *Le Quotidien*, raved against a monarch who did everything for his enemies and nothing for his friends.

While this knot of men, "more royalist than the King," were assailing the Government under the leadership of Mounier, there was growing up on the other hand a constitutional party of opposition, formed of the most intelligent politicians in Paris. The organ of the movement was *Madame de Staël*; its literary organ was *Le Courrier*, a grave and moderate journal edited by two young lawyers, Gode and Daugere; its greatest republicanism was *La Fayette*; its principal pamphleteer was Benjamin Constant, no longer the Tribune of the Councils, still less the Jacobin of the Directory, but a mystic religionist and a constitutional

legitimist in politics. Constant still gambled at night, and was the slave of women; but his volatile and vain temperament was compatible with considerable intellectual nobility and a real grip of constitutional principles. In no small measure France owes her first lessons in the principles and practice of a constitutional monarchy to his mercurial pen.

The great topic of debate and source of ferment was the loyalty of the Government to the Charter. It arose in connection with the press, in connection with the land, in connection with the Church, one might almost say in connection with every branch of public policy. When the Government brought in a scheme for the censorship of the press, it was bitterly attacked as a distinct violation of the Charter. Talleyrand criticised the measure in the senate; Comte thundered in the Chamber; a prominent Bourbon organ, the *Journal des Dilectés*, went into opposition; and, though the Government accepted important amendments, the Licensing commission only passed the Press by one vote. The effect of the agitation on the Press Law—and it must be remembered that the question was before the Chambers for a period of three months—was profound and critical. "France," says Paequot, "was inundated with national pamphlets, which represented the men in power as bent upon revivifying the days of ignorance and darkness. The excess of these writings was great; and public opinion henceforth shared these fears and their hopes."

Another heated discussion arose over a Bill to restore to the *seigneurs* such of their lands as had not yet been sold by the State. The measure was just, and might have passed without friction but for the injudicious speech of Farnes, the Minister who introduced it to the Chambers. "The *seigneurs* have followed the right line. . . . the King regrets that he cannot give to this measure all the latitude which in his heart of hearts he desires"—phrases such as these seemed to indicate that more was to be done for the *seigneurs* hereafter, and that the clause in the Charter which declared the inviolability of all property was not safe from attack. The report *des seigneurs* was unanimously condemned, and a resolution was proposed, *Sliding four columns of the Monitor*. But, though the debate raged angrily for eight sittings, the law, with some amendments, was passed by a large majority. The liberal opposition in the Chambers kept within the bounds of moderation, but, in the country at large, Farnes's indiscretion was read in the light of the publications of two lawyers, Duval and Palcouet, contending that sales of national property were legally voided; and the inference was generally drawn that the Bourbons were about to embark upon a colossal scheme of reaction with a view to restoring the land to its former owners. The promotion of Farnes to the dignity of Count, a few days after his speech, confirmed the worst suspicions; and, when the Parliamentary session closed on December 30, 1825, the Government, despite many concessions and explanations, had fallen greatly in public esteem.

In order to bring strength to the Ministry, Louis, at the end of November, transferred the portfolio of war from Dapont to Soult. The new Minister was one of the most illustrious of the Marshals, a skilled general and a resolute administrator, and his appointment was at first received with satisfaction. But he had risen to favour with the Court by opening a subscription for the men who had fallen at Quiberon; and it was now discovered that, in his desire to please his new master, he was inaccessible to considerations of delicacy and tact. He began by ordering all half-pay officers out of Paris to their birthplaces, and adopted, if he did not suggest, the idea of giving pensions to the officers and soldiers of the royalist army of the west who had been wounded in defence of the throne. He sent a commission into Normandy and Brittany, one of whose members, a noted Chouan, was said to have committed the foulest crimes in the civil war. He recommended the Comte de Bragès, a royalist nobody, to be Grand Chancellor of the Legion of Honour. But perhaps no circumstance contributed to cast so much odium upon his administration and upon the Government as the offer of General Exelmans.

During the last week of November, a certain Aulard, physician to the Court of Naples, was arrested at Nismes by order of the prefect of police. Among his papers was found a letter from General Exelmans addressed to the King of Naples, and containing an assurance that, if things had not taken a favourable turn at Vienna, "a thousand brave officers distracted to the school and under the eyes of your Majesty" would have rushed to assist the Neapolitan throne. The letter did not pass the bounds of indiscretion; and Dapont contented himself with a mild reproof. Soult, however, determined to treat the matter seriously, put Exelmans on half-pay, and ordered him at once to leave Paris for his birthplace. The general first pleaded delay, and then determined to resist. Upon the question of legal right Exelmans was clearly in error; for, though on half-pay, he was still in the service of the Crown and amenable to military discipline. But Soult and his agents contrived by their violence to make a hero out of a melodramatic and unskilful soldier. All France learnt how the house of Exelmans had been broken into by night; how the general had bared his breast and cried, "I know that you have come to assassinate me. Make an end of it! I am ready"; how he had tried to blow out his brains; how he had trooped by the garden; how his wife had fainted five times; how the cordes would not permit her doctor to enter. In a moment Exelmans became the hero of the army, of the throne, of all France. Malheur de Stael wrote to him, Lantierais called twice a day; La Fayette offered him the asylum of his country residence. When, on January 25, 1835, he was acquitted at Lille, enthusiasts knew no bounds.

The state of tension in Paris and outside steadily increased during the months of January and February, 1835. The King had decided



that on January 21 the ashes of Louis XVI, Marie-Antoinette, and Madame Elisabeth should be borne to St Denis, and that on the same day the festal games should be held at two monuments to commemorate the royal martyr. Funeral services were to be celebrated in all the cathedrals and churches of the kingdom; and the day was to be further solemnized by the closing of the law-courts and the *Académie*. The decree was national and plain, and no exception could reasonably be taken to the ceremonial devised for the occasion. But, when the nerves of a highly-excited people are strained, the least event may give rise to suspicion or panic. A dark rumour spread through the capital that the celebration of January 21 was to be marked by the massacre of all the *Terrorists*; that lists of proscriptions had been drawn up; that the *Princes*, and especially the *Duchesse d'Angoulême*, were backing the conspirators; that the King, who was opposed to it, had been induced to visit *Tribunaux*, and that it was to execute this nefarious project that all the chiefs of the *Terrorism* had collected in Paris. An incident connected with the burial of a famous actress, *Mademoiselle Raucourt*, whose corpse, as that of an circumstantial, was refused admission to the Church of St Roch, until the crowd, with shouts of "*le peuple il la brûle*," broke open the door, still further exasperated the public mind. Nor was this nervousness entirely without foundation. There were undoubtedly desperate men and plotters among the royalists, whose goal, in denying that an amnesty had ever been promised to sinners, partly encouraged a campaign of vengeance. The extent of the alarm may be gauged by the fact that Carnot sat up during the night of January 22 with his weapons handy.

Plots were met by counter-plots. At the end of October, 1814, about thirty half-pay officers had been arrested on suspicion of plotting the assassination of the King and the *Princes*. The excitement over the *Executioners' tree*, the affair of St Roch, and the celebration of January 21, seemed to show that Paris would rise if it could find anyone to give the lead. The brothers Lallemand, commanding respectively the department of the Aube and the artillery of La Fère, and Duvet, the head of the 10th military division at Lille, were confident that they could march upon Paris, raze the battlements, and overthrow the monarchy. They sounded Duvet, who had been proscribed by the Bourbons, and entered into communication with Lamotte, Bonnaud, and Fouché. The soul of the conspiracy was Fouché, whose hopes of advancement under the monarchy had been dashed to the ground by the recent ministerial appointments, and who was clever enough to see that the fabric was unstable. But the conspirators, though agreed upon the necessity of overthrowing the Bourbons by an assault on the *Tribunaux*, were divided as to their future course. The vehement *Républicains* wished simply to proclaim the exiled *Régence*; but this course was repugnant to the regicides and to those whom *Républicains* had alienated at the close of his

smaller. The Duke of Orleans, the son of a regicide and himself once a soldier in the armies of the Revolution, "the only Bourbon who understood France," as both Alexander and La Fayette thought, seemed to offer better guarantees. He would unite the revolutionists and the moderate Bourbons, and realize the hopes of the men who voted for a constitutional monarchy. The Duke was discreetly approached by Talleyrand, but would have nothing to say to him.

Fouché, however, determined to proceed with the conspiracy. But La Fayette and the editors of the *Gazette* preferred to lead in the constitutional action of the new Chamber of Deputies, which was to meet in May; and in the middle of February, when all was ready, Beresford, the military chieftain of the intended insurrection, declared that he would have none of it, alleging ignorance of Napoleon's wishes, in reality moved by distrust of Fouché. Meanwhile Fouché had entered into correspondence with Metternich, who was glad to sympathize with so energetic a character of the political world. Since the regency of Marie-Louise was a possible outcome of the plot, it was necessary to secure the consent of the Powers whose representatives were then assembled at Vienna. But how could the Powers tolerate a regency for Marie-Louise, if her terrible husband were to remain within two days' sail of the French coast? If Napoleon could be put to death or banished to a distant hill in the Atlantic, then indeed the idea might become a practical policy. Fouché wished it to be practical. One of his men suggested assassination to Louis XVIII., but the King rejected the proposal. It was necessary therefore to work for the deportation of Napoleon—a safe task, since the scheme was as agreeable to the Bourbons as to their secret foe. Russia Fouché agreed with Talleyrand.

But the signal for revolt did not come from Vienna. On Sunday, March 5, at 1 P.M., it was announced to Louis that Beresford had landed on the coast of France. Some hours afterwards Fouché learnt the news, and determined to precipitate the revolt. If his men marched on Paris they could overthrow Louis, establish a Provisional Government, and resist or side with Napoleon according as the opinion of the country declared itself. But all mismanaged. A handful under Ledebvre Desnoettes marched as far as Compiègne, and then, finding the outlook cold and cheerless, returned to their duty. Such was the sole outcome of all the plotting under the First Restoration.

Napoleon was not brought over from Elba by plot or conspiracy. He came because he had correctly defined the situation in France. His march to the capital is one of the miracles of history. He fought no battle; he shed no blood; he was greeted by the peasantry all along the route as a saviour and a friend; not a soldier would fire on him; his name was a talisman which drew all the valour of the kingdom to itself. He often rode before his troops unattended, yet no one offered him violence. He promised liberal reforms—not that liberal reforms mattered

to present or achieve, but to make his return seem pleasantly in the eyes of the lawyers and politicians of Paris. Never had his instinct for action been more faithful, his demeanour more exulting in its direct and spontaneous ease. "Ronde en route, roi militaire, *Ronde en couronne à Napoléon*," *Military song men, women, and children sang his triumphal cry* " *Le plus Vainqueur*" had come to touch the *carte* and the *cougar* a lioness, and to make secure every peasant-holding in France. On March 10 he was at Lyons, on the 17th at Amberg, on the morning of the 20th at Fontenoyblanc. On the 14th he was joined by Ney, who had boasted that he would bring him back to Paris in an iron cage.

Loins had always said, in his own way, that the clouds would pass over and all would soon be well. He knew that he had given France peace and liberty, that he had no intention of violating the Charter, that he had not been stiff with the Chambers, that his Government had respected the material interests of the nation. Given time, the good sense of the nation would rally round him; facts would be quoted, suspicions allayed. The country might grumble, mutter, effume, but it could never be so mad as to upset his throne. But he had not calculated on Bonaparte. Though he had been warned in November that there was something stirring in Elba, he took no heed; and, even after the news of the landing, he was full of confidence that the Prince would be able to stop "the usurper." But on the night of March 9-10 news came that Lyons was untenable; and the members of the Court were awry. The wildest measures were suggested. De Blacas thought that the King should go in an open carriage, accompanied by the Chambers, to meet Napoleon, Monnier, that he should convene Fouquier to the Council; Marnet, that he should fortify the Tuileries and the Louvre, and prepare to stand a siege of two months, while Mouton and his men mind the provisions. Boursienne advised a retirement to Lille, and Vitrolles proposed that the Chambers should be summoned to Rochelle, and that the King should throw himself on the loyalty of the Bretons. With true perspicacity, Montaguion objected that the King of La Trinité would never be the King of France.

Such was expected of treason and dismissed, Boursienne was made perfect of police. Montaguion advised large concessions to Thiers' opinion, and carried the King with him. From the 10th to the 15th of March a series of announcements appeared in the *Moniteur*, destined to satisfy the confabulationists and to appease the mountments of the people. Half-pay officers were to be recalled to service and full pay. Arrears due to the Legion of Honour were to be paid, privileged serge were to be formed of the old Imperial Guard; the strictest loyalty to the Charter was protested. On March 16 the King drove to the Falds Bruchers, wearing for the first time the *veston* of the Legion of Honour. "Hav," he said to the assembled *deputes* and peers, "can I at sixty years better translate my power than by dying in defence of my

country." A crowd of deputies rose at his words, and stretching forth their arms swore to die for the King and the Charter. Even Monsieur protested on oath his fidelity to constitutional principles.

But on March 17 it was known that Marshal Ney had deserted to the enemy; and the Court made up its mind to flee. Very secretly, on the evening of Sunday, March 18, the King drove out of Paris; nor was it till the next morning that his ministers became aware of his flight. Thus for the first time all was known—the desertion of Ney, the flight of the King, the arrival of Napoleon at Fontenoy-lez-Compiègne. Crowds collected in the squares and gardens awaiting the event; generals and officers drove out along the Esplanade road to proffer their services. At 3 p.m. the treasurer was invited on the Tuilleries; but still he did not come. The night closed in, a fine rain began to fall, and the streets emptied. Then a carriage galloped into the town, with the touches of the Polish Lancers of the Guard on either side. It was Napoleon. Instantly a crowd surged round the Tuilleries, and he was borne through the press, a light smile upon his lips, his face deadly pale, up the great staircase to the throne-room, where a hundred ladies shed their brilliance upon a gay crowd of men and women. But he was not deceived by the splendour of his reception. " *Monsieur,*" he said to Molé, " the time for compliments is passed; they have let me come, as they have let these people go."

So full a Government of which Madame de Staël could say that it was guilty of no single act of arbitrary authority; a Government which respected public and private liberty and secured possibilities of quiet and comfortable living to its subjects. According to its own lights, it honestly served the interests of France both at home and abroad. It was not disloyal to the Charter, though it had no faith in it; and, thanks to the courage and adroitness of Talleyrand, it regained for France a place in the councils of Europe. Many as were its errors, it was nearly as good a Government as the circumstances permitted. But Paris, always impatient in its ridicule and captious in its criticism, could make no allowance for the pygmy who had been called upon to fill the giant's throne. The grievances of the army were partly inevitable and partly trifling. The requisitions of the provinces were hard, not upon injuries received, but upon fears entertained. A strong king, subservient to the Constitution, might have stayed these troubles, kept the *brigands* in check, and worked the emancipation of the army. But still he could not have been safe. To a race which had drunk so deeply of military and civil glory, his rule must have meant the beginning of the hundredth age.

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA. I

On May 30, 1814, the treaties known collectively as the First Peace of Paris were signed by Talleyrand on behalf of the Most Christian King, and by the representatives of Austria, Russia, Great Britain, and Prussia. These Peace fixed the frontiers of France as they had stood on November 1, 1792, granting, however, certain augmentations of territory on the northern and eastern frontiers of France as return for her renunciation of any pretensions to sovereignty or control beyond them. On the middle Rhine the *Thuring* (or mid-stream line) of the river was fixed as the boundary; while, to the south-east, the department of Mont Blanc was increased by the acquisition of Chambéry and Annecy. Moreover, France was guaranteed the retention of all the colonies which her territories of 1792—Alsace, Martinique and a number of other districts. She thus gained territory comprising 160 square (geographical) miles, with 450,000 inhabitants, although Holland, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and the island of Malta now remained wholly detached from her rule or influence. Of the French colonies, Tobago, Santa Louis, and Ile de France with its dependencies, were by the Peace of Paris ceded to Great Britain; and the Spanish portion of San Domingo was returned to Spain. On the other hand, Portugal gave French Guiana back to France.

It would be superfluous here to enter further into the provisions of the First Peace of Paris, for, in the treaties made by France with the other Great Powers, the thirty-second Article stipulated that a congress, to be held at Vienna by the Powers which had taken part in the recent war, should determine the arrangements for completing these provisions. This, of course, referred primarily to the changes made or to be made in the political map of Europe; and, in one of the secret articles of the Peace, France promised to recognise whatever distribution the Allied Powers should make of conquered or ceded territories. Another secret article, already agreed upon at Chaumont, which directed the signatory Powers to make provision for the independence of the German States,

and for their union by means of a federal bond, was also inserted in the *Peace of Paris*. With these topics the closing summary of the proceedings at the Congress of Vienna itself will be principally concerned.

It should be observed that the first Article in each of the Four Treaties declared the intention of the High Contracting Powers to use every endeavour for maintaining, not only among themselves, but among all the States of Europe, the good accord and understanding necessary for her peace. Thus the Powers which at Paris agreed to address themselves to the task of definitely ordering the conditions of the pacification of Europe deliberately purposed by their present and future common action to secure permanence for the results of their undertakings. Hence they were only adhering to a system of procedure on which they had previously agreed among themselves. On March 1, 1814, Metternich, Nesselrode, Castlereagh, and Hardenberg, had, as representatives of their respective Governments, signed the *Treaty of Chaumont*. The Allied Powers, it must be remembered, had entered into the deadly struggle against Napoleon such as in own time and under the conditions which seemed best to suit its own interests, and during its course had incurred no obligations with regard to their future policy except by means of separate treaties with one another, and of the declaration issued by them on December 1, 1813, when on the point of invading France. But at Chaumont they agreed to an offensive and defensive alliance, of far wider scope than any of these previous agreements. Not only did they undertake, in the event of the terms of peace being refused by France, to exert their endeavours as so to secure for Europe a general peace, but they further agreed that, in order to secure the continuance of a good understanding between them, meetings should periodically be held between the allied sovereigns in person or their representatives. Thus was founded the new system of congresses convened and conducted by the Great Powers, and implying, as Wellington said at Vienna, the creation by these Powers of a right of protection over the peace of Europe. Among these congresses of the new world, that which met at Vienna in 1814 was not only the earliest, but by far the most important.

Europe was full of hopes in the warmer months which preceded the meeting of this assembly. It seemed as if the States composing the European family, free once more to take counsel together on terms of independence, were also free to determine their own destinies. The pacifications of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic days had been concluded only in order to be stained and broken; the diplomatic haggings dignified by the name of congresses in this period—*Basel*, *Vienna*, *Châtillon*—had amounted to little more than postures, even in the eyes of those who took part in them. The time of the despised *allotageurs* seemed to have come at last. Goethe, whose journal, the *Allgemeine*

wrote in August, 1814, to his friends, the brothers Gerardi: "It is wonderful how deep a root all our efforts, hitherto vain or less attended in the war, have now taken in all our hearts."

Moreover, public expectation was enhanced by a widespread impression, that the Allied Powers had already agreed on the principal territorial arrangements which the Congress would be invited to approve and guarantee. It was confidently expected that the distribution of the large mass of territories reconquered from France, and the readjustment of the political map of Europe, would proceed on principles ensuring a real and permanent equilibrium among its States, such as had not been established either at the close of the Thirty Years' War or of that of the Spanish Succession. But more than this. In many quarters the hope was cherished that, after promptly solving this part of its task, the great assembly would without loss of time enter upon an ulterior range of labours, equally important and, from a cosmopolitan point of view, more inspiring. It would assuage the rancours of the settlement of the political system of Europe by the institution of an effective and enduring international tribunal. Further, by way of attaining its avowed desire of putting an end to the constant recurrence of war, the Congress would at least attempt to apply the remedy of a systematic, though at first inevitably partial, disarmament. It would encourage the growth of representative institutions, by which Napoleon himself had endeavored to oppose resistance or to coordinate support. It would obey the dictate of humanity, already followed by Great Britain, by extending the African slave-trade, while with the aid of the same Power it would sweep piracy out of the Mediterranean. To the transatlantic colonies of Spain the Congress might perhaps succeed in opening a future of independent life; and, conversely, freedom of traffic might be secured on the ocean itself, though, to be sure, Great Britain, then still at war with the United States on behalf of her navigation laws, was not likely to modify them in favour of neutrals.

Such expectations and visions as these the Congress was not destined to fulfil within the nine months—strictly speaking, they were barely more than eight—of its existence; but, even if the return of Napoleon had not unexpectedly abridged its course, the leading minds of the assembly at no time shared this widespread conception of the scope of its activity. Indeed, at a comparatively early date in the course of its deliberations, Götze concluded, through his journalistic friend Fick, to make public a list of the subjects to be treated at the Congress, which, with the solitary exception of the measures against the Barbary pirates, consisted entirely of such as had been mentioned in the Peace treaties or in the supplements to them.

The primary task of the Congress, the redistribution of territories, was to be carried out in accordance with arrangements concerted by the Allied Powers without consulting France, and explicitly referred to

certain articles of the Paris treaties, Menckel kept secret, at Talleyrand's request, in order to spare the insensibilities of the French nation. The most important of these arrangements concerned Upper Italy, the Netherlands, the territories on the left bank of the Rhine, and the Swiss Federal Constitution. These provisions, dating in part from secret articles in the Treaty of Chaumont, or from earlier compacts between particular Powers, were unlikely to create serious difficulties for the Congress, having been settled in principle between the four Great Allied Powers, and accepted by France. The case was, however, altogether different with some other agreements concluded between certain of the Great Powers but unconfirmed by the rest,—above all, with the Convention of Kalisch (February 28, 1813) between Russia and Prussia.

This Convention, while putting into the form of a concrete bargain the accord which even in the darkest days had never ceased to exist between these two Courts, clearly defined their relation to the general problem of the permanent reconfiguration of Europe. Prussia surrendered to Russia a large part of her own Polish claims, in return for a guarantee of compensation in Germany which (including Hanover) would restore to her an extent of territory equal to that held by her before the war of 1806. The Treaty of Alliance between Austria, Russia, and Prussia, concluded at Rastenbach (June 27, 1813), stipulated that the grand-duchy of Warsaw should be partitioned between these three Powers; and a secret article of the Treaty of Toplitz (September 9), which confirmed definitive the promised alliance between the three Eastern Powers, provided for an amicable settlement between them as to the future of this territory. But the spirit of the Kalisch Convention had not been quelled by this seeming resolution of the Russian side of the bargain, as to the other, it was becoming more and more apparent that the compensation promised to Prussia would be sought in the annexation of Saxony.

Hence there was a stumbling-block threatening still, as it were, across the very threshold of the Congress. Nor should the important fact be overlooked, that, at the time of the arrival of the plenipotentiaries at Vienna, the Allies remained in joint occupation of France, and severally held, or were on the point of holding, military control over those territories in the final settlement of whose future they respectively took a special interest. In the Low Countries the British forces predominated, while the armies of Austria were in command of the whole of Italy, with the exception of the Two Sicilies. Polished on the other hand was entirely under Russian occupation, and the control of Saxony was soon to be handed over to the Prussian authorities by the Russian Governor, Prince Repnin, who at present held sway there on behalf of the central administration of the Allies.

The beginning of the month of August had been originally fixed for the opening of the Congress at Vienna. But the event was postponed for two months, first, in order to enable Castlereagh to see out



the session of Parliament; then, to allow the Tsar and the King of France a brief sojourn at home after their visit to England. By the middle of September several of the leading statesmen of Europe, Catharine, Hardenberg, and Metternich among them, had found their way to the Austrian capital, where, on September 17, they were joined by Metternich and Gentz from the neighbouring watering-place of Baden. On the 23rd the French plenipotentiaries put in an appearance, and on the 25th, amidst what Gentz half contemptuously calls a "tumult," the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia made their entry. Four days afterwards the plenipotentiaries held a conference, with which the business of the Congress may be said to have opened, and which was to prove the first *congrès masqué* in its proceedings.

According to the *Moniteur*, the sovereigns present at the Congress familiarly discussed among themselves every day, before dinner, the principal subjects that were occupying their plenipotentiaries, and arrived at their conclusions like private persons conducting a friendly bargain. No doubt some of the difficulties of the Congress were surd in this informal way, by means of a diplomacy whose manner thus seemed new because it departed as far as possible with precedent and etiquette, and which made full use of the social opportunities celebrated in the *Princes de Ligne's* famous mot, "*Le congrès d'après, mais il ne marche pas.*" But, though at critical moments appeal was made to the influence of great personages, above all to that of the Emperor Alexander, yet the substance of the work of the Congress was carried on by a select group of political experts. Whether Goguet's statement—that this group was composed of Wessenberg, Clancarty, Dalberg, Hardenberg, Gentz, and La Bédoullière—is exhaustive or not, the historian of the Congress will not err in attributing to the labours of these men, and perhaps of a few others, most of what was constructive in its achievement.

Among the sovereigns present in person at the Congress, the Emperor Francis I of Austria played the part of host in one sense magnificently enough, if we are to believe that he lavished more than thirty millions of florins upon the entertainment of his guests, at a time when his Government had the greatest difficulty in meeting even its ordinary expenditure. The personality of the first Austrian Emperor corresponded very imperfectly to the demands of so great an occasion; but the long-established traditions as well as the actual interests of his dynasty were safe in his keeping, and his good-natured instincts and obedience to sacred conceptions of duty are counteracted when he is represented as moved ultimately by simple decency and low cunning. A nature like his could have little in common with the growth intellectual tastes of his reigning (third) successor, the Emperor Lodovico, a princess of Modena, one regard without jealousy and suspicion the military laurels of the elder of her brothers, Archduke Charles, and the popular sympathies of the younger, Archduke John. The persistent refusal of the Emperor's

daughter, Marie-Louise, to play any part of her own in politics, made it all the easier for her father to uphold her interests.

Among the Imperial and royal guests lodged at the Hofburg, the most conspicuous figure was beyond all doubt that of the Emperor Alexander I of Russia. The part played by Russia and her armies in the overthrow of Napoleon, and the automatic conditions of Alexander's own authority, must in any case have secured to him a widely exceptional influence, and this was enhanced by his ambition to intervene, wherever he could, as a sort of universal Providence, and by his irresistible desire to please. During the period of the Congress he kept up an intimate personal intercourse with Prince Adam Czartoryski, to whose inspiration his Polish policy was directly due. The restoration of La Harpe's teaching awakened the Tsar's interest in the democratic development of Swiss institutions, Stein's lofty schemes for securing a national future to Germany found in him a willing listener, even the refuge Prince Ypsilanti's dreams of the emancipation of Greece were not without a certain amount of attraction. But he had around him other less single-minded counsellors, and the continuous tendencies of Russian Imperial expansion imposed their permanent conditions upon him. The political action of Russia in the immediate future hinged upon the result of close cooperation between her and Prussia, to whose dynasty Alexander had long been attached by close personal ties, while the apprehensions of Austrian and British opposition were intensified by his personal grudge against Metternich, and perhaps by a feeling towards Great Britain made up of political jealousy and personal disappointment. At Vienna the Emperor Alexander was met by his neglected Empress, Elizabeth—who was chiefly interested in the future of the grand-duchy of Baden, of which she was a princess. Further too came the Tsar's eldest brother, Grand Duke Constantine, quite ready to become Viceroy of Poland pending the foundation of the new Byzantine Empire, and his sisters the Grand Duchesses Mary and Catherine, of whom the latter was soon to marry the Crown Prince of Württemberg, a prince whose intelligence and high-mindedness, well matched with her own, exerted a strong attraction upon Alexander.

Quite unlike his brilliant ally, King Frederick William III of Prussia had, whether in prosperity or in adversity, habitually abstained from adopting an independent course of action except when slowly forced to it by an imperative sense of duty. In 1815 he had yielded to the strong current of national feeling, stirred of the humiliated catastrophe by himself and his late beloved consort Queen Louise, whom his subjects adored as a martyr of patriotism; but, while he had taken care to safeguard the interests of his monarchy by the compact with Russia, he had but little sympathy with the projects of whole more or less dimly conscious of Prussia's future national task. At the Congress the solitary thought to all appearance not unreasonable King shrank, according to

his want, from possession; but, notwithstanding his natural shyness, his statements in general found him willing to fall in with the suggestions which they were so often obliged to adopt.

Among the minor crowned heads, King Frederick VI of Denmark appeared in person, with the purpose of bettering, so far as he could, the conditions of the Peace of Kiel (January 14, 1814), under which he had joined the coalition against his former ally, Napoleon. Although his indefatigable efforts were almost wholly unsuccessful, yet, but for them, his unfortunate kingdom might have fared even worse than it did in the general pacification. On the other hand, the Crown Prince of Sweden (Bernadotte) took no personal part in the proceedings at Vienna, possibly because he had no wish to betray how greatly he had been disenchanted by the turn which events had taken in France.

Among the purely Napoleonic royalties, King Maximilian I Joseph of Bavaria, and King Frederick I of Württemberg headed the list of members of the Confederation of the Rhine, whom something besides the seal of concert had brought to the Congress. The latter potentate, a true but by no means an impotent exemplar of what Stolz termed *Napoleonic Sultans*, was at Vienna mainly intent upon affecting the private hopes of his own stellar Swabians, which, together with their constitutional treacheries, had a warm friend in his son and heir, the Crown Prince William. King Max Joseph was accompanied to the Halling by his Queen and the Crown Prince Lewis, whose own aspirations, patriotic and other, so readily soared out of reach: for himself, the Bavarian sovereign adhered to the policy of his able minister Metternich, which consistently subordinated all other claims to the dynamic ambition of the House of Wittelsbach. Frederick Augustus I of Saxony, whose calculations at the eleventh hour had, unluckily for him, lagged behind those of his two fellow Kings, was as a matter of course excluded from the Congress, where however his brother, Prince (afterwards King) Anton, came to have put on an appearance. The King of Saxony, in danger of remaining landless for ever, was still detained in custody at Emsdorfsfelde near Berlin, not was it till the beginning of March, 1814, that he reached Posenburg, whence communication with Vienna was comparatively easy.

Many other German Princes had been attracted to the Austrian capital—heads or members of sovereign families, or belonging to Houses that still claimed to be such or hoped to recover their sovereignty. The Grand Duke Charles of Baden had arrived, fearful of having to forfeit part at least of the territorial gains bestowed upon him by Napoleon. There was also the Elector William of Hesse-Cassel, whose seven years of exile from the delights of Cassel had at last come to an end, and the Hereditary Grand Duke George of Hesse-Darmstadt, whose Austrian military uniform afforded the traditional of his line. There were the heads of the elder branch of the House of Brunswick, and those

of both the German branches of the House of Nassau, and among the Princes of the older Saxon branch, the Duke of Württem, Karl August, still fresh in body as well as in mind, though a little ageing, and Duke Ernst of Coburg-Saalfeld, with his brother Prince Friedrich (another Andreas general) and Leopold (the future King of the Belgians). Lastly, a paradox position was occupied among the royalties by Eugene Bonaparte, Josephine's son, formerly Viceroy of Italy. Married to a Russian princess, he had still hopes of a position in Germany.

At the Congress of Vienna no single plenipotentiary exercised an ascendancy such as at some other Congress before or since has been possessed by individual statesmen. Yet there can be no doubt that Prince Metternich, the Emperor of Austria's Minister of State and of Foreign Affairs and his first plenipotentiary at the Congress, was from first to last its right hand, and its president in fact as well as in name. However cautious an attitude Metternich might have observed towards Napoleon in 1812-3, and subsequently towards the Coalition, at the Congress he was resolutely intent upon a definite system of policy from which in his judgment Austria ought not to swerve. Hence his collusion with the unshakable policy of Alexander, whose bitter dislike the loyal support of Prussia enabled Metternich to meet with firmness as well as with tact. The less view of his intellectual capacity, set on foot by Talleyrand's malice, will not bear examination; nor can it be denied that Metternich well understood the first condition of successful negotiation—that of placing trust in worthy subordination. The second Austrian plenipotentiary, Baron John von Wessenberg, was an admirable pragmatical diplomatist; and his labours proved of the highest importance to the general success of the Congress, of which he has been described as the "working bee." The Austrian Foreign Office at this time had many capable agents at command; Baron Binder was called in from Stuttgart to serve on the Barbets-Garon Committee; Count Radetzky, whose reputation as a general had risen high at Leipzig, attended as military adviser; and Fiala instructed public opinion as editor of the *Oesterreichische Zerkurier*. But Metternich's second political self was Gents, who, as he blandly informed Raskol, knew everything, and who offered Europe by appeals which were masterpieces of force and point. Metternich had treated Gents with confidence at the abortive Congress of Prague; but it was not till early in 1814, when Gents definitely settled down at Vienna, that the minister actually took counsel of the publicist in questions of high policy. After constant intercourse with him at Baden, Metternich obtained the consent of Castlereagh, Nesselrode, and the Prussians to the appointment of Gents as Secretary of the Congress. Under him Friry-Councillor Watten and Martens acted as Second General Secretary and subsecretary of the German Committee respectively, and an official seems to have more fully enjoyed his confidence than State-Councillor Hefelitz.

Spain, which, as it proved, had nothing of substance to give or lose from the deliberations of the Congress, was represented by a single plenipotentiary. Don Pedro Gamba Lalorador exhibited from first to last a stiffness which, when the Powers offered him a chance, became acerbity. As a rule he, like the Russian plenipotentiary, joined with Talleyrand in the advocacy of Russian interests, especially in Italy, he was also distinguished by Maria-Louise, Queen Dowager of the extinct Kingdom of Etruria. "Lalorador," wrote Castlereagh to Wellington, "is a true Spaniard, he beliesque Talleyrand's incongruities."

The plenipotentiaries of Portugal, and with it of Brazil, were the Counts de Palmella and de Salazar de Gama, with the Chevalier Lobo de Silveira.

The Prince de Talleyrand, who had got rid of his Italian principality at Brera, soon to be suppressed by the Congress, appeared as Foreign Minister and first plenipotentiary of the King of France. As such, he not only advanced very lofty pretensions on behalf both of France and of "legitimate" royalty, but was extraordinarily successful in quickly impressing these upon an assembly at first disposed to treat him and his colleagues with the utmost coldness. The influence which he had thus established he increased by daring intrepidity, and maintained in some measure to the last, in circumstances which would have depressed any intellectual energy inferior to his own. Thus he did better service to the country which he represented as well as to the sovereign whom he served, nor was France again temporarily excluded from the supreme council of Europe till after his fall. The secret of his success probably lay as much in his cleanness of aim as in his calm valour of action. With him came the Duc de Dalberg (whose kinship with the Prince Primate and share in the negotiations for Napoleon's second marriage do not seem to have interfered with his success as a hard-working and capable diplomatist), and the young Count de La Tour du Pin and Alexis de Noailles. The Secretary of the Embassy, La Bessière, an experienced official and a man of singular reserve, was reckoned one of the most indefatigable and effective among the working statesmen of the Congress.

Only the wild blindness of prejudice could describe the diplomatic action of Great Britain at the Congress of Vienna as isolated, and out of touch with the main currents of European politics. Nevertheless, the efforts of her plenipotentiaries were, on that as on other occasions, unduly affected by apprehensions of parliamentary comment at home, while the duties of these agents themselves was not altogether determined by their diplomatic status. Castlereagh remained first plenipotentiary till it became necessary for him to return home, in order, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (February 12, 1818), to explain and defend by his unimpaired and unclouded century the ministerial policy; a fortnight earlier his successor had arrived in the person of the Duke

of Wellington, who continued at Vienna till March 26. Castlereagh's defects were no secret abroad, though they were not suggested there as they were afterwards at home. But at the Congress his tenacity of purpose, though derided by Talleyrand as founded in ignorance, was by no means unreasonable. Where his action was wanting in consistency, this may in general be ascribed to the absence of clear instructions; to his capacity not only Metternich, by whom still his own was largely dominated, but no careful an observer as Goyon, knew very distinct weakness. The return of Napoleon from Elba soon called away Wellington from the Congress to his last and most famous campaign; but in the share which he took at Vienna both in the immediate measures suggested by that return and in other matters, such as the settlement of the Netherlands, he displayed his habitual character and promptitude of decision. The other British plenipotentiaries were the Earl of Clancarty, also a member of the Cabinet, a jolly and painstaking statesman; Earl Cathcart, British Minister at St Petersburg, a good man of business as well as a military officer of commanding presence; and Castlereagh's younger brother, Lord Stewart (afterwards Lord Margate of Londonderry), whose recent appointment to the Vienna embassy Talleyrand regarded as equivalent of a wish to support British against France. Stratford Canning, British Minister at Bern, was called in to assist in the Swiss Committee.

The first Prussian plenipotentiary, Prince von Hardenberg, Chancellor of State, had for his colleague Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, who was also accredited as Minister at Vienna; indeed, by reason of Hardenberg's draftsman, Humboldt's presence could rarely be separated with. Although the differences between these two eminent statesmen interfered with the success of their collaboration at the Congress, yet each of them was pre-eminently strong by distinctive qualities of his own. Hardenberg's wide culture and untroubled experience were combined with a singular elasticity of mind. Yet, even if we discount the worse judgment of State, with whose aims his own is so inseparably linked, we must allow that, at this critical moment, he betrayed an unfortunate indefiniteness of purpose. Certainly enough, Humboldt, whose French critics aptly called it *aplomb* *incertain*, and to whom politics, like all other subjects, formed part of a never-ending process of self-education, at times showed a notable readiness for compromise. The advisers of the Prussian plenipotentiaries were materially forwarded by the services of Hardenberg's trusted advisers, more especially the high-minded *Stägemann*, Jordan, and the celebrated statistician Hoffmann. Among the diplomats called in to their assistance were Baron von Jacob-Kloot, for many years Prussian Minister in London, and Kuster, who was accredited to the Courts of Russia and Württemberg. General von dem Knesebeck, well known by his mission to St Petersburg in 1812, was in attendance upon the King at Vienna; but his influence has probably been much

overestimated. That of Stein, by which Prussian statesmanship could not fail to be specially impressed, was in part carried indirectly through the potent intervention of the Tsar.

The proximity of the Russian interest would in any event have overshadowed the activity of his statesmen, whose importance in the work of the Congress was not always proportionate to their respective official rank. The first Russian plenipotentiary was Prince Andreas Romanovskii, whose diplomatic career had begun in the expensive days of Catherine II. The second was Count Stackelberg, the Russian Minister at Vienna; but a more prominent figure was that of the third, Count Nesselrode, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Fortunately for the progress of business, Metternich had long personally trusted Nesselrode; and at Paris, when Alexander was still opposed to the restoration of the Bourbons, he found both this statesman and Fourn de Borgo favourable to his support of that family. The relations adversary of Napoleon was, much to the satisfaction of Louis XVIII, summoned to Vienna by Alexander in October, 1814. Another recent addition to the important personal influence surrounding the Tsar was the liberalising but inactive counsel of Count Capodistria, who from 1805 onwards had been chief of the diplomatic department at the Russian headquarters, and at Vienna represented Russia in the Committee for Swiss affairs. During the later sittings of the Statistical Committee the Russian representative was Baron Anstett. Prince Repnin came to Vienna on the termination of his Swiss Governorship.

Finally, Sweden, and after the designation of the Union (2 November, 1814, Norway, were represented by the Minister at Vienna, Count Lewenhaupt; but his attendance, like that of his Spanish and Portuguese colleagues, was, except in special cases of rare occurrence, purely formal. It may be added that Denmark was, as a matter of course, represented by two Bernstorffs (Counts Christian Gørdt and Joachim Frødenck), and the sovereign Prince of the Netherlands (the Prince of Orange) by Baron van Spaen, van Voortvonder and Baron Haas van Gagen, whose "share in European politics," detailed with so much complacent directness by himself, had begun after Rastatt with his mission to Paris as envoy for all the Nassau lines. The representatives of Italian Powers, governments, and municipalities may be passed by, with the exception of Cardinal Ruffini Casali, who during nearly a quarter of a century conducted, as Secretary of State, the diplomatic affairs of the Papacy through a series of critical phases, and continued to infuse a tincture of liberalism much repugnant to the Zelanti into a single-minded devotion to the interests of the Chair. At Vienna, Casali was charged by Pope Pius VII with the interests of his temporal sovereignty as well as those of the Catholic Church at large. The Swiss representation was notably numerous, the Diet of the Confederation sending three deputies, headed by the Landammann Hans von Reinhard, a patriotic

statesmen of high intelligence and integrity, although not always holding the balance quite evenly between opposing national interests. Nearly all the cantons sent one or more deputies. The active and successful efforts of La Harpe, who represented Ticino and Uri, were effectively supported by his compatriot General Jomini.

Among the German Governments, the Bavarian sent to the Congress Field-Marshal von Wrede, who remained there till called away on April 24, 1815, to take part in the imminent war. At Vienna he made the most of his military prestige; but the influence he acquired through his negotiation of the Treaty of Ried (October 8, 1805) on terms highly favorable to Austria, was not increased by his avowal. The Thuringian plenipotentiaries, on the other hand, had little or no liberty of action left to them by their despotic master. It was only towards the end of the Congress that the King of Saxony could be formally represented at the conference of its German Committee. His interests had previously been watched by Count Friedrich Albrecht von der Schulenburg, and by his subsequent plenipotentiary Giebig; and a considerable influence was exercised at Vienna by General von Langenus, who, when a Saxon officer, had actively exerted himself for an alliance with Austria, and was now in her service. The electorate of Hesse, as it soon became known, longed for Hanover too, as already stated, represented at Vienna by Count Münster, with whom was associated Count von Hardenberg, who had for several years previously filled the difficult post of Hanoverian Minister there; they had the services, as an expert in public law, of the elder Martens, formerly professor at Göttingen. Although Münster had, at Castlereagh's request, directly represented the British Government at Paris, and still continued to possess the full confidence of the Prime Minister, his Ministers entertained a strong desire, in which Wellington concurred, to keep the interests of Great Britain quite distinct from those of Hanover; and, as a matter of fact, the Hanoverian policy proper was in several respects far from congruous to British statesmanship or public opinion. The Prince-Primate (Dalberg), who had recently resigned his government of the Napoleonic grand-duchy of Frankfurt, was represented in his administrative capacity by the younger Wessenberg (Henry), Vice-General of the war of Constance under Dalberg, and whom to Rome on account of his disavowal of the rights or claims of "The German Church." The remaining German States all made a point of sending plenipotentiaries to Vienna, in order either to assert the sovereignty still retained by their dynasties, or, if possible, to recover the territorial control which, after the dissolution of the Rheinbund, they had refused to make over to the "Central Administration of reconquered territories" established by the Allied Powers. This administration, presided over by Stein, accordingly had under it, besides the kingdom of Saxony, only the former grand-duchy of Frankfurt and of Rhen, and the territory of the Prince of Leiningen. The



plenipotentiaries of these German States included Baron von Plessen (Blackenburg-Schwerin), whose personal weight at the Congress is said to have surpassed that of the plenipotentiaries of some of the eight Powers, and Senator Smith (Bremen), an acknowledged authority on questions of economy and trade. In addition to these, a large number of the German Princes and Counts known as "immediates" were individually represented at the Congress, while their collective interests were in charge of Privy-Councillor von Guericke. The four corporations of the Kingdom of the Empire (those of Saxony, Prussia, the Westphals, and the left bank of the Rhine) also each sent a deputy.

The above enumeration is very far from exhaustively the list of interests personally represented at Vienna, which included those of former sovereigns, of pretenders to various thrones and dignities, of spiritual and temporal corporations, of countries, districts and towns, of commissions, associations, and bodies of men of many different sorts, and of private individuals. The Catholic Church of Germany was represented, not only by Henry von Wessenberg, but also by three orators, nominated by twenty-five members of ecclesiastical and secularized foundations: the Catholics of Frankfurt sent a deputation of their own, as did the Jews of Frankfurt, Bremen, Strassburg, and Lübeck, trusting perhaps also to the influence exerted by the great Jewish bankers established in the Austrian capital. Even the interests of publishers and authors were effectively advocated, in particular by the great Augsburg publisher Cotta.

The first week of October passed without any indication of the expected opening of the Congress beyond reviews, manoeuvres, balls, *volutes*, promenades in the Prater and popular festivals in the Augustin. As a matter of fact, however, the first plenipotentiaries of the Four Great Allied Powers met from September 25 onwards: and on the 23rd they agreed upon the general method of procedure at the Congress. A committee consisting of representatives of the Four Powers, and of France and Spain, was to charge itself with the preparatory work connected with any matters of general European interest: while that concerning the proposed Germanic federal constitution was to be left to a committee of the five principal German States, Saxony being of course excluded. The non-German Great Powers had, at Metax's instigation, declared their intention to abstain from intervening. On the same date, however, the plenipotentiaries of the Four Allied Powers signed a protocol to the effect that they intended to settle among themselves the distribution of the Polish, German, and Italian territories placed at their disposal by the Peace of Paris; and that, until this had been done, they would not confer on this head with the representatives of France and Spain, or listen to any objections put forward by them. On the 23rd Castlereagh made a separate declaration, reserving to himself the right of communicating arrangements adopted by the Four Powers to others.

Talleyrand, who arrived at Vienna with his colleagues on the 24th, and was on the following day admitted, with the faithful Labouchère, to a sitting of the European Committee, at once took his stand. As to the distribution of the reconquered territories, he simply disputed the assumption that, since the conclusion of peace, there still existed any alliance against France, or that she could be excluded from a concert of European Powers. He had no objection to the plan of a committee for the preparatory treatment of general European affairs (in those specifically German he declared any desire of intervening), and agreed that it would appropriately consist of plenipotentiaries of the Powers which had signed the Peace of Paris, viz. France, Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, with Sweden, Spain, and Portugal. But this committee, he argued, ought to be appointed by the Congress in person. Paris is clearly justified in saying that this constitution inverted the system of procedure established at Chambray; moreover, it involved obvious risks, and was naturally enough regarded as deeply insolent. After it had been rejected, the only practical question for the plenipotentiaries was the actual constitution of the Directing European Committee, and this was discussed at their meeting on September 30, which ended in a set battle of two hours' duration and a scene which, as Gents wrote, would never be effaced from his memory. Portugal and Sweden having however claimed admission to the Directing Committee, two further stormy sittings ensued on October 3 and 5, and at the latter the plenipotentiaries of the Eight Powers formally constituted themselves the Preliminary Committee of the Congress—to be generally known as the "*Committee of the Eight*." The declaration published by them on October 13 forms the first official manifestation issued on behalf of the Congress, though still only in the name of the Powers that had signed the Peace of Paris. It postponed the formal opening of the Congress to November 1, by which time it was hoped that the questions at issue might by free and confidential discussion have matured in harmony with the principles of "*public law*," the provisions of the recent Peace, and the expectations of the age. Though Talleyrand was said to have called this declaration "*le manifeste papier*," it was cordulously approved by the Paris *Monde* (October 25). In Germany, where the first anniversary of the battle of Leipzig had been just celebrated amidst such popular excitement, Arneth and other popular expounders displayed a less contented temper.

No formal opening of the Congress, however, took place either on the appointed or on any subsequent day. The Committee of the Eight issued on November 1 a declaration to the effect that a Committee of three, appointed by them for the regulation of the powers of the plenipotentiaries of the several States, would enter upon its labours on November 3, and that, after the completion of them, the Committee of the Eight would formulate proposals for the regulation of the further progress of the Congress. Thus it may be said, in Gents' paradoxical

phases, that the Congress, as such, only came into existence by means of its Final Act; and even this was only the act of the Eight Powers, to which the rest were invited to adhere.

The working organ, then, which had assumed the responsibility of the general body, was the Committee of the Eight, although on certain occasions the plenipotentiaries of the Five Great Powers took it upon themselves to meet without the rest. But even the Committee of the Eight, which on October 30 unanimously elected Metternich as President and Götze as Secretary, of the Congress, held only infrequent meetings, especially in the earlier months of the session, its principal task being to formulate and place on record the decisions arrived at by the special Committee appointed by it. The Committee for the settlement of the Germanic Constitution had, as has been seen, been separately constituted from the outset; and its broken course will be most conveniently summarised apart, while the composition of some of the other Committees will be noticed in connection with their proceedings.

Throughout the earlier period of the Congress, the statesmen assembled there were, in the main, though not as we shall see actively, engaged on the permanent rearrangement of the political map of Europe. This task, as well as the work of the Congress in general, depended for its successful accomplishment on the removal of certain difficulties which had from the outset obstructed its labours; and among these difficulties, as will speedily appear, two, so closely interwoven with one another as in reality to form a single problem, dominated, and for a brief critical period seemed destined to swallow up, all the rest.

In the matter of the restrictions, compensations, and satisfactions to be arranged, it was of course necessary in the first instance to consider the interests of the Great Allied Powers; the smaller members of the recent Coalition came next. France stood in a position of isolation; though Talleyrand might continue to maintain at Vienna the pretence which he had set up at Paris, and to act as if the legitimate Government of France, having taken part with the Allies in overthrowing the usurper, had a just claim to share in the division of any proposal as to the territorial reconstruction of Europe. But the question of the French frontier had been settled at Paris, so far as its main lines were concerned, nor could there be any thought of reopening it now. France could not at Vienna seek to obtain more than certain small rectifications of frontier; on the other hand, she ran no present danger of a renewal of the proposal which Austria had brought forward in December, 1813, of restoring Alsace to Germany. As to the other Four Great Powers, nothing seemed simpler to the Emperor Alexander than that Russia should find her compensation in Poland, and Austria and Prussia theirs in Italy and northern Germany. The division implied that, in the Tsar's opinion, Great Britain would find her account, or rather had

already found it, in winning most of her conquests beyond the seas, together with the important positions held by her in the Mediterranean. In regard to these conquests, she had at Paris shown a moderation which now saved her in good stead. For the Dutch, at whose expense the most considerable of her colonial acquisitions had been made, she exerted herself to obtain a compensation at home; but her own gains were not calculated to the approval of the Congress, which showed no disposition to touch her tenure of Malta, or to hand over the Ionian Islands to any of the claimants who would have anticipated the subsequent establishment of her protectorate. To Napoleon's characteristic remark, that the British Government was to blame for neglecting its opportunities at Vienna, it may be replied that the moderation shown by Great Britain enhanced her influence in respect of territorial settlements in which she had no direct interest.

Austria advanced no new claims except in Italy. By the Treaty of Raabenhach (June, 1812) she had secured the recovery of her dominions on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and by that of Rad (October, 1813) the retrocession of most of her former losses to Bavaria, she looked for a still more favourable adjustment of her claims in western Germany, and also aimed at aggrandisement in Poland. On the other hand, she was rid for ever of those Austrian Netherlands which Thugut had described as a millstone hanging round her neck, and she could not expect to the long run to retain those Swabian possessions which had ceased to be of value to the House of Habsburg. But the ruin of Austria had firstly resolved on permanently re-establishing her sway over all the Italian territories which she had forfeited in a long series of disastrous profligations (1797-1809), and on extending that sway over the whole of Lombardy and Venetia.

Russia entered the Congress in a position of great strength. Her recent success in the war with Turkey had placed her in an advantageous position towards Austria, whose foreign policy had of late years shown want of decision in this direction; while, in the north, Sweden, so long Russia's bitterest foe, had, by renouncing Finland in order to acquire Norway, become a close ally. No opportunity, as it seemed, could have been more propitious for the accomplishment of Russia's design of appropriating the whole grand-duchy of Warsaw, and thus, by a material advance of her western frontier, becoming at last, as one of her statesmen phrased it to Talleyrand at Vienna, a European Power. Now, although even before the collapse of Napoleon's Russian expedition Alexander had become possessed with the idea of a restoration of Poland under Russian supremacy, he could not expect that Austria would give up Galicia, as at one time she might perhaps have done in order to bring about the establishment of an independent Poland; and after Raabenhach (June, 1813) he had agreed that the grand-duchy of Warsaw, which must form the nucleus of the intended dependent kingdom, should

be divided among the three partitioning Powers. As a matter of course, he meant to secure the Rhish share, and the question of Russia's Polish acquisitions thus came more and more to turn upon the compensation to be assigned to Prussia. The councils of Stein and Götterman were caught as Alexander's mind with the promptings of Czartoryski, and as it became patent that Prussia would seek her compensation in Saxony, the English compact lay like an incubus upon the deliberations of the Congress, when the Russo-Polish and Prusso-Saxon questions were soon inseparably introduced.

The position of Prussia herself at the Congress was hampered by many peculiar difficulties. In order that she should secure in the future the position as a Great Power which she had so rapidly reached and so precipitately forfeited, it was not enough for the Prussian monarchy to be reduced to a territorial dominion equalling that possessed by it before the catastrophe of 1806. Moreover, in the distribution of the German territory recovered from France or taken over from her allies, Prussia was entitled to a recognition of the leading part she had played in the liberation of Germany. The negotiations on this head were complicated by many considerations. No great difficulty attended the transfer to Prussia of a stretch of territory on the left bank of the Rhine, with considerable seaports in Westphalia and on the right bank of the river, including the grand-duchy of Berg and some of the German dominions of the House of Nassau. On the other hand, Prussia could not hope to recover her hold on any part of the electorate of Hanover, though which she had pressed so unkind a neighbour from the Peace of Basel (1765) onward to the second French occupation of the electorate after Jena (1806). The claims of Hanover, after its many tribulations, were further commended by its dynastic connexion with Great Britain. Prussia could not expect successfully to resist the Hanoverian claim for the restoration of East Prussia, which implied the loan to her of an important coast-line; and she could not even carry Hardenberg's modest plan of a Göttingen "atheneæ," to convert the western and western frontier of her dominions. In lieu of the lost North Sea portico, she contrived, by means of a complicated series of transactions, to add Swedish Pomerania (Pommern) to her possessions on the Baltic coast. At the same time, she had to negotiate with a number of German States as to cessions, compensations, and exchanges necessitated by her requirements or imposed on her by considerations of all kinds.

In the south, Bavaria remained in possession of the Franconian duchies formerly owned by the House of Brandenburg. But she was in search of further compensation than she had already secured for her restoration to Austria; and Stein and those who thought with him were on the alert to repel any Bavarian attempt to appropriate Mainz, the key of Germany's western frontier. The fact that the area of a reconstructed Prussia was thus practically limited to northern Germany checked

the desire of her statement to annex Saxony. That the kingdom of Frederick Augustus I was both technically, and as a matter of fact, entirely at their disposal, was not to be disputed, although his culpability consisted not in having supported Napoleon, but in having adhered to him too long. His kingdom had been conquered, and he was himself in fact a prisoner of war. But his real danger lay in the palpable gift which the annexation of his kingdom would bring to Prussia from every point of view—economic, military, and political; and in the further fact, that the tradition of Prussia's rise to the position of a Great Power coincided with aspirations as to the future awaiting her in northern Germany.

Had it been left to the Four Allied Powers to settle the Polish-Saxon difficulty among themselves, they might very probably have arrived at an early agreement. At the outset of the Congress, Austria, remembering what important interests of her own were at stake, made no sign of being prepared to carry out Metternich's earlier threat: that she would perish rather than allow the establishment of a Russian Poland. The secret correspondence carried on by Castlereagh with the Tsar in the early part of October shows that the former had already abandoned any attempt at carrying out the first idea of the British Government—that of re-establishing Polish independence—and merely insisted on a partition of the grand duchy of Warsaw which should leave to Austria and Prussia their military frontiers. Thus there seemed every prospect that this part of the problem would resolve itself into a question of boundaries, as to which Alexander appeared quite prepared to listen to reason.

Again, in the earliest weeks of the Congress it seemed as if the absorption of Saxony in the Prussian monarchy would be accomplished without serious hindrance. The collapse of the rule of King Frederick Augustus and his dynasty had not indeed as yet been pronounced; but in two memoranda addressed to the Russian and Prussian sovereigns by Prince Reppon, the Governor of Saxony, the proposed annexation was treated as a settled affair. Before taking the preliminary step of transferring the administration of the kingdom to Prussia, it was thought desirable to obtain the concurrence of Great Britain and Austria. That of the former Power was readily signified by Castlereagh (October 11), who informed Hardenberg that Great Britain was prepared to acquiesce in the incorporation of the whole of Saxony in the Prussian monarchy, provided that it was not intended thereby to indirectly lay her under such would make her dependent upon Russia. Metternich gave no assent, but replied (October 22) that this might be forthcoming, and that even to a permanent annexation of Saxony Austria might, under certain conditions, be found willing to agree. Thus an argument of principle or of policy seemed likely to prevail in favour of the unfortunate King Frederick Augustus. On November 8 Prince Reppon handed over the separate administration of Saxony to the Prussians; proclaiming (on his own authority) the King of Prussia as the future

sovereign of Saxony, and Alexander promised his support to Stein's proposal, that Prince William of Prussia should be sent to Dresden as Governor of Saxony. It was not only Frederick William's natural repugnance to engineering loans which rendered this proposal short-lived, a new element had been introduced into the situation.

Thus was the influence of France. No sooner had Talleyrand made his way into the European Committee, than, as represented by him, the France of Louis XVIII once more began to pass before the smaller States of Europe, and those of Germany in particular, as the natural protectress of their interests. It would in any case have been in the regular order of things that France should express the cause of the King of Saxony, whose House, though he had lately been the faithful ally of Napoleon, had of old been so closely connected with the Bourbons. But his cause was also the cause of legitimacy, of whose rights, which conquest could not invalidate and no positive process could extinguish, the first plenipotentiary of Bourbon France now stood forth as the consistent champion. King Frederick Augustus' privy purse accounts relating to this critical period were afterwards judiciously destroyed; but Talleyrand needed no incentive to stir up a contest which might have results advantageous to France.

At first his measures had no effect but that of impelling Stein, the real author of the annexation project, to pursue it with increased determination, and Alexander proposed the removal of the King of Saxony from his *libera custodia* at Friedrichshilde to the safe distance of Riga. But it soon became apparent that one of those vibrant outbursts of popular sentiment had been evoked, with which, however mixed their origin, it is always necessary to reckon. On November 4 the King of Saxony issued, from Friedrichshilde, a formal protest against the Prussian occupation of his kingdom, in which he declared that never and under no conditions would he consent either to renounce the dominions inherited by him or to accept an equivalent in their stead. In Saxony itself, a few of the nobility and higher officials had so far supported the temporary administration, and there was a small pro-Russian faction among the well-to-do members of the higher middle class. But among the Saxon population at large, notwithstanding the many tribulations through which it had passed under the House of Wettin, there was still much loyal attachment to the dynasty and no desire whatever for annexation to Prussia, while the bulk of the nobility and of the officials were bitterly anti-Prussian. The sympathies of the German Governments which had occupied the fate of Saxony—the Russians in particular—were secured to her from the outset, and, among the Saxon Princes of the Executive line who rallied round the head of the *Altehrte*, even Karl August of Weimar at first upheld the claims of his unfortunate kinsman against the interests of his Prussian ally. With the aid of a few expenditures of money, every assertion was

used to influence public opinion in Saxony, in Germany, and elsewhere. Devoted abolitionists found a mouthpiece in *Kölnischer Volksblatt*; historic indignation in *Fortsetzung*; *Barbarus* raved in *Arten*. On the other side an artillery of great guns and small—Nobels, Raskins, Smith, J. G. Hoffmann, Karl Müller—discharged itself in support of the Prussian policy, while Gierke in the *Reichliche Märker* denounced the aims of France as an essentially German question. In Saxony the feeling of alien and indignation soon became intense, and concentrated itself to the Saxon troops serving in the Rhinebach. These mobilisations soon began to exercise an effect upon public opinion both in France and in England; strong journalistic comments made their appearance. Minutes were passed on the subject in the British Parliament; the Prince Report was known to be personally written to stress the interests of King Frederick Augustus. So far, however, as can be discovered, Castlereagh's change of attitude in the Saxon question was due to the failure of his endeavours, which had at one time seemed promising, to mediate in regard to the Polish branch of the problem.

When Castlereagh agreed to the transfer of the Saxon administration to Prussian hands, he intended (as he afterwards explained to Wellington) by satisfying France to unite her with Austria in moderating Russian demands in Poland. The British mediation, which continued during all the latter part of October and the late November, was designed to induce the Tsar, instead of falling back upon his cherished scheme of reverting a kingdom of Poland under Russian supremacy, to consent to a partition of the grand-duchy of Warsaw, which would leave both Austria and France in possession of a frontier and of frontier-fortresses, necessary to their security and to that of Germany as the central Power of Europe. The success of this scheme was thwarted by Alexander's pronounced dislike of Metternich, and by the close attachment between the Russian and the Prussian sovereigns. Nor was Castlereagh possessed of the tact needed in circumstances so exceptional. In reply to his memorandum of October 12, the Tsar, on October 20, insisted on the equity of the Russian requirements, which with a frontier-line running from Thorn to Cracow and including both fortresses, amounted to nearly three-quarters of the grand-duchy (reduced by population) and two-thirds of its revenues. The struggle now became more acute. Early in November Metternich made an attempt to induce Prussian diplomacy to unite with him in pressing upon Russia the line of the Vistula. But on the 6th of the month an end was put to Castlereagh's mediation, and to the endeavour to conduct Russia with united action on the part of the Three Powers. In an interview with Frederick William and Hardenberg, Alexander revealed as proposed to reveal to them an offer of concessions in Poland, which he declared to have been made to him by Metternich, on condition that he would in return cooperate in keeping France out of Saxony. Frederick



Within three days indignantly took Hardenberg away from any further negotiations with the Austrian and British plenipotentiaries.

Metternich lost no time in denying the charge; nor is there any evidence that it was he who had in this instance covered from the truth. But the Tsar was now virtually certain of his ally, and in consequence more determined to persist in his demands. In the spirit he sent a final note to Castlereagh (November 21). For a time, indeed, Hardenberg behaved as if the task of inducing Alexander to concede more satisfactory terms had passed from Castlereagh to himself. On November 27 he obtained from the Tsar a declaration expressing his willingness to consent to the two fortified cities of Cracow and Thorn, with a certain district around each, being declared independent and neutral. But this concession was to be conditioned on the annexation of the whole of Saxony to Prussia, and on the partition of Mainz, whose issue had become a burning question between the German Powers, being decided conjointly by Prussia and Austria. Hardenberg passed on these proposals to Metternich on December 3, adding a suggestion that King Frederick Augustus should be compensated with a desirable little territory in Catholic Westphalia, and pathetically entreating the Austrian statesman to save Prussia from her present perils. He was well aware that the design of incorporating Saxony in the Prussian monarchy was in the most serious danger. Metternich's answer (December 16), while making direct reference to the opposition offered by France to the annexation of the whole of Saxony, suggested that Prussia should accept a small portion of it, without coming into contact with the Austrian frontier; as to Poland, he declared himself ready to fall in with the last Russian proposals, provided, however, that Thorn and Cracow passed to Prussia and Austria respectively. The only result of this note was to draw the Russian allies still more closely together, and when Metternich, who at this point seems to have overruled himself, sought to sow discord between them by further manoeuvres, the Tsar declined any further personal transaction with him, and requested Hardenberg to draw up a final memorandum as the basis of direct discussion with the Emperor Francis. This memorandum (dated December 18) argued strenuously against the dismemberment of Saxony, and proposed that, since no other satisfaction for the wish of that kingdom could be found for Prussia, King Frederick Augustus should be compensated for the loss of it by territory, with a population of nearly 700,000, on the left bank of the Rhine.

While this satisfying struggle was in progress at Vienna, the news arrived that Grand Duke Constantine, who had been sent to Warsaw to organize a Polish army, had on December 11 issued a proclamation calling upon the Poles to unite for the defence of their common country and for the preservation of their political independence. The manifesto not being disavowed by the Tsar, he was judged to have taken his final

stood in the Polish question. A movement of Austrian troops towards the Galician frontier and a partial mobilisation of the French army ensued. Both Metternich and Carlsburgh—the latter probably stimulated by pacifist-military intelligence from home—became more and more disposed to listen to the Swiss plan. Telegraphed news came to the front. In two rhetorical notes of December 12 and 13, he insisted on the restoration of Frederick Augustus, a cession of part of his dominions might be a politic act, but the principle of legitimacy must be upheld. He also nearly succeeded in getting the whole body of representatives of the minor German States in a collective note against the absorption of Saxony by Prussia, whose administrative activities were starting their usual effect.

Then, therefore, on December 13, a last attempt was made to lay down the basis of an understanding in a special conference between representatives of the Four Allied Powers, Metternich at once proposed the admission of Talleyrand to the discussion, and, taking a leaf out of his book, urged that no final decision as to Saxony could be taken without the approval of its legitimate King. Carlsburgh supported the proposal, but nothing came of it. The conference met again on January 2, when Metternich appeared to be well disposed towards the Russian basis of agreement drafted by Neustädte. But in the midst of these variable proceedings the rupture took place; and for a week, or thereabouts, Europe was in imminent peril of a general war. Metternich had, not unreasonably, been irritated by the personal leniency of the Tsar; while it would seem as if a warning phrase of Bismarck's, indirectly very little disposed to dwell in extremes, had provoked Carlsburgh, who with all his shortcomings had the pulse of Europe at heart. Thus the wife of Talleyrand, encouraged by the bluster of Wrede and the buzz of the smaller folk, prevailed; and, in a moment of what might almost be called infatuation, the Defensive Triple Alliance of January 3, 1815, was concluded between Great Britain, Austria, and France. It bound the three Powers to mutual support in the event of any one of them being attacked on account of the proposals on which they had jointly agreed for the completion of the arrangements of the Peace of Paris—Austria and France each providing an army of 150,000 men, while Great Britain (which on December 27 had concluded peace with the United States at Ghent) was to furnish equivalent aid either by subsidies or by necessary troops. An attack upon Hanover or the Netherlands was to be treated as one upon Great Britain. The accession to the treaty of the sovereigns of those two countries, and of Bavaria, was to be sought; Saxony and Hesse-Darmstadt also afterwards acceded. A military commission was appointed to draw up a plan of operations, in the event of an advance of the Russian armies to the direction of Vienna. To the treaty itself a special article was added, providing for absolute secrecy; and this was vigorously

observed, though Stein seems to have had a shrewd notion of what was in progress. It was only by accident that, during the Hundred Days, Louis XVIII's copy of the treaty fell into the hands of Napoleon, by whom it was made known to Alexander before he left Vienna.

To whatever speculations and hopes this secret treaty might give rise, and however brilliant a diplomatic stroke its conclusion might seem on the part of Talleyrand, none of the Powers that were parties to it could on reflection fail to perceive its precipitancy. At Paris the Ministry of War could not undertake to place more than half the promised French force in the field within six weeks. Austria was unwilling to withdraw troops from Italy, where Murat needed armed watching. Europe in general was exhausted in men and money; the British Parliament could not be depended upon for an endless flow of subsidies; and a European war could not be waged by means of undertakings on paper. And, if war actually broke out, nothing had been done to prevent the Emperor in Elbe from having a hand in it.

In a word, no sooner was the controversy on the point of becoming an open quarrel than both sides began to waver in order to avoid such a catastrophe. Fortunately, as has been seen, the negotiations had never been broken off; on January 8, 1813, the plenipotentiaries of the Four Powers resolved that their decision should be pending upon the King of Saxony; and on the 11th Talleyrand was admitted to their conference. The supreme tribunal of the Four Powers was thus incidentally changed into that of the Five; and henceforth nothing further was heard from the private representatives of France about an appeal to the Congress at large. For a time the prospects of peace remained clouded, and Alexander's wrath against Metternich seemed to wax hotter than ever. But, after a slight effort on the part of Castlereagh, Metternich, in the conference of January 18, at last took a decisive step towards conciliation. He made it clear that Austria was prepared both to counter with Prussia in accepting an unconstitutional military frontier in Poland, and, on condition that the greater portion of Saxony should be left to its King, to consent to the cession of the rest of it by Prussia. Hardenberg's reception of these offers showed that Prussia was willing to compromise and Castlereagh, whose presence was required at home, wished if possible to return with the credit of success. Bargaining began; and, after at least one stormy passage, a settlement was reached which, on February 8, a sub-committee was appointed to reduce to the form of a preliminary convention.

Austria recovered all her Polish possessions; but Cracow was declared a free city. The Prussian share covered the larger part of her former Polish dominions, and comprised the fortress of Thorn, which Alexander at the last moment consented to yield. In return, Prussia contented herself with rather less than two-fifths of Saxony, including the fortress of Torgau, but not the important city of Leipzig. On February 11 these

arrangements were approved by the Committee of the Five Powers; and, as far as they were concerned, the Polish question difficulty was at an end. The aspirations of Alexander, and the hopes cherished by his Polish subjects, were satisfied; and the three Powers, between whom Poland, with the exception of the fragment called the Republic of Congress, had been as it were once more partitioned, were left to deal each on its own account with the national claims of its Polish subjects. On the other hand, the King of Saxony, who had so strenuously excited himself against the absorption of the whole of his Kingdom by Prussia, still had to be persuaded to accept the compromise by which he was left in possession of a part of it. In order to bring him for this purpose within easier reach of the Congress, he was invited to take up his residence at Frankfort, where he arrived on March 4, 1815. Here, a few days afterwards, he was visited on by a deputation from the Committee of the Five Powers, consisting of Metternich, Talleyrand, and Wellington, Chateaubriant's successor. The King refused to accept the conditions offered, and proposed to open a negotiation with them on his own account under the mediation of Austria. The deputation having returned to Vienna, the Committee on March 18 retorted by empowering the Prussian Government to take immediate permanent possession of the part of Saxony assigned to it, while continuing provisionally to occupy the remainder. In the House of Commons, on March 20, Castlereagh resolutely upheld the agreement of the Powers, and on April 5 King Frederick Augustus at last gave a preliminary assent to the cession imposed upon him. But it was not till May 18 that Saxony signed the definitive treaty.

This delay apart, the reaction which had ensued upon the cold into which jealousy, suspicion, and design had precipitated the Great Powers had resulted in an amicable settlement before the tidings of Napoleon's return warned the Congress to hasten its deliberations. But in other directions, too, not a little had been accomplished by the early part of February, 1815, and the Final Declaration drafted about that time by Gamba, probably at the instigation of the British Government, was not wholly unaccompanied in its tone of self-satisfaction.

The first actual decision arrived at on behalf of the Congress was the incorporation of Genua and her territory in the Kingdom of Sardinia, on which the Committee of the Eight agreed on November 15 and 17. In April, 1814, Lord William Bentinck had sanctioned the establishment of a Provisional Government under British protection. But Austria, mindful of her own dominions over Venice, well disposed towards King Victor Emmanuel, and possibly not unwilling to suggest what might ultimately prove an Austrian inheritance, would not listen to the proposal of restoring Genoese autonomy. France and Spain raised a feeble protest against the annexation, and the efforts of the plenipotentiary of the Provisional Government of Genua at Vienna, Marquis de Bugeaud,

found an echo in both Houses of the British Parliament. But the good fortune of the House of Burgoyne prevailed; and the fate of the proud and wealthy city was sealed.

The Swiss question, complicated in itself and surrounded by various sympathies and jealousies, as well as by mischievous foreign intrigue, was likewise wanted to a conclusion within the rather brief period of the Congress, though nothing short of the apprehensions of immediate war excited by Napoleon's return could have brought it to so speedy an issue. After the overthrow of the "Mediator of Switzerland," her future had depended upon the preservation of her neutrality, and upon her adherence in principle to the provisions of the Act of Mediation (1803), which had united an augmented number of cantons under a mild though far from stringent Federal Constitution. But although, under the influence of La Harpe, Alexander was prepared to respect Swiss neutrality, Austria insisted on her troops entering the territory of the Confederation; and Bern, incited by the more Power, summoned Vaud and Argau to acknowledge their relation of dependence towards herself. Fortunately, Zurich was at the time the directing centre (Först), and the Landammann, Hans von Reichenard, was a statesman who combined patriotic feeling with diplomatic sagacity. The extraordinary Diet (Tagmänner) summoned by him at Zurich, where it sat from December 1803 to August 1804, began by declaring the Act of Mediation abolished; but on the same day (December 19) the deputies of the old cantons (except Bern) laid the foundations of a fresh federal union, recognising the existence of the new cantons, and excluding dependent or subject territories from the Confederation. In March, 1804, Bern resisted by convoking a "legitimate Diet" of the old cantons, among whom, following her example, first Solothurn and Fribourg, then Zug, Uri, and Unterwalden, and finally (by means of a coup d'état) Lucerne, restored their old Constitutions. After Napoleon's first abdication, disturbances broke out in many parts of Switzerland, which had in some instances to be suppressed by force of arms, and in 1813, together with Fribourg and Solothurn, was moving in order to force back Vaud and Argau into their former condition of dependence.

Then the task of the special Committee appointed at Vienna for dealing with Swiss affairs was a thorny one—the more so that at the Congress not only the plenipotentiaries of the Zurich Diet, headed by Reichenard, made their appearance, but every one of the numerous cantons, old and new, was likewise represented. While La Harpe, through the Tsar, exercised a continuous influence upon Capodistria, the ordinary Russian member of the Committee, Zschokke, the able deputy of the aggrieved "city and republic" of Bern, was strenuously supported by Stratford Canning. Numerous other claims were urged for restoration and revivification; and much time was spent on the conditions under which

Genève, whose deputy Pictet displayed great activity, should be included in the Confederation so as to strengthen it against France. Ultimately, King Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia was by slow increments induced to give up the requisite territory. It was further resolved to cast into eastern Wallis (Valais), namely a French département, and Nidchâtel, which the King of Prussia had recovered out of the hands of Marshal Berthier, and which was thus placed in a peculiar political condition. The Swiss proposed to include in the Confederation the Valtellina, formerly incorporated in the Cisalpine Republic in order to provide France with an easy entrance into Germany, was approved by the Committee. But the Valtellina deputies having pressed for reunion with Lombardy, this valuable territory, at all times coveted by the possessors of the Milanese, was after some skilful management finally secured by Austria.

Dalberg having been admitted on November 30, 1814, to the sittings of the Swiss Committee as French plenipotentiary, the influence of France was generally thrown with that of Austria on the side of Bern and the *ancien régime* against that of Russia, on whose behalf Stettin and Capodistria advocated liberal views. Thus it gradually became possible for Great Britain to hold the balance between the other Powers with more success than in the Sans-Polish controversy. In the crucial question of the independence of Vaud and Aargau, Bern was not allowed to reverse the provisions of the Act of Mediation, but was compensated for her losses by the greater part of the Principality of Basel, with the town and district of Biel. Nevertheless, the general sense of the Committee's labours was not a vigorous federal State, but a loose union between twenty-two more or less sovereign cantons. The directorate was to rotate in biennial periods between Bern, Zurich, and Lucerne. When, on March 29, the proposed settlement was approved by the Committee of the Eight, it was still resisted in principle by certain of the cantons (Schwyz, Unterwalden, Appenzell), while others (including Bern) were still completing the reorganisation of their municipal constitutions. Two months intervened before the Declaration recognising the twenty-two cantons was accepted by the Diet at Zurich; and more than two farther months passed before the new constitution became law. But the guarantee of Swiss neutrality, which was accorded by the Five Great Powers on November 29, 1815, had been practically secured by the result of their preliminary deliberations. That such a result, incomplete and defective as it was, had been reached, was obviously due to the fact that, though each of the Powers was desirous of shaping the new Swiss Confederation to accords with its own preferences, none of them in the instance sought any direct advantage for itself.

The case was very different with regard to Italy. Here it was understood that Austria was to find her main satisfaction; and her interests therefore dominated all territorial arrangements. The question

an Italian Confederation was not so much as raised at the Congress of Vienna; and Labrador's proposal, on November 14, to appoint a committee for the affairs of Italy in general, was successfully opposed.

Metternich, who urged that each Italian question should be dealt with separately. A beginning was, as we have seen, made with Genoa, at a small committee (consisting of Wenzburg and Labrador, with allies, Neudorff, and Clancarty) was charged with the affairs of Genoa and those of Parma and the sister-duchies; but it does not seem to have been regularly summoned, and had to deal with accumulated facts. In Turin, the Grand Duke Ferdinand III, who was an Austrian Archduke, and whose rights rested on the Treaty of 1735, had been recognised by the Allied Powers; but against a Labrador urged the claims of the Bourbons Charles-Louis, son of the son of Parma and Marie-Louise, who as "King" and "Queen of rats" had subjugated the country till, in 1807, it was incorporated into the French Empire. In putting forward the claims of the Infante Louis-Louis, and basing them on the Treaty of Madrid between Spain and Spain (1804), which had been undone by that of Fontainebleau (1807), the plenipotentiary of the Spanish Bourbons took up an insupportable position, which his intemperate advocacy failed to improve. Attachments having repeatedly refused negotiation, Labrador, by Talleyrand's advice, desisted from any further challenge of Ferdinand's rights.

Parma had probably been the real object of Labrador's efforts, but this point the "Don Quixote" of Bourbon diplomacy was in conflict with the personal sentiments of the Emperor Francis I as well as with policy of Austria. By the Treaty of Fontainebleau of April 11, 1814, the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were assigned to Empress Marie-Louise, with remainder to her son. Her claim was second by Labrador on behalf of the Infante Charles-Louis; but, though

this was good in itself, Talleyrand used his influence in favour of a compromise which would at once diminish the number of small Italian principalities and keep the son of Napoleon out of the peninsula. While these duchies were to be allotted to the Bourbon dynasty or to him, then, the Queen of Etruria, and Laura with part of Elba to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Empress Marie-Louise was to be compensated by ceding to the revenues of the grand-duchy, and by certain "Bobolius" now owned by the Grand Duke, of which Bobolius, in the Carlo Bonifazio, was one. The Emperor Francis I however declared his intention to consent to the abandonment by his daughter of her inheritance, in return for its compensation. But Metternich seems to have decided that Austria could insist on retaining a hold on Piacenza,

and Labrador lost opportunity by demanding the three duchies or an Italian republic. An equivalent was only to be found in Laura and the Legation.

See. Such was the situation when the return of Napoleon made it necessary for Austria to hold fast to the duchies, but to exclude her son from the succession. Louis received the only possible compensation for the Queen of Sicily: and the conflict of money claims between the Lombards and their former "Seignior," Elzeo Bocchioldi, had to stand over.

The duchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola were claimed by Duke Francis IV, the son of Archduke Ferdinand and the grandson of Francis III, the last Duke of the House of Este, from whom they had been wrested with more than the usual effrontery. His rights were treated at scrupleless by the Powers, and in return he proved a faithful adherent of the Austrian system. The duchy of Parma, with the principality of Cambray and certain Imperial fiefs in the Lowlands, were not reunited with Modena (II) after the death (in 1803) of Duke Francis' mother, Archduchess Maria-Beatrice of Este, to whom the Congress had assigned them in her own right.

So early as August, 1814, Cardinal Ercole Consalvi had called upon France, Great Britain, and Austria to re-estate the Holy See in its dominions, though the Legations (Ferrara, Bologna, and Ravenna) were actually occupied by Austrian troops. At the Congress, Consalvi was unrelenting in demand the restitution of all territories in possession of the Holy See before 1791, when the National Assembly had decreed the incorporation of Avignon and the Comtat. Accordingly, in the note which in October he addressed to the Committee of the Eight, he contended that the Treaty of Tolentino (1797), in which the Pope had ceded these territories to France, was null and void. Having not the slightest intention of relinquishing Avignon and the Comtat, France could afford to foster the restoration of the Legations to the Holy See. Such a restoration had been deprecated by Metternich just before the conclusion of the Peace of Paris. The balance of opinion at the Congress was in favour of treating the Legations as conquered territory and therefore at the disposal of the Powers; and at one time they were thought of as a suitable compensation for the King of Sicily. In the end, however, Consalvi's exertions proved so far successful, that the Legations (excepting the Ferrarese districts on the left bank of the Po) were recovered by the Pope.

Finally, the affairs of the Two Sicilies were, when the Congress opened, in a condition full of difficulty for the Powers in general, and specially embarrassing for Austria. As Naples King Joachim Napoleon (Murat), although his rule had never taken root in popular feeling, still maintained himself upon the throne. Notwithstanding that he had actually been a combatant at Leipzig, the Allies might even after that date have considered his past, had he entirely severed his fortunes from those of Napoleon; indeed, towards the end of 1813 they might possibly even have put him in possession of Sicily. As it was, Metternich made the



instead of concluding with Murat, on January 11, 1814, a treaty of peace and alliance, which guaranteed to him the throne of Naples, in return for Murat's guarantee of that of Sicily to Ferdinand IV. This treaty, with certain modifications suggested by Castlereagh, had received the approval of Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain; so that, at the opening of the Congress, most of the Allied Powers were pledged to leave Murat in possession of Naples, and find a compensation elsewhere for the legitimate claimant. In September, 1814, Queen Maria Carolina had died at Schönbrunn; but her efforts were, with considerable prospect of success, sustained by King Ferdinand's plenipotentiaries, who were warmly supported by both Spain and France. Indeed, Talleyrand used his best endeavours to make this question a second test-stone of his dogma of legitimacy; and this time the Tur seemed to lend a willing ear. But the obligations incurred by Austria could not be ignored, and Castlereagh finally agreed with Metternich that the settlement of the Neapolitan question should be deferred to the close of the Congress. Intentionally or otherwise, they thus (as will be presently seen) enabled Murat to run his own chances.

The Order of St John of Jerusalem (the Order of Malta), while wholly or in part despoiled of its estates and revenues in France, Italy, Spain, and Germany, had in 1798 been driven from Malta itself. Though the Peace of Amiens had stipulated for its restoration to the Order, the island had by the Peace of Paris, without so much as the suggestion of an indemnity, been assigned to its actual ruler, Great Britain. In consequence of the refusal of Pope Pius VII, in defiance to the wishes of Napoleon, to confirm the last election of Grand Master, this office was at present held vicariously; but the organisation of the Order, which had temporarily established itself at Catania in Sicily, remained intact. Its plenipotentiaries at the Congress, Eckhof Murd and Commander Berlinghieri, both of the Italian "language," were duly recognised by the Committee for the verification of powers; but they deferred to the association with them of a deputy representing the "language" of France. Several of the Great Powers were favourably disposed towards the Order, though the Emperor of Austria was thought to have designs upon its estates in Lombardy in the interests of the Order of Maria Theresa. Louis XVIII was under a special obligation to the Order of St John, dating from the calamitous days of his elder brother, and had instructed his plenipotentiary to ask for Cash as a compensation to it for the loss of Malta. Great Britain, though she had no intention of relinquishing Malta, could not in principle have opposed the grant of a compensation, but, as to this, the agents of the Order appear to have been without definite instructions, and their plea for an indemnity seems in any case too late (February 24, 1815). The renewed outbreak of war entailed such services on the part of Great Britain, of so much importance to the interests of Europe, that, instead

of Carlo being assigned to the Order of Malta, or to any other claimant or aspirant, the Ionian Islands were ultimately placed under British protection.

Spain, notwithstanding the unreasonable self-confidence of her Court and Government, due to the facile accomplishment of their restoration in the midst of a people exhausted by its self-sacrificing efforts, had in the earlier months of the Congress accomplished very little by her advocacy of Bourbon pretensions in Italy. Where her own immediate interests were concerned, Spain showed the utmost reserve, not only in all matters of colonial policy but, as will be seen, in that of the slave-trade in particular. In a minor question affecting her relations with Portugal she displayed the dictates of a personal jealousy and ill-will. After the attack which France had compelled Spain to make upon Portugal, the Peace of Badajoz (June 6, 1801) had conceded to Spain the fortress of Olivença with the surrounding district, and certain strongholds on the Guadiana. The Prince Regent of Portugal (Don John of Brazil) now demanded its restoration. This had been already pressed upon King Ferdinand; and the Powers were agreed in regarding it as equitable. Portugal, however, still rather a dependency than mistress of her great American colony and residing in the goodwill of Great Britain, showed herself unwilling to restore French Guiana to France, from which her arms had acquired it in 1808; consequently Spain, trusting to her alliance with France, continued to resist the demand.

Among the territorial settlements forwarded by the Congress in its earlier months, one of the most important was that of the Netherlands. After December 5 the Prince of Orange had held his entry into Amsterdam as Sovereign Prince of the Netherlands. The southern (formerly Austrian) Province had speedily followed the example of the northern, and the plan of a political reunion of the entire Netherlands, which had already been considered at Chaumont (February, 1814), and of which the preliminaries had been arranged during the visit of the allied sovereigns to London (June), seemed now likely to be carried into execution. Undoubtedly, it accorded with British interests, while its success would, after a fashion, compensate Holland for her colonial losses to Great Britain, as recently settled by treaty (August 15). Moreover, to many European political thinkers nothing seemed so itself more likely to ensure the peace of Europe than the creation of a strong State between northern Germany and France. The racial difference between the northern and southern Provinces seemed an insuperable obstacle; the difference in religion might be constitutionally met. The union between a mainly mercantile or maritime, and a mainly industrial or agricultural population, depending respectively on English and on French markets, ought in the end to redound to advantage, and the opening of the Scheldt, to which Holland would be obliged to consent, would remove one of the chief backships hitherto inflicted upon the

southern Prussians for the benefit of the northern. By the Peace of Paris the House of Orange had been assured a considerable increase of territory, but its nature and extent had not been fixed. Carlewagh, therefore, in a memorandum transmitted to the Committee of the Five Powers on January 26, 1814, recalled the Clarendon stipulation, that the boundary of the new State should be carried at least as far as the line of the Meuse; while the extent of further additions on the left bank of the Rhine was to be determined by the arbiters of both the Netherlands and Germany. The line of the Meuse was steadily upheld by the British plenipotentiaries throughout the negotiations. They kept a constant middle course between Goyens, who as representing the House of Orange asked too much, and Münster, who as the arbiter of Europe sought to reduce the Dutch demands; while Metternich and others also derived themselves pains of an excessive extension of the Netherlands frontier in the direction of Cologne. Towards the end of January, 1814, the Netherlands problem was approaching solution. The new State was to include, with the duchy of Limburg and the wealthy and industrious duchies of the Prince-Bishop of Liège, whose former subjects desired this incorporation, the duchy (sometimes to be called the grand-duchy) of Luxembourg in exchange for certain German possessions of the House of Nassau. To the provision that the capital should become a federal fortress of the Germanic Confederation, the Sovereign Prince was only with difficulty induced to assent through the mediation of Lord Clancarty.

A separate committee or sub-committee was appointed to dispose of the sovereignty over so much of the duchy of Bouillon as had in the Peace of Paris not been transferred to France. Goyens, as representing Great Britain, worked hard to obtain the cession of the sovereignty over Bouillon to that over Luxembourg.

The relatively slight attention paid by the Congress to the affairs of the Scandinavian North was primarily due to the fact that Russia had definitively become the chief Baltic Power, and that neither Sweden nor Denmark could any longer expect to play a prominent part in the politics of Europe. When King Frederick VI of Denmark, towards the end of 1813, joined the Allies, he made his peace with Great Britain by relinquishing Heligoland, and at the same time accommodated himself to the understanding between Sweden and Russia by consenting to cede to the former the kingdom of Norway, and as it was to Denmark by historical associations, by community of language, and by religious affinity. In return he looked for a fulfilment of the promise held out to him in the Peace of Kiel (January 14, 1814), and confirmed by the so-called "Family Peace" of Berlin (August 24, 1814). His compensation was to be Swedish Pomerania and Rügen, and perhaps a further indemnity. Although the brief negotiation, by which, under the leadership of the Danish Prince Christian, the Norwegians had

attested their repugnance to the personal union with Sweden, and in the expression of which British and Russian ships had cooperated, was ruled on August 14 by the Convention of Åbo, it was not till November 4 that King Charles XIII of Sweden, after accepting the new democratic constitution of Norway, was duly elected to its throne by the *Storting*. These delays provided the Crown Prince Bernadotte with a pretext for declining to hand over Western Pomerania (1807-present) to Sweden's hereditary foe. When the Danish plenipotentiaries at Vienna, on November 18, 1814, presented a note calling upon the Powers to return to King Frederick VI the promised indemnity for Norway, they were not invited to specify the quarter whence it was to be derived, nor was it till after Napoleon's return that a final arrangement, very unsatisfactory to Denmark, was made.

Sweden had shown her part in the European political system by successfully marrying Pichegr and Poyennere in return for Norway. She had then, while entering into a union of most outside value, which brought with it no promise of a future headship of the Scandinavian North, deliberately excluded herself from the political life of central Europe. The change was readily accepted by the Powers, whom the military prowess of the House of Vasa had so often forced to reckon with Sweden as a dominant factor in European affairs, and the protest addressed to the Congress in November, 1814, by the ex-King Gustavus IV on behalf of the rights of his son, which he asserted to be usurped by his own forced abdication in 1809, fell upon deaf ears.

The Powers charged by the Peace of Paris with the responsibility of completing the territorial settlement of Europe had, as has been seen, specially undertaken to establish a permanent system of constitutional relations among the States which had formed part of the German Empire before its dissolution. The recognition of this responsibility is, at all events primarily, not attributable to the widespread demand for constitutional charters, which Napoleon's own action in Poland, as well as that of his brother Joseph in Spain and that of the protecting British Power in Sicily, had helped to create, and to which the Charter granted to France by her Bourbon King and the democratic Constitutions by which Bernadotte purchased the restoration of the Norwegians, also bore testimony. In several of the principal German States, notably in Prussia and in the two kingdoms of the south-west, this demand was not to be left without a response, and the promise of a Constitution to each State included in the Confederation was inserted in its Fundamental Act. But the sole point of view from which the Congress, or its leading Powers, could take up the problem of the future constitutional system of the German body, as a whole, was the necessity to be derived from such a system for Europe at large. On the delinquency of this subject to a German committee, it specially

became manifest that neither the two great German Powers, nor the rest of the German Governments, nor anything that deserved to be called public opinion or national feeling, had as yet reached upon even the leading principle of a settlement. Thus the saying on which Frederick William IV of Prussia ventured in 1850, that the time had come for Germany to be as free from the control of Europe as were Great Britain or Russia, would in 1814-5 have seemed strangely premature to Germany herself.

For many years during the course of the Revolutionary Wars, and more especially since the ill-famed Peace of Basel (1795), jealousy and distrust had prevailed between the two great German Powers; while the political conduct of the other German States, either openly dependent upon a foreign protector or retaining the pretence of a sovereignty of their own, had been dictated by the instinct of self-preservation or by the opposite impulse towards self-aggrandizement. When, after the collapse of the Russian expedition, Frederick William III's proclamation (March, 1813) called the Prussian people to arms, it was not gradually that the resolve to liberate Germany at large from the domination of the alien overpowered the whole of "the German Fatherland"; and still more slowly that attention began to be given to the constitutional methods and forms that were to regulate the national life of emancipated Germany. As was inevitable, the first ideas on this subject were vague and indefinite; nor could it in any case be expected that hopes and aspirations for a new era of the national life should grow in the same place as the ideas and designs of the *dead* German Governments and dynasties. In the negotiations which combined Austria and Prussia against the falling conquerors, those Powers publicly guaranteed to each other their reluctance to a territorial decision such as they had pronounced before the wars of 1805 and 1806 respectively. But the two Governments made no attempt to discuss, in the interests of the nation as a whole, either the future constitutional settlement of Germany or the particular question of leadership; and, instead of asserting themselves as the natural guardians of these interests, they merely concurred in the undertaking as to independence and federation, agreed upon at Chaumont and inserted in the Peace of Paris.

True, whatever Germany might think or say on the subject, the political action had been laid down that the future bond between the German States must be a federal bond, and, having accepted this conclusion, each of the two great German Powers was intent upon safeguarding itself against any attempt on the part of the other to establish an ascendancy which might develop into a hegemony over the Confederation. At the same time both had resolved to defeat any attempt on the part of the other German States to form by combination a third Power capable of holding the balance between the two great Powers; and thus the claim of Austria and Prussia to represent Germany

as a whole was about to be definitely accepted in the eyes of Europe. The earliest draft of a Germanic Constitution, submitted by Stein to Alexander, Hardenberg, and Münster on March 18, 1814, and probably in its composition largely due to Humboldt, who had induced Stein to relinquish for the present his dream of giving the Emperor, proposed a Confederation under the joint sovereignty of Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, and Hanover. In July, however, Stein and Hardenberg prepared at Frankfurt a second draft, which on September 15 was, apparently with some modifications, recommended by the latter to Metternich. From this document, consisting of forty-one articles, the deliberations of the Congress took their start. It proposed that Austria and Prussia should enter into the new Confederation in respect to part of their dominions only; but that the sovereignty was to belong to the two Powers in common, the presidency over the Diet being assigned to Austria. This Diet was to consist of the Directory, the Council of the Heads of the Circles (with eleven votes distributed among the two great Powers and the secondary States), and the Council of the Princes and Bishops (comprising the reigning Governments). Of representative assemblies in the several States, or of a popular representation at the Diet, the draft made no mention.

The Allied Powers adhered themselves with unsatisfactory goodwill to the task imposed upon them. The Tsar had with the aid of Capodistria familiarized himself with the ideas of Stein, and was as a rule prepared to follow his advice as to the internal affairs of Germany; while on this head the British Government implicitly trusted Münster, whose Germanic patriotism was as sincere as Stein's, however much they might differ as to the part to be played in Germany by Prussia. Both Powers at once assented to the sensible proposal that the preliminary discussions on German affairs at the Congress should be carried on by the plenipotentiaries of German States only—a concession which effectually deprived France of any opportunity of intervening. The Committee formed for the preparation of a Germanic Federal Constitution consisted of representatives of the two great Powers—Metternich and Wenzinger for Austria, Hardenberg and Humboldt for Prussia; while Wrede sat for Bavaria, Wittingenrode and Linden for Württemberg, and Münster for Hanover. Saxony, Mecklenburg and Brunswick were not represented. Baron Martens acted as secretary to the Committee, which held its first sitting on October 14. At the second, held on the 16th, Metternich submitted as the basis of discussion twelve articles, six to which the Austrian, Prussian, and Hanoverian Governments had arrived at a preliminary agreement, and which, with certain modifications, reproduced the proposals of Hardenberg's draft. Bavaria, however, seconded by Württemberg, not only took exception to the proposed distribution of voting power among the Heads of Circles, as involving a preponderance to Austria and Prussia, but raised a fundamental objection to the subordination of sovereign Powers

had probably begun to hope that the declared friendship, which Austria was loath to renounce, might devolve on Prussia. But at the Congress very few shared this hope; there is no sign that it was cherished by Humboldt; and, while no plan based upon it had been formed by King, Court, or Government at Berlin, it had not even become familiar as a speculation or suggestion either to the Prussians in particular or to the German nation at large. The solution could hardly be as ingenious as compromises—such as that Austria should hold the Imperial dignity for reasonable terms of five years, while to Prussia should be assigned a hereditary vicariate in northern Germany; that the King of Prussia should be Imperial commander-in-chief under an Austrian Emperor; or that Prussia should be crowned Emperor, and Frederick William King of Germany. It was also proposed, in order that the aversion of Bavaria might not be denied its claims, that a couple of vicariates should be set up, of which that on the Danube should be held by the "Prussia of the north." The impracticable idea of a very little Germany found embodiment in the suggestion of the Göttingen historian Sartorius, that a Confederation should be formed from which both Austria and Prussia were excluded. We pass by other schemes and fantasies. A more practical instinct led Arnold and those who shared his view, without demanding the restoration of the Empire, to insist on the annual convention of an Assembly, freely elected by the nation at large, side by side with a permanent Diet of representatives of the Governments, as well as on the establishment of a national judicial tribunal and foreign office, and the creation of a national army. This, it may be remarked, is practically the present Constitution of the German Empire. Unhappily all this planning and scheming was pervaded by diffidence and mutual suspicion. Jacob Grimm, writing from Vienna to Gervin, lamented a state of things in which little hope of patriotic action remained, and Bismarck alone could save Germany and avert the consequences of weakness and treachery in the councils of her Government.

Then, during the gloom of December, when the two chief German Powers were becoming involved in serious antagonism on other subjects, the question of the German Constitution, which could not be settled without an agreement between them, seemed breaking up into a chaos of conflicting schemes. As a matter of fact, however, the working members of the German Committee were far from idle. Before the year had ended or the Saxe-Polish difficulty reached its height, Wunsberg prepared a draft entrusting the conduct of German affairs to a Federal Council or Diet, at which Austria was to speak and all the other Governments were to have either individual or collective votes. This draft, ultimately adopted as the main basis of the deliberations which led to the passing of the Federal Act, at first served no purpose but that of making time. Early in February, 1849, when the Saxe-Polish crisis

had passed, Austria and Prussia took serious counsel with one another as to the resumption of the constitutional task. Metternich agreed with Hardenberg and Humboldt to submit to the resumed deliberations on the Germanic Constitution all the "Propos and Estates" of Germany; and on February 16 two sets, and in the main identical drafts, provisionally tentative, were laid before him by the Prussian plenipotentiaries, which represent the furthest advance proposed at the Congress. These drafts insisted on the necessity of vesting in Germany a strong military power and an effective judicial tribunal, with guaranteed Constitutions for the several States, and for all Germans a definite measure of fundamental rights (*Grundrechte*). They also proposed two distinct Councils—the smaller and executive to be composed of representatives of the five larger States, the other, with purely legislative functions, to include representatives of all the Governments. In the draft preferred by Humboldt, the division into Circles, as an intermediary link between the central power and the particular States, was retained. So matters stood until, when Napoleon's return had made a prompt action indispensable, Metternich was, as will be seen, at last forced to action.

Among the miscellaneous subjects assigned for treatment to separate Commissions was the business of the so-called Statistical Committee, composed of representatives of the Five Great Powers. France, if Talleyrand is to be believed, had been admitted to a share in its deliberations only after a Great Oath, if concluded, she would withdraw altogether from the Congress. Its task, which it carried through in six sittings, extending from December 28, 1814, to January 18, 1815, was merely preparatory to the final adjustment of the territorial contumacious, acquisitions, losses, and exchanges. Instead of calculating, by area and by wealth as well as by population, the statistical value of each of the territories concerned, the Committee applied the last-named standard only, which from the military point of view was no doubt the most important. The total of "souls" at the disposal of the Congress, as representing the population of the territories, exclusive of France itself, reconquered from Napoleon and his allies, amounted to nearly thirty-two millions. It is stated that the only serious difference as to the calculation occurred in the case of the grand-duchy of Warsaw; and that this was settled by the Committee taking the mean between two estimates differing from one another to the extent of about half a million.

Of a very different nature was the work of the Committee on the abolition of the slave-trade. Fox's famous resolution (June, 1808), followed by the Act of 1807, which Denmark had anticipated in 1803, had extinguished the slave-trade in all the British dominions. The example of Great Britain had been followed in the next year by the United States of North America, and, stimulated by Clanning, the British navy had had no time in operating against the slave-trade,



to which the very immensity of its abolition had imported an unprecedented activity. Previously to 1803, as Castlereagh afterwards declared, Spain had been without any slave-trade of her own; and only a small proportion of the negroes imported by her after this date was retained for use in her own colonies. In the course of the war, during which Great Britain had become the mistress of the seas, the slave-trade had almost dwindled into a business smuggling traffic from the West India settlements; but the approach of peace threatened to revive its entire extinction had, however, now become a matter in which the honour and conscience of Great Britain seemed alike engaged; and in the First Peace of Paris she persuaded France to promise to enter with her at the coming Congress in securing the abolition of the trade by all the European Powers, and to put a stop to it in her own dominions within the next five years. The pressure exerted by William Lloyd and his friends was not relaxed; and there was no agent which the British plenipotentiaries, and Castlereagh in particular, pushed with so persevering a determination.

On December 10, 1814, Talleyrand proposed the appointment of a committee of plenipotentiaries of the Eight Powers, to prepare the final abolition. Since this object recommended itself to the humanitarian aspirations of the Two, while Austria and Prussia could have no conceivable reason for resistance, British efforts seemed to be crowned of success. Unfortunately, Spain and Portugal, unwilling to pledge themselves to immediate action in a manner directly affecting their own colonies in the New World, proposed that the committee should be limited to representatives of the colonial Powers, viz., Great Britain, France, and themselves; and, on Castlereagh's retorting that the subject was one of interest to humanity at large, Laboulaye declared that at least eight years would be required before Spain could join in getting an end to the obnoxious trade. Finally, on Castlereagh's suggestion, it was agreed that, instead of a special committee being appointed on this subject, special sittings should be held of plenipotentiaries named for the purpose, one for each of the Powers represented on the Committee of the Eight. Five such sittings having been held, that committee was enabled on February 8, before Castlereagh's departure, to adopt a Declaration which, without prejudice to the date at which each Power might judge it most convenient to declare for itself the definitive abolition of the slave-trade, vested all the Powers in the full moral responsibility of its condemnation, and thus practically secured its eventual extinction.

The Committee on the Navigation of Rivers, which was appointed by the Committee of the Eight on December 14, 1815, and held twelve sittings from February 2 to March 27, 1816, was designed for carrying out the provisions of the Peace of Paris as to the free navigation of the Rhine and the Scheldt, and for applying the same treatment to the

navigable portions of other rivers bounding or intersecting European States. The historic importance of the Rhine as a trade-route, and the difficulties which previously to 1792 had obstructed the opening of the Scheldt, stimulated the exertions of this Committee, which, composed of representatives of Great Britain, France, Prussia, and Austria, submitted to the deliberations representatives of other States, as well as of important commercial towns. The very complicated business was managed with much address; and the report of the Committee, besides proposing an elaborate code for the navigation of the Rhine and border regulations for that of the Meuse, Moselle, Moson, and Scheldt, suggested a series of provisions for river navigation in general, which made an important advance towards its ultimate establishment.

We can but briefly refer to the labours of the Committee appointed on December 16 for settling the rank or order of precedence, with the various consequences dependent thereon, among the European Powers. At some previous European Congresses no subject had been discussed at greater length or with more vehemence; but at Vienna the presence of so many scientists and members of sovereign families contributed to suppress the self-will of phagocentrism; and Metternich, like his master, was careless of formality for its own sake. In practice, the order of signature to the various protocols was decided partly by the alphabetical sequence of the names of States, and partly by accident, and henceforth there was to be a positive distinction between those classes of diplomatic agents, within which there was to be no precedence in the signature of treaties except one determined by lot.

Thus, by the end of February, 1815, or thereabouts, considerable progress had been made with the business of the Congress. Russia had released her Polish possessions; the new division of Prussia (including her share of Saxony) had been settled; Austria was established in the control of northern Italy; Great Britain had virtually secured satisfactory boundaries for the Netherlands, while those of Hanover had likewise been enlarged; a broad basis for the Swiss Confederation had been preserved; the kingdom of Sardinia had been materially strengthened; and the final abolition of the slave-trade had been brought within sight. When, on January 4, Castlereagh had reported that, as a matter of convenience, his recall to England might be postponed a little longer, he had expressed the opinion that "in the course of four or five weeks he would be enabled to bring all the territorial arrangements of Europe to a close." But on March 6 the news arrived at Vienna that Napoleon had quitted Elba on February 26; and on March 6 he landed at Cannes. His first words on landing—as it was afterwards said—were "*Le Congrès est dissous*."

## CHAPTER XX.

## THE HUNDRED DAYS (1815).

On the very night of his arrival at the Tuilleries, Napoleon found himself able to reconstitute the official machinery of the Imperial régime. Most of his former ministers hastened to place themselves at his disposal. Maret took up again the post of Secretary of State; Drouin returned to the ministry of Marine; Godefrin to the ministry of Finance. Cambacérès was put in temporary charge of the department of Justice; Caulaincourt, with some show of reluctance, consented to become once more Minister for Foreign Affairs. There were, however, two new appointments of distinct importance. Duroc was placed at the War Office, where it was hoped that the talent for organisation which he had shown during his presidency at Hohenberg would display itself once more. Carnot became Minister of the Interior; Napoleon had not forgotten the protection which the old republicans had availed in 1814, and now that it would help him to rally the Liberals to his side, if he could once more enlist their strongest man taking service under the Empire because France was in danger. Carnot in office was a surprise; but it was still more surprising to see Fouché once more Minister of Police. He had presented himself, with his usual cynical impudence, at the reception held at the Tuilleries on March 30; and, ignoring his former disgrace, had offered himself as the only man capable of satisfactorily filling the post from which he had been degraded in 1815. Remembering how inadequately Savary had worked the machine after the removal of the Duke of Angoulême, Napoleon gave the old intriguer the place, though he had no confidence in his honesty or his good intentions.

The Emperor had reconstituted his government before he had been two days in Paris; it only remained that he should force France to recognise it. Except in the north, no serious opposition was made to the restoration of the Empire; the whole of northern, eastern, and central France adhered to the new régime. But things went otherwise on the banks of the Rhone and the Gironde. In those districts the royalist party was in a clear majority among the civil population; and, though the regular troops were known to be disaffected, the partisans

of the Bourbons hoped to hold their own. At Toulouse the prefect, the Baron de Vitrolles, kept the white flag flying till April 4, when he was seized and imprisoned by General Delborda, his letters refusing, at the critical moment, to lie upon the troops of the line. At Bordeaux the Duchess d'Angoulême and Epaul, the mayor who had opened the gates to Bonaparte in 1814, gathered several thousand men and defended the passage of the Dordogne against General Clauzel (March 23). Civil war would have begun, had not the garrison of the city declared, in unmistakable terms, that it would join Clauzel and attack the volunteers if matters went further. The Duchess rode from hermet to hermet, making desperate appeals to the Bourbons; they received her with smiles and, and their officers brought her to fly while there was yet time. Convinced that it was hopeless to resist, she bade her army disband, and sailed for England (April 3).

Only on the Rhone was there any serious fighting. Provence was wholly royalist in feeling; and the Duc d'Angoulême had gathered more than 14,000 volunteers and National Guards at Nîmes, a force which exceeded the few regular battalions which remained in the district. Having boldly resolved to march on Lyons, he beat two small armies of Imperialists at Montélimar and Lurel (April 1, 2), and reached Valence; but here his expedition came to an inglorious close. He found General Grouchy in front of him, while news reached him that the regular troops, whom he had left behind, had proclaimed the Emperor at Arles, Montpellier, and Nîmes. His men began to melt away; and on April 8 he signed the Convention of La Fekal, by which he and his officers were granted a free departure, and his volunteers were to be paid on their way down their arms. Thus ended, for the moment, the resistance of the royalists to the restoration of the Empire. The Vendée remained quiet for a while, though the old leaders were doing their best to stir up the peasantry; and the Ministers at Paris debated themselves with the idea that the west, no less than the south, was periled. It was not till May 12 that the Vendean insurrection broke out in force.

But, though Napoleon assumed master of all France on April 16, it was not in France but at Vienna that his fate was to be settled. On the news of his landing, the plenipotentiaries of the Eight Powers had signed a declaration, by which they bound themselves to aid Louis XVIII with all their strength, and announced that Bonaparte, having broken the convention signed by him on April 2, 1814, had placed himself in the position of an invader, and, "as the enemy and disturber of the peace of the world," was given up to the vengeance of Europe (March 12). Four days later, a practical time was given to this rather lurid piece of declaration, by a treaty in which Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia bound themselves each to put 100,000 men in the field, and to keep them under arms "till Bonaparte should have been restored

absolutely incapable of standing up further to blows." By a supplementary clause, the British Ministry engaged to place £5,000,000 at the disposal of her Continental allies, in order to aid them in the rapid mobilisation of their armies.

The Emperor had some hope that these warlike intentions would be affected by his having recovered possession of France with such rapidity and ease. His first care, therefore, was to address pacific overtures to Austria and Great Britain, the two Powers which he had some hopes of detaching from the Coalition. He declared that he adhered to the terms of the Treaty of Paris, wished for nothing but peace, and was anxious to give every guarantee of his good intentions. But Metternich dismissed his agent Moutonnet with a blank refusal; and the Prince Regent not long afterwards a letter addressed to him in Napoleon's own illegible handwriting. The Emperor of Great Britain was shown by the fact that, when Whittford and other leading Whigs moved a protest against war in the House of Commons, only 72 votes were given in favour of their resolution, while 275 were against it.

Before April was out, Napoleon had to acknowledge to himself that war against united Europe was the only course open to him. Even while he was sending out the silver-branch to Vienna and London, he had been hurrying forward his military preparations. He was quite aware that he could not face his enemies with an army such as that which had won Austerlitz and Jena, still less with a force as great as that which had invaded Russia in 1812, or defended Germany in 1813. He was short of the numerous auxiliary corps which had been sent to double the strength of his hosts. Was it possible to raise, within the boundaries of France alone, men enough to withstand the veterans of 1814? Napoleon could count on the aid of a mass of veterans who had been shut up in the prisons of England and Russia during his last two campaigns, and had not witnessed the disaster of Leipzig or the fall of Paris. But, of the levies of 1813 and 1814, an enormous proportion had perished during the campaigns in Saxony and France; and those who remained had little cause for zeal. The actual army which Napoleon took over from Louis XVIII numbered not more than 200,000 men under arms. Of the 114 infantry regiments, some were reduced to one, most to two battalions, and all were weak. Officers to train new units could be found in plenty, among the thousands of veterans on half-pay who were offering themselves; but time to collect, embody, and arm the men would be wanting, if the Allies struck quickly. Moreover—and this shows how the position of Napoleon in 1815 differed from that which he had enjoyed in earlier years—the Emperor hesitated long before he dared let fall the almost worn conscription, the one popular act of the restored monarchy had been its abolition. In April and May the veterans and the men on leave were called back to their standards, but no call for conscripts was made.

It was only a few days before fighting actually commenced that the Emperor ventured to take the step of calling out the class of 1813. This is the reason why, in spite of all his efforts for three months, the regular troops, who had numbered 390,000 in March, had only (less to 350,000 in June. It was the best army that Napoleon had commanded since Friedland, for it was purely French, and was composed almost entirely of veterans; but it was too small for its purpose.

The Emperor was well aware of this, and endeavored to supplement it by auxiliary troops of a different kind. The organization of the National Guard reached all over France; and, theoretically, all citizens from 15 to 60 years of age were liable to service in it. By a series of decrees, passed in April, it was directed that 800 battalions of this levy should be mobilized and sent to the frontier fortresses. But it was only in the east and the center of France that the Emperor could carry out this plan; in the north and west the men refused to come forward. The decree had contemplated the placing in the field of 334,000 National Guards; on June 15 only 110,000 had been collected. In many departments, the prefects reported that an attempt to enforce the levy would lead to open insurrection. Napoleon had feared some other sorts of secondary value, by embodying, as battalions for land service, the greater part of the men of his navy, by arming 50,000 *gendarmes* and *chasseurs*, and by arming, under the name of *filibris*, some thousands of the workmen of Paris and Lyons. But in June the total of his auxiliary forces did not exceed 250,000 men, and very few of the corps could have been called upon for efficient service.

The whole army indeed, line and National Guard, was not numerous enough for the task of meeting the united hosts of Europe. Napoleon calculated that, if he had been left alone till October, he might have raised 600,000 or even 800,000 men. But he was well aware that this figure would not be granted him. It was useless to demonstrate that in October, by the call of conscription, the regular army might have shown 400,000 men under arms, and the force of the National Guard might have been doubled. There was everything, and of this his situation was as well aware as himself.

But military problems formed only part of the cloud of care which beset Napoleon in April and May, 1813. He saw that, if he was to obtain solid support from France, he must abandon his old autocratic methods and pose as a liberal sovereign, ready to consult his people and to meet their desires. Even Louis XVIII had granted the country a Charter and a Constitution. The venality with which the Emperor had been at first received cooled down considerably when it became known that his return meant war with all Europe. He saw that he must put forth some programme which would arouse enthusiasm, and he determined with small hesitation that this programme must take the form of an appeal to the liberal section of the nation. He must try to arouse the

old Jacobins and for the rights of man and the liberty of France, to raise the cry of "the country in danger," to present himself as a disaster elected to save the republic, no longer as the successor of *Charlemagne* or the assistant of the Pope. Hence the growth of the *acte additionnel*, a supplement to the former Imperial Constitution, which gave France a Parliament of two Houses—a nominated Chamber of Peers and an elected Chamber of Representatives. It also proclaimed the liberty of the press, and announced that the Ministers would, in some degree at least, be responsible to the Chambers. The Representatives were not to be chosen directly by the people, but by small bands of electors previously constituted by the constituencies.

The *acte additionnel* was laid before the people for acceptance by means of a *plébiscite*. Elections were opened in every commune; but only 1,680,000 citizens took the trouble to record their suffrages. The number of votes was less than half of those received when the project for the Life Consulate was laid before the nation in 1808. Such as they were, however, they ratified; and on June 1 the new Constitution was proclaimed, at a ceremony which the Emperor designated as the *Champ de Mai*, a term borrowed from Merovingian phraseology. It was a gorgeous, interminable, and hollow affair. The Emperor seems to obey the Constitution; the newly-elected Chambers and the army reveal fidelity to the Emperor. To one of his confidants Napoleon (at a later date) confessed that his intention had been to abolish the House of Representatives as soon as this could safely be done.

Meanwhile he forced himself, to his disgust, saddled with a Lower House of the temper which he least desired. Among 660 deputies there were some 40 Republicans, 40 pure Bonapartists, ready to refuse ratification when the favorable time should come, and about 580 Liberals of all sorts, whose main desire was to prevent that time from arriving. At the first sitting of the new legislature, two days after the *Champ de Mai*, Louis Bonaparte was suggested for election as President of the Chamber; but the representatives ignored the official list, and chose by an enormous majority Lacaze, one of the deputies for the Seine, a married Liberal. The constitutionalists were clearly determined that the old administrative system should never be restored.

But domestic politics were not the worst problem in June, 1815. It was necessary to beat back the approaching armies of Europe, if the Constitution was to have even a chance of trial. Every man in France who looked at the military situation with unbiased judgment felt himself constrained to doubt whether the breathing-space would be obtained. This was not the case of the soldiery; the rank and file started for the frontier in a state of fierce enthusiasm, such as had not been seen since the days of the Republic. It was the same with the lower ranks of the officers; the thousands who had been eating the bitter bread of half-pay during the reign of Louis XVIII had hastened back

in their arguments with a firm determination that they would never again be reduced to such a life. The memory of the slight and the poverty which they had endured made them financial adherents of their old master. No army that the Emperor had ever led fought with such frenzied fury as that of 1814. But the spirit of the marshals and generals was very different; they knew enough of the strength of the Coalition to make them down-hearted as to the result of the coming campaign. They had thriven in their lot with Napoleon, but doubted their own wisdom, when they saw old comrades like MacDonald and Victor adhering to the Bourbons, and even Berthier refusing to return to France to join the master whose chief of the staff he had been for so many glorious years. Many took the field with a presentiment of disaster: a few, like Ney, had totally compromised themselves with the Bourbons, and both like men possessed, with the vision of the hangman's rope before them in the event of defeat. Such a prospect might render them capable of acts of desperate courage, but did not strengthen their judgment.

The weakest point in Napoleon's situation was that he found himself—what he had never been before, save in 1814—destitute of allies. When he returned from Elba, he had possessed one single supporter—his brother-in-law of Naples. King Joachim felt sure that he would be elected from his realm before the Congress of Vienna concluded its session, and had resolved to link his fortunes with those of the Emperor. By good service in 1815 he might wipe out the memory of his treachery in the preceding year. His plan was to throw himself into the Emilia and Lombardy, hoping to raise to arms the numerous partisans of the Imperial régime, who detested the restoration of Francis Joseph and Pius VII. to their former dominions. Murat took no counsel with his brother-in-law, but rushed forward with mad haste, and commenced the war while Napoleon was still hoping to lure Austria and Great Britain out of the league of the Continental Powers. The reorganization of the French army had hardly begun, when news reached Paris that Joachim had issued a proclamation calling the Italians to revolt, and had invaded the Papal States at the head of 25,000 men. He occupied Rome, Florence, and Bologna, before the Austrians had collected an army to drive him back; and he was able to push on to the line of the Po. But on April 10 serious fighting began. The Austrians were far inferior in numbers, but Murat's troops were worthless. Their old sovereign, King Ferdinand, once observed of the Neapolitan army, "You may dress it in blue, or in green, or in red; but, whichever you do, it will run." Checked at a series of combats in the Emilia, the invaders were pressed back to Tolentino, where Joachim was forced to deliver a pitched battle. The result was that he lost all his artillery and 6000 prisoners; the rest of his army dispersed (May 2). He could not rally even 10,000 men to defend Naples; and, when the Austrians pressed forward, he was forced to throw up the game and fly in disguise by sea (May 15). A few days



afterwards he arrived at Toulon, a penniless refugee. Napoleon refused to see him, he was disgusted at the levity with which his brother-in-law had precipitated the war without asking his advice. He even believed (but wrongly) that, if Murat had restrained himself, Francis I. might have remained neutral; under this impression he repeatedly declared that the Italian campaign had been one of the main causes of his ruin.

Since, therefore, there could be no subsidiary operations in northern Italy, Napoleon had to cast his eyes along the long eastern frontier of France, from Dunkirk to the Var, with a full knowledge that the enemy might break in at any point; there was no neutral border for a single mile, for even Switzerland had declared its adhesion to the Grand Alliance. Nor could Spain be forgotten; Ferdinand VII. was tardily collecting scraps of observation behind the Balaña and the Maço. It was fortunate for the Emperor that, except on one very short front of forty miles about Saarbrücken and Trier, France was surrounded by States of inferior rank—the kingdom of the Netherlands, Bavaria, Baden, Switzerland, and Saxony. None of these could deliver an immediate attack with its own unaided resources; and the main hostile armies had to be brought from afar, from Hungary and Bohemia, from Breslau and Silesia, from the distant depths of Russia.

There were only two bodies of troops belonging to any of the Great Powers which lay in the immediate neighbourhood of the French frontier. In Belgium, at the moment of the Emperor's return from Elba, there was a British force of some 18,000 men—the regiments which had served under Gouveneur in Holland during the preceding year. In their company were two or three Hanoverian brigades. Out of this nucleus the British Government proposed to construct an army of 100,000 men. They ordered Wellington to Brussels, where he arrived on April 3, and began sending to him in turn and stores every corps on the home establishment that could be equipped for service. Unfortunately, the larger part of the old Peninsular army had been shipped to America; and, though the Peace of Ghent had been signed, these troops were still beyond the Atlantic. Very few battalions of the veterans of Spain could be put at Wellington's disposition. But, work by work, his British force was growing; by the middle of June it reached 80,000 men. In addition, a quantity of Hanoverian *Landwehr* had marched up to the Meuse and the Scheldt. The rest of Wellington's miscellaneous host was composed of the contingents of Brunswick and Nassau, whose sovereigns, from jealousy of France, had placed their little armies at the disposal of Great Britain, and of the levies of the Netherlands. The Government of the new kingdom which had been created for the Prince of Orange had been suspended by the return of Napoleon at a moment when its army was still in the making. Its whole regular force amounted on March 1 to only 10,000 men. Since then it had raised and equipped 20,000 more, mostly within of the recent war. The Dutch-Belgian

troops were the weakest element in Wellington's army; all the old soldiers were men who had served as conscripts under Napoleon; the rest were untrained recruits. There had always been a considerable French party in Belgium; and most of the Flemings and Walloons disliked their enforced union with Holland. The officers of the Northern-hand army were loyal, but too many of the rank and file, partly saved by the reputation of their former master, partly attracted towards him by old memories, could not be trusted to give a good account of themselves. British, German, and Dutch included, Wellington had 165,000 men under him in June; but, of these, 60,000 were detached to form the garrisons of Antwerp, Ostend, and other Belgian fortresses.

The other army at hand was a Prussian force under General Kleib, quartered partly in the newly-formed Rhine Province, which the Congress of Vienna had given to Frederick William III. partly in eastern Belgium, about Namur and Luxembourg. It numbered only some 50,000 men in March; but the Berlin Government, acting with zeal and rapidity, had sent up three more army-corps from the east in April and May, and given the command to the indomitable Blücher. Early in June, Blücher had 117,000 men in line, four-sevenths of whom were line troops, the remainder *Landwehr* battalions. The weak part of his army consisted in the newly-raised segments of Westphalia, Berg, and Rhineland men, who had formerly served either Napoleon or his brother Jerome as conscripts. But the preponderance of the old Prussian regiments in the whole force gave it a homogeneity which Wellington's host was far from possessing.

It was on the Prussian and Anglo-Dutch armies in Belgium that Napoleon concentrated his main attention; they were close at hand, while the Austrians had far to come, and the Russians had hardly yet crossed their own frontier. Reasoning correctly from the character of the two generals opposed to him, he concluded that, if he waited much longer, they would attack him. His information from Belgian sympathisers, however, was to the effect that their mobilisation was not yet complete, and that both were awaiting reinforcements. Meanwhile their troops were scattered, the line of their advanced posts covering the whole frontier from the Scheldt to the Meuse. The Prussian headquarters extended from Liège to Charleroi, the Anglo-Dutch from Mons to Ghent. It would probably take three days for either army to move on the common centre, the line Mons-Charleroi; while six could be required to concentrate there, if the British light or the Prussian left were the point selected for attack.

The Emperor's whole plan of campaign was based on these facts. He resolved to collect every available man, and to throw himself upon the junction-point of the two hostile armies before they were expecting his approach. Speed was all-important, since with three days' notice the enemy would have time to draw together. But, if only

they failed to get wind of her approach, or to discover the extent of his advance, he might hope to catch them in the midst of their process of concentration, and to deal with each separately. To meet them united would be almost certainly fatal, for they outnumbered his own available force almost in the proportion of two to one. It was a risky game, but in the Emperor's present situation every move was hazardous, and this was the only one which promised great results. If the British and Prussians were crushed, he could hasten down to the Rhine to meet the Austrians and smelt them before the Russians began to arrive. If he could but protract the game till September, his new levies would give him 400,000 more men, and with such a force anything might be possible. A crushing defeat administered to Wellington might cause the fall of the British Ministry; a second Ulm might break the spirit of Francis II and cause him to make peace. Prussia would be irretrievable, but she might be destroyed. Looking forward, the Emperor did not wholly despair, but he knew that he was staking his crown on the chance of gaining the three days that he required.

The total force which the Emperor could employ against Belgium was about 125,000 men. It was 10,000 men weaker than he had intended, for, at the last moment, he had been forced to detach against the Vandœre, which had broken out in open insurrection on May 12, two divisions with a brigade of the Imperial Guard. The Vandœre were beaten; and their general, La Rodogonskine, was killed at the combat of St. Gilles, near Namur, on June 4. But it was impossible to recall the missing divisions in time to take part in the invasion of Belgium. The whole force which the Emperor had collected under his own hand was composed of veterans of the regular army. For the defence of the eastern and southern frontiers he had left off comparatively small forces of the line, backed by masses of the National Guard. Only Egypt, who was sent to command the army of the Rhine, had a solid corps of 20,000 regulars and but few of the new levies. In the other divisions—those of the Alps under Suchet, of the eastern Pyrenees under Dessen, of the western Pyrenees under Clausel, of the Var under Brout, of the Jura under Lamourgue—the National Guards formed half, or more than half, of the total force under arms. All these six armies together numbered only 75,000 men. Of the rest of the Emperor's available troops, about 150,000, mostly National Guards, had been thrown into the firestorms of the east and north.

Napoleon started for the front on June 12. His first and in some ways most important move was carried out with complete success. The five army-corps which were to form the bulk of his army were drawn in from their scattered cantonments, stretching from Valenciennes to Tournai, without alarming the enemy. On June 14 the whole force was concentrated on a front of not more than thirty-five miles, just where the French frontier (as it then was) projected most deeply into Belgium.

Meanwhile nothing was the slightest nearer having reached Wellington and Blücher. On June 15 the former wrote to his friend Graham: "We have reports of Bismarck's joining the army and attacking us. But I judge from his speech to his Legislature that his departure is not likely to be immediate, and I think we are now too strong for him here." When the Duke was writing these words, the Emperor's carriage was driving furiously forward from Luxembourg to Aachen, that night he slept within ten miles of the Belgian frontier. Blücher was of much the same opinion as Wellington; he was busily engaged in drawing out his plans for an advance into France, when the enemy burst across the frontier.

The Emperor had thus crossed the three days' start over the Allies in the matter of concentration which was the necessary preliminary to a successful campaign in Belgium. He had his 155,000 men massed for the attack, while their 118,000 were strung out on a front of a hundred miles. It remained to be seen how he would utilize this tremendous advantage. His two corps were commanded by d'Erlon and Reille—veterans of the army of Spain—Faidherbe, Gérard, and Lobau. Of the marshals, only three were with the army. Soult acted as chief of the staff, a post which he had never before filled, and in which he showed himself, from lack of experience, markedly inferior to Balthazar. Ney, who owing to his conduct in March had been kept in a sort of half-detachment during the last three months, had been called up at the last moment and placed in command of the left wing—the corps of Balle and d'Erion. Grouchy, whose reputation had been won as a leader of horse, took charge of the great cavalry reserve.

At dawn on the morning of June 15 the French army passed the frontier and threw itself upon the outposts of the Allies. The line was delivered on the extreme right of the Prussian army, in and about Charleval, and just failed to touch Wellington's extreme left at Mores. On the first day, only the corps of Zieten was engaged on the side of the Allies, and this force, night before it could concentrate, and assailed by superior numbers, was driven northward and outward with considerable loss. By nightfall the Emperor was in possession of Charleval and the bridge of the Sambre, and Zieten had fallen back behind Flénu. Blücher, on hearing of this first assault, had set his whole army on the march westward. At noon on June 16 Zieten was joined by Fritsch's corps from Namur, and Thielmann's from Dinant and Slog. Blücher had thus 50,000 men in hand. His fourth corps, that of Bülow, had not arrived. It had been at Liège, sixty miles from Charleval, and was still a day's march from the main army. Blücher, however, had made up his mind to fight without waiting for Bülow, and drew up his host on the hill-tops behind Liègey and St. Amant, looking down into the valley where Flénu lay.

If the position of Blücher was not quite satisfactory at this moment, that of Wellington was much less so. The Duke had received definite

details of the enemy's movements many hours later than ought to have been the case. Blücher had sent him news that his outposts were attacked early on the 16th, before anything decisive had happened. After this, expressed in the details of fighting, the Prussian general forgot to keep the British head-quarters informed of the developments of the French advance. It was only about 4 a.m. that Wellington received intelligence from several quarters which showed that the attack in the direction of Charleroi was being made by several army-corps, and was evidently part of a general advance. The Duke immediately ordered all his divisions to concentrate at their head-quarters and to be ready to march at a moment's notice. But he was still uncertain whether the movement on Charleroi was being carried out by the whole of the Emperor's army, or whether a second column might not be advancing on the other high-road which leads to Brussels by way of Mons. His ignorance was due to the negligence of Dörnberg, the officer commanding the British cavalry-screen on the line Mons-Tourney, who failed to send any report as to matters in his front till night. The Duke had been of opinion that the Mons road presented advantages for the enemy which the Charleroi road did not, and refused to commit himself to a concentration on his extreme left till he was sure that his left-centre was safe. Hence it was only late in the evening that, reassured on this point, he directed his scattered divisions to concentrate on Nivelles, Braine-la-Croix, and Hal. As they could not move till daylight on the 16th, he was in the unfortunate position of having no troops on the Brussels-Charleroi road next morning save one Dutch and one Nassau brigade, at Quatre-Bras and Meeûs; while within supporting distance there were only the reserves from Brussels—some 25,000 British, Hanoverian, and Brunswick troops—and one or two brigades of English and Prussian-Cavalry. The Duke clearly underrated the rapidity with which Napoleon would push forward when his crown was at stake. That night Wellington remained at Brussels, and attended the Duchess of Richmond's famous ball. At daylight he rode out to visit his outposts, and then to confer with Blücher.

Actual contact between the British and French outposts had been established late in the afternoon of the 15th, when the cavalry at the head of the Emperor's left column struck the pickets of the Nassau brigade under Prince Bernard of Saxe-Weimar at Fosses, and drove them back to Quatre-Bras, where the Prince showed fight. Ney, who was in command of this part of the French army, reported the fact to the Emperor, and encamped opposite Quatre-Bras, waiting for his infantry to come up. There were only 6,000 men in front of him; and it would be many hours before the Brunswick troops, which only started at daylight on the 16th, could arrive to support Prince Bernard. But of this the Marshal was necessarily ignorant; he could only report that he was in touch with the enemy, who seemed inclined to stand.

Then, on the morning of the second day of the campaign, the position of the French army was evident. Blücher had not collected even three-fourths of his army at Ligny till noon. Wellington would not, till twelve hours were passed, be able to concentrate more than a third of his at Quatre-Bras. The Emperor, however, seems to have overrated his advantage, great as it was. His orders for the 16th directed Ney to drive east whatever lay in front of him at Quatre-Bras, and then to fall upon the flank of the Prussian line at Ligny. This force Napoleon, in his earliest despatches, seems to have estimated at a single corps only. But, as the day wore on, he discovered it to be much stronger than he had supposed, and deferred his attack till his whole right wing had come up. Ney, with less justification, behaved in a similar fashion. In front of Quatre-Bras, and, before sending Prince Bernhard's brigade, waited till he had the whole of the subsidiary of Blücher's corps under his hand. Then nothing happened on either field of battle till noon was well passed. Wellington, after visiting his force at Quatre-Bras, rode over to Ligny, interviewed Blücher, and told him that he would bring him aid if he was not himself attacked and detained by the French left. The promise was conditional, and could never be carried out, as Ney found full cooperation for all the British divisions, as they successively reached Quatre-Bras during the afternoon. The Duke then returned to his own advance-guard, just in time to meet Ney's attack, which was deferred a few minutes before his arrival.

Between 3 and 5 p.m. on June 16 the Emperor, having moved in front of the Prussian position, the Guard, the corps of Vandamme and Gérard, and all his reserve cavalry, thought himself strong enough to begin. As a matter of fact, he had 50,000 men less than Blücher on the field, and, even when Lobau's corps came up late in the afternoon, was still in a grave numerical inferiority. But, not fully aware of this, he commenced a vigorous attack upon the line of villages which covered the right and centre of the Prussian position; their left wing he merely "contacted" with the numerous cavalry of Grouchy. This was the commencement of a long and obstinate struggle. The French repeatedly stormed Ligny and the three villages of St. Amand. Blücher, perpetually feeding his fighting-line from his reserve, always won them back again. But the Prussians suffered more heavily than their opponents, because their troops were exposed to the preponderating artillery fire of the French, whenever they descended the bare slopes above the villages in their counter-attacks. This was not the sort of battle that the Emperor desired; he had been for some time expecting Ney to appear, in accordance with his orders, behind the Prussian right wing. But as French troops closed in this direction, the Marshal being engaged in a bitter struggle with Wellington at Quatre-Bras, and finding himself unable to spare a man for the turning movement.

The Emperor, however, owed little for the subsidiary action for to

his left; he sent orders directly to d'Erlon, the commander of the 1st corps, which formed Ney's reserve and was just approaching Quatre-Bras at the moment, bidding him draw off eastward and march towards Liège, so as to fall upon the Prussian flank and rear. D'Erlon obeyed, but, by a slight construction in his march, headed for Flunus rather than Liège, and therefore came upon Napoleon's battlefield in such a way as to join the Emperor's left, rather than to circumvent the Prussian right. Napoleon was for a moment puzzled by the appearance of troops in this direction, and slackened in his attacks on St André and Liège. But, learning that the new-comers were his own marching corps, he recommenced the assault on Blücher's line. This final attack, however, obtained no support from d'Erlon, who at the juncture needed pressing orders from Ney, bidding him return and save him from Wellington's overpowering numbers. Though he was now in a position to manœuvre with splendid effect against the Prussian right, d'Erlon turned back and started for Quatre-Bras.

Thus Napoleon had to fight out his battle with no aid from the west. He brought it, however, to a successful conclusion, by dashing the Imperial Guard against the Prussian centre just as night fell. Blücher had used up his reserves, and was unable to withstand the tremendous impact of this mass of veteran troops. He himself charged at the head of his last remaining cavalry brigade, but was repulsed, thrown from his horse, and nearly taken prisoner. He was dragged off the field almost lamely from his fall; and his army at the same moment abandoned all its positions, and rolled back to the village two miles to the rear of its original position. Blücher had lost more than 22,000 men, including many stragglers from the Belg and Weygshallen Landwehr, who ran away and did not stop till they reached Ant-A-Chapelle. The Emperor had also suffered heavily; his losses must have amounted to about 11,000 men, and he had taken few prisoners and only twenty-one guns. Thus Napoleon had won a victory, but not a decisive one. The Prussians shook themselves together at dawn, and retired unharmed in the direction of Wavre, the point at which they could most easily put themselves in connection with Wellington's army. This was quite contrary to the expectations of the Emperor, who imagined the Prussians to be far more disorganised than they were, and thought it probable that they had retired due east, towards their own base at Liège, while really they had marched north. This false hypothesis had nearly led to its danger on the next day but one.

Liège, however, in spite of d'Erlon's mistake, was distinctly a victory. At Quatre-Bras neither party could claim as well-marked a success. Ney, as we have already mentioned, delivered his attack on Wellington's advanced-guard at about 2 p.m., with the whole corps of Reille. The line of the Allies was at once crumpled up; but, just as it gave way there arrived on the field Picton's British division, the last of the

French reserves to reach the front, and, shortly after, the Duke of Brunswick and his corps. At the same moment Wellington himself rode up. He had just time to deploy his fresh troops, when the French attack pressed up against them. After a fierce struggle, in which the Duke of Brunswick fell, it was beaten off. Soon afterwards both sides received reinforcements, Kellermann's division joining Ney, while the Duke was strengthened by Altier's British division from Bouvigny-Croix. Ney resumed the attack, driving his cavalry ferociously against the allied centre. Next then one British battalion was broken, and the columns penetrated as far as the houses of Quatre-Bras. But they were finally driven off, and the allied line reformed itself. Ney, who had now learnt that his cavalry had cut off the escape of d'Erlon, his sole reserve, was in a state of desperate fury. Napoleon, by stripping him of half his infantry forces, had condemned him to defeat; in his rage, Ney went to recall d'Erlon, despite the Imperial orders, and so ruined Napoleon's plan for making Ligny a decisive battle. But the missing corps was too late in its return to Quatre-Bras to save the day in that direction. Long ere its arrival, Wellington resumed the offensive; he had just received Cocker's division, the British Guards, and with the aid of this reinforcement attacked the French along the whole line. His superiority in numbers was now very marked; he had 55,000 men in hand to Ney's 45,000, and could not be held back. The evening, still fighting fiercely, had been forced to return to their original positions when darkness brought the battle to an end. The losses were equally destruction; each side had suffered about 4000 or 5000 men.

Looked at from the tactical point of view, Quatre-Bras was a severe check to Ney. But from the strategical point of view the action had served Napoleon's purpose fairly well, since the Marshal had prevented Wellington from sending a single man to Blücher's aid. Ligny would have had very different results, if the Duke had been able to crush the retreating corps in front of him early in the day, and had then marched for St. Amand. The reason why he failed to do so was the lateness of his concentration; he had to fight Ney with the Brussels reserves almost unaided. If his troops from Ghent, Oudenarde, and Ant had started twelve hours earlier, Ney must have been destroyed. During the night, the isolated divisions poured in, till nearly the whole army was concentrated on the morning of the 16th. But it was now too late. The news of Ligny had arrived, and the Duke saw that the Emperor would infallibly join Ney before the day was out. He resolved to draw back at once from his advanced position, and to seek a junction with Blücher before he again gave battle. Early in the morning he sent word to the Prussian head-quarters that he would stand on the position of Mont St. Jean, if he were promised the help of one of Blücher's army-corps.

Napoleon was slow to move during the morning of June 17. He was fatigued by the long running fight on the Thursday and by the battle



on the Friday; but this fact does not wholly account for the strange lethargy that seems to have seized him on this day. He spent the morning in talking politics with his generals, in driving round the battle-field of the previous day, and in reviewing his victorious troops. Every moment was of importance to him, yet he squandered some precious hours before he made a move. Not till about noon did he issue the orders which were to govern the rest of the campaign. He directed Grouchy to take charge of the corps of Vandamme and Gérard and hold the reserve cavalry—some 25,000 men, when the losses of Ligny were deducted—and to follow the Prussians in whatever direction they had retreated. He was to keep in touch with them at all costs, and to discover whether they were retreating towards their base, or showing any signs of moving towards Wellington. Napoleon himself intended to join Ney, with the Imperial Guard, the rest of the reserve cavalry, and the corps of Lobau. Owing to the late hour at which the orders were given, neither of the columns got away till 3 or 3½.

Meanwhile, owing to the Emperor's tardy start, the whole Prussian army had slipped away unobserved, and the French cavalry had not even discovered the route which it had taken. Much time was lost in seeking for Blücher on the road to Namur. At nightfall, Grouchy knew that some of the Prussians must be moving on Wavre, which would bring them in the direction of the British, but was still uncertain whether their main body was or was not retreating outward in the direction of Liège. For this he cannot be seriously blamed; the responsibility lies partly with the Emperor for losing time in the morning, partly with the two cavalry generals, Pajol and Kautzmann, who had shown gross carelessness in leaving the enemy slip away and failing to find him again. Delayed by heavy rain, which fell all through the afternoon and evening, Grouchy's infantry did not reach Quakenbush till nightfall. They had covered less than ten miles in the day; the Prussians had covered twenty, and were safely concentrated at Wavre, where they were joined by Blücher's intact corps, which had at last got up from Liège in the front.

In this part of the field Napoleon had practically lost twenty-four hours—one of the three precious days which he had gained by his rapid concentration and his vigorous advance. Things went almost as badly for him in its western portion. Wellington had begun to withdraw his army from Quatre Bras at 12 a.m. on June 17. Owing to his late start from Ligny, Napoleon came on the ground only when the last of Wellington's infantry was far advanced on the route to Namur. A mere cavalry screen under Lord Uxbridge remained in his front. Recovering his energy when it was too late, the Emperor drove in the British cavalry, and pursued it feverishly throughout the late afternoon. But he could neither catch it nor do it any serious harm; at the dells of Genappe, indeed, Uxbridge turned back and broke the leading brigade of the Imperial horsemen by a downhill charge of the Life Guards.

After this he was not so warmly pressed; the same heavy thunder-storm which had delayed Grouchy did much to check the Emperor's pursuit. It was nearly 7 a.m. on the 17th before the head of the French army reached the front of the position of Mont St Jean, where Wellington had been arranging his army as it came up. A reconnaissance in the rain showed the Emperor that his enemy was standing ready to receive him; and he halted to allow the rest of his troops to arrive. So long was his column that much of the infantry did not reach the front till after midnight, and at least one division only on the following morning. The troops were much fatigued by their long tramp in the rain, and had outpurchased their commissariat; there was no proper distribution of rations either that night or the next day. They bivouacked in the mud of the fields, drenched through, frozen, and half-starved.

Wellington's position on that night was an anxious one, in spite of the fact that he had carried out his retreat without loss or disorder. All now depended on the Prussians; he had sent them, early in the morning, his offer to fight on the battle-ground he had chosen, if he were promised the aid of a single army-corps. If they replied that this was impossible, he would have to retire again, and to rejoin Brussels, which lay some eleven miles to his rear. It was not after midnight that he received the all-important answer to his proposal. Blücher had been here de combat on the 17th, owing to the contumacious he had suffered at Ligny, and the details of the Prussian movements during that day had been reported by Gneisenau, his chief of the staff. But at night the indomitable old man had recovered sufficiently to resume command; it was he who received the Duke's offer, and he promptly accepted it. Certain objections were made by Gneisenau and other generals, who thought that a flank march so near the enemy was full of dangers, and that it was wrong to throw up the safe line of retreat on which they which the army now possessed. This was true enough; but the chance of catching Napoleon in flank and overthrowing him with superior numbers was too good to be lost. Blücher wrote that he would dispatch Bulow's corps to join the English at daybreak, and send after it that of Puch. The other two corps should follow if not prevented. He knew Grouchy's exact position, and thought it might be necessary to detach Thielemann and Zieten to hold him back. Blücher had risen to the full height of the situation; and these orders, once given, decided the fate of the campaign. If they had been carried out with exactitude, they would have ended it with far less expenditure of blood than was actually incurred on June 18. The execution, however, was not equal to the conception; the plan worked, but it worked over-slowly and over-late.

Reassured as to the cooperation of the Prussians, Wellington drew up his army on the left-side of Mont St Jean, across the two high roads Nivelles-Brussels and Charleroi-Brussels, which there meet. The position does not at the first sight appear very strong; the slopes are gentle, and

do not rise more than 100 or 150 feet above the level of the valley which divides them from the French lines. There was no cover in front, save at three isolated points. Before the British right lay the farms, orchard, and copse of Hougoumont, surrounded with hedges and walls; in front of the exact centre, on the Chateaux high-road, in the smaller farm of La Haye Sainte, far away on the extreme left lay two other farms, close together, Papelotte and La Haye. All these were occupied by Hougoumont by a brigade of the British Guards. La Haye Sainte by a picked detachment of the German Legion, the other two by Bernard of Saxe-Weimar's Nassau brigade. The enemy would have to storm them, before he could make any solid lodgement in the British position. But the feature which Wellington regarded as most advantageous in his field of battle was that behind his fighting line the ground stretched away in a broad plateau falling slightly toward the south. Here he could array his reserves completely out of sight of the enemy, and bring them to the front without exposing them to view till the onset was reached. It was the great concern of the Ligny position, where all the Prussian reserves had been exposed to Napoleon's eye, and many of them to his artillery, before they were brought into action. Wellington had 67,000 men on the ground. Of these, 34,000 were British: 8800 belonged to the King's German Legion, of Peñinsular fame; 11,000 were Hanoverians. There was the Brunswick corps, reduced to 5000 men by its losses at Quatre-Bras, two Nassau brigades (Kraus and Saxe-Weimar) over 6000 strong, and finally 14,000 Dutch-Belgians. These last were the weak point in the line; born and bred had behaved nobly at Quatre-Bras, and did not reduce their reputation at Waterloo. It was a matter of time, but, with Blücher due before noon, all second aids, the Duke knew it would be more than a mere morning's work to wear down his stubborn British and German infantry. It was probably in reliance on the early arrival of his ally that Wellington had left, far out on his right, a day's march from Mont St Jean, a force consisting of a strong Dutch-Belgian division, with one British and one Hanoverian brigade, under General Colville and Prince Frederick of Orange. They lay at Hal, on the Maastricht road, nearly 14,000 strong, armed apparently to guard against a turning movement of the French. But it had long been ascertained that Napoleon had no detached corps to the west; it was a mistake not to call Colville in.

On the low ridge opposite Mont St Jean, Napoleon had arrayed some 74,000 veteran troops, on each side of the farm of La Belle Alliance and the high-road from Chateaux to Brussels. He showed no hurry to begin the battle on the morning of that eventful Sunday, June 18, 1815. Indeed, the rear of his infantry only reached the field after daylight, and required some hours of rest. Wellington lay quietly in his front, waiting attack: Blücher, so Napoleon supposed, was out of

the game. He had news from Grouchy, dated from Gembloux at 10 r.m. on the 17th, to the effect that one Prussian corps had retired on Wavre, but that the rest of the troops defeated at Ligny were heading for Perwez, on the road to Liège, i.e. were falling back towards their base, and leaving Wellington to his fate. The Marshal added that he intended to follow the force that had moved on Wavre, in order to head it off from Brussels and separate it from the British army. This information seemed to guarantee the Emperor against any interference on the part of the Prussians. Grouchy, it is true, heard more of the facts of the situation on the following morning, and wrote at 6 a.m. to inform his master that the bulk of Blücher's army had gone to Wavre, not to Perwez. But this despatch did not reach La Belle Alliance till after Napoleon had made his arrangements; and, even if it had arrived earlier, it contained no hint that the Prussians were moving on Mont St Jean.

Napoleon, therefore, gave his weary army a long rest after daybreak, and put off the hour of attack, so that the sudden ground might grow drier and permit of the free movement of his artillery across the fields. It was only about 11 a.m. that his forces were deployed for action. Their array was very simple, as simple as the Emperor's own plan of battle, which contemplated nothing more or less than the smashing in of the British centre by a tremendous frontal attack. His army was formed in three lines: in front were Bolla's corps on the left, d'Erlon's on the right, each with cavalry on the outer wing. The second line was formed of Lobau's incomplete infantry corps (only 7000 men), with the reserve cavalry, no less than six divisions, deployed as its wings. Last of all came the Imperial Guard, 30,000 strong, the infantry in column on the high-road, the cavalry on line to right and left. It was a magnificent array, and every man was visible from the British position. The Emperor, on the other hand, could not make out much of Wellington's arrangements. There were visible to him only the four isolated farms on the slope, and above them a line of infantry and guns along the crest; the rest was seen out of sight. The Duke had formed a front line of twelve infantry brigades, six British, four Hanoverian, one Nassau, and one Dutch, with two British cavalry brigades on his extreme left, in the direction from which the Prussians were expected to appear. In second line, behind his centre, was the rest of his horse, British and Dutch. The infantry reserve was massed for the most part behind the right wing, because the Prussians had been expected on the left. Blücher, according to the arrangements made on the preceding night, would have the true centre of the Duke's left wing.

Never, in any of his earlier fights, had Napoleon massed such numbers on so short a front, the whole French line was less than three miles long, including the cavalry on its extreme wings. In the tactical disposition the infantry was used in heavy columns of unprecedented solidity. They were to push their way through the British line by

new form of respect. This arrangement did not please those of the Emperor's lieutenants who had seen the wars of Spain, and remembered the poor exhibition that column-battalions had always made against the English two-deep formation. Such a rigid censure, but Napoleon replied in an amusing rebuff, "You were beaten by Wellington, and so you think he is a great general. But I tell you that Wellington is a bad general, and the English are bad troops; they will surely be a breakfast for us!" A little later, Belle was asked his opinion of the British infantry; he replied that he thought that, in a good defensive position, they could repel any frontal attack. He hoped that his master would manoeuvre and try flank movements; front-to-front action would be costly and unsuccessful. The Emperor paid no attention; he was determined to try the effect of assaults by massive columns upon the long red line that crowned the opposite hill-side.

About 11.30 a.m. the French army was at last on the move. After some manoeuvring, a division of Belle's infantry pressed in upon the farm of Hougoumont. After some fighting, the ropes and ordnance was captured, but in the farm-buildings and the garden two battalions of the British Guards held their own, and beat off regiment after regiment as it surged in upon them. This, however, was but a side-show; the Emperor's real attack was to be delivered on the other side of the high-road, half a mile further to the east. Here, under cover of the fire of a long row of batteries, eighty pieces in all, d'Erlon's corps was waiting the order to attack the British left-centre. It was formed in four great columns, each a species of phalanx containing eight battalions, ranged one behind another. This order of battle was extremely unrivalling, but, in many a fight, Continental troops had broken up in panic at the mere approach of such a moving multitude. Just as Napoleon was about to order d'Erlon to attack, he received an unpleasant surprise. It was pointed out to him that masses of troops were coming into sight far to the north-west, on the heights of Chapelle St Lambert, some six miles away. A few hours earlier, the Emperor would have been puzzled to guess what this force could be; but he had received, some little time back, Grouchy's despatch of the early morning, informing him that Blücher, far from moving towards Liège, was moved at Wavre. The force in the distance must, then, be some fraction of the Prussian army. Some afterwards a prisoner was brought in, a horse of Blücher's corps, who, when questioned, divulged the fact that his general was moving to join Wellington. The Emperor reflected for a moment; then he gave d'Erlon orders to proceed with his attack. Blücher was still far away; Grouchy was probably in pursuit of him, the battle might be won before the Prussians could intervene.

Accordingly, at about 1.30 p.m., the four vast columns forming the 1st corps crossed the little valley that separated them from the British position, and began to climb the opposite hill. One brigade diverged

to storm the farm of La Haye Sainte; the rest advanced straight against Wellington's left-center. At the head of the slope they came under a hot musketry fire, but continued to press forward. The first troops that they encountered were Rykard's Dutch-Belgian brigade, which fell to the rear in confusion. A moment later they came upon Picton's two British brigades, refused to baffle more than half their strength by the house of Quatre-Bas, but steadily, as ever. A furious musketry engagement began, the French were five times more numerous, but, owing to their vicious formations, could bring no more muskets to bear than could their opponents. While both sides were blazing into each other at close quarters, and the smoke lay thick around them, there was a sudden rush from the rear; and two brigades of British heavy cavalry—Somerset's Horse Guards and Life Guards, and Ponsonby's Union Brigade—charged into the thick of the French columns. D'Erion's men were caught unprepared, while closely engaged with Picton's infantry. The cavalry masses were driven to pieces, hurled down the slope, and chased back to their old position with the loss of two eagles, 8000 prisoners, and several thousands more of killed and wounded. Unhappily, the British heavy, drunk with the exhilaration of success, failed to check their career, and rode straight into the French lines, aiding the fugitives, till Napoleon flung upon them cavalry from right and left, and swept them home again with fearful loss. Of the 2500 who had charged, a full thousand were left belied dead or disabled. Ponsonby, the commander of the Union Brigade, was killed as cold blood after he had been made prisoner. Picton, too, had fallen in the very moment of victory.

Prudence would have counselled Napoleon to break off the battle. Elbow had become visible in the nearer distance, advancing slowly towards the French right flank. Lobau's small 6th corps and two brigades of reserve cavalry had to be detached to the east to intercept him. This reduced by 10,000 men the number available for the attack on Wellington. Moreover, a new despatch was received from Grouchy, alarming because it showed that at 11 a.m. he was still far from Watre and had no conception of Elbow's having marched to join Wellington. But Napoleon had no idea of ordering a retreat; he knew that he was raised if he failed to beat Wellington that afternoon. The British must be crushed at all costs before the Prussians came up in force.

Accordingly, at 3:30 p.m. the Emperor directed Ney to take charge of his front line and resume the attack. The least injured remnants of d'Erion's corps marched against La Haye Sainte; a fresh impulse of Bliicher's corps went forward to reinforce the belated succorers of Hougoumont. Little or no progress was made at either point; and the Marshal resolved to have recourse to a new expedient—a great cavalry charge against the front of the British line between the two farms. At about 4 p.m. Ney ordered Milhaud's two divisions of cuirassiers to charge;

they moved up, supported by the light cavalry of the Imperial Guard, forming in all a mass of 5000 veteran horsemen. At the sight of this approach, the fifteen British and Hanoverian battalions forming Wellington's right-center fell into squares, and prepared to withstand the shock. The tremendous episode which filled the next two hours was the part of the battle of Waterloo which impressed itself most strongly on the memory of the survivors on the British side. None, in all the Napoleonic wars, was there so prolonged a whelming of cavalry charges as those which filled the later hours of that afternoon. Milschott's first onslaught was only the beginning; he breasted the slope, drove the allied gunners from their batteries, and then dashed at the squares. They did not flinch, and their fire blew the squadrons to pieces; then Wellington ordered his own cavalry reserves to advance, and drove the enemy down the slope. But the attacks were renewed again and again; and, in the intervals, the French artillery played upon the British squares with deadly effect. It was their round-shot, and not the crash of the cuirassiers, which made such havoc among the battalions of Wellington's centre.

When Milschott had failed to break a single British square, and his corps was hopelessly disorganised, Ney called up the rest of the reserve cavalry from the second line, Kellermann's two divisions of cuirassiers; they were followed by the heavy squadrons of the Guard. This splendid veteran cavalry, 8000 strong, fell upon the crippled squares; Milschott's scattered brigades reformed themselves, and fell to as supports to the new attacking force. There followed an hour of unbroken conflict, the horsemen rode through the line of squares and, ten to the very rear of the British position, charging every face of the dwindling blocks of British and German infantry, but always failing to break in. Yet the stress was so great that Wellington sent up all his cavalry, even those of the extreme left wing, in the struggle, and gradually pushed forward into the fighting line the whole of his infantry reserve, save one Dutch-Belgian division, which showed such unequivocal signs of demoralisation that the Duke dared not risk it in the front. The shakings in the ranks of the squares was fearful; they were dreadfully mowed by the French artillery during the intervals of the charges, and harassed by the fire of snailshells, who crept up close to them and could not be driven off, for to open out into line would have meant utter destruction at the hands of the cavalry. One battalion of the German Legion, ordered by the Prince of Orange to deploy, was absolutely exterminated by the masses before it could reform its formation.

What, meanwhile, were the Prussians doing? Wellington had expected to be encountered before noon, and had only concerted to fight on that understanding. Yet six o'clock had arrived, and no relief due to the Prussian operations was yet perceptible. It is impossible to explain the delay, as has often been done, by the bad state of the roads alone.

The roads were much cut up, it is true, but there is only thirteen miles from Mont St Jean, and it does not take from dawn (3.30 a.m. at that season of the year) till 4 p.m. to cover such a distance. The fact was that there had been bad staff-work and also a certain amount of inaction at the Prussian head-quarters. If Blücher had ordered his main corps, that of Thielmann, to march for the French flank at dawn, it would have been in contact with the enemy at 10 or 11 a.m. What Napoleon would have done in this case it is hard to guess; he had not at that time committed himself to the battle with Wellington. But Bulw's corps, which had two miles farther to march than the others, was chosen to lead the column, because it had not suffered at Ligny. It did not start till 4 a.m., was stopped in the streets of Waterloo—which it ought not to have passed through—by an accidental fire, and then crossed the march of Fouch's corps. Both columns were broken; and it was 1.30 p.m. before Bulw's leading division finally reached Chapelle St Lambert, where, as we have already seen, it at once attracted Napoleon's attention. It was 4 a.m. before it got into actual contact with the French. This amazing delay, of nearly ten hours, was due not to Blücher, but to Goussier, his chief of the staff, who feared that Wellington might retreat, after committing the Prussians away to the dangerous flank march. So late as 10.30 a.m., Goussier wrote to Mölling, the Prussian attaché at the British head-quarters, advising him to find out if the Duke really intended to fight; and it was not, in fact, till the commandant of Waterloo was making himself heard all over Brussels, that the Prussian staff once was roused on with positive energy. Then, at last, Blücher had reached the front, and he rode up and down the line of march, telling to his men that "they must not make him break his word," and encouraging the infantry to help in dragging the embagged masses across the many washes along the Lane.

It was only about 4 p.m., just as the great French cavalry charge was beginning, that Bulw's corps reached the wood of Paris, some two miles from Napoleon's right flank, and began to interchange shots with the French vanguard. The Emperor, as we have seen, had told off Lobau to "contain" them, which he did in the most skilful fashion. Drawing out his troops at right angles to the main French line, he established himself in a good position, with the village of Flanchémont covering his right, and there fought bravely for two hours against threefold numbers, for Bulw had over 10,000 men. At last, despite all his efforts, Flanchémont was lost, but the Emperor, who had now turned his attention for a space to this corner of the field, sent the four regiments of the Young Guard to retake it. These fresh troops, coming up with a sudden rush, completely cleared the village. It was now 6 o'clock; Bulw's last reserves had been used up; and it could not be said that he had turned the fate of the battle. The only positive difference that his presence had made was that it had compelled the Emperor to direct



against him, first and last, some 14,000 men of his reserves, who might otherwise have been used against Wellington. This was far from the support that the Duke had expected when he offered battle. Fortunately, however, at this moment, more Prussian troops drew near. The corps of Zieten and Pirch, which had started later and moved even more slowly than Bliker, were at last at hand.

But, long before their arrival began to produce effect, Napoleon's last offensive move had been made. Seeing that the cavalry attack had achieved no definite success, and that the British line was still unbroken, Ney made a final attempt to force it with his infantry. While the works of d'Erlon's corps made one more assault on La Haye Sainte, the infantry of the left-centre—the divisions of Foy and Bachelin, belonging to Belle's corps—pushed forward, to the east of Hougoumont, to assail the much-tired brigades which had just beaten off the cavalry. Though these divisions were fresh troops, engaging battalions reared by three hours' desperate fighting, they were repulsed, once more the columns withdrew away before the deadly discharge of the two-deep line. "*C'est une grille de morts*" wrote Foy in his diary a few days later. But, a little farther to the right, the French achieved at this moment the first real success that they had won against Wellington that day. d'Erlon's men carried La Haye Sainte at about 6.00 a.m. The buildings had been well-nigh pounded to pieces by the French guns, the gallant battalion of the German Legion which held them had exhausted all its cartridges; and the enemy at last burst in. This was the most dangerous moment of the battle for the allied army. A breach had been made in its front line; and the troops on each side of the gap were utterly exhausted and unable to fill it up. Fortunately for Wellington, d'Erlon's and Belle's corps were also at the end of their strength; they were unable to push forward. Ney begged the Emperor to send more infantry; but the moment was not propitious for such a request. Napoleon had nothing left in reserve save the fifteen battalions of his Old and Middle Guard, and he grudged spending them. Moreover he was watching a new and dangerous attack of the Prussians at Planchowalt which was just impending. "You want more infantry!" he exclaimed, "*Où voulez-vous que j'en prenne? Poulez-vous que j'en fasse?*" And for a critical forty minutes he refused to succour Ney. The only movement that he made was to send two of his precious battalions of the Old Guard to feed the defence of Planchowalt, where Bliker, now supported by Pirch's corps, had made a third incursion into the village. Like the previous assaults, it was defeated, the Old Guard swept the street and the churchyard free once more.

But, during this short moment of hesitation on the Emperor's part, Wellington had found means to repair the damage in the neighbourhood of La Haye Sainte. Zieten's corps had at length arrived, and had come into touch with his extreme left. He drove from that quarter his

last two brigades of British cavalry, those of Vissart and Vandeleur, and ranged them on the rear of his depleted centre. The much-tried brigades between La Haye Sainte and Hougoumont were drawn in together, and strengthened by other regiments called up from the right. A solid front was once more displayed to the enemy.

It was at this moment that the Emperor made up his mind to deliver his last blow, and to throw the Guard into the thick of the battle. The alternative of retreat was still open to him; and there were good military reasons for accepting it. But the political reasons against taking this line were too cogent to be resisted. As one of his own generals wrote a few days later, "The Emperor might have refrained from making his last attack, and could have gone off in good order, without leaving a gun behind. But then he must have repaid the Sambre, after having lost 30,000 of the men with whom he had crossed it two days before. How could he have hoped to take up the campaign against the English, the Austrians, and the rest of the Allies, after having been forced to retire with loss from before the English army alone? In spite of the fearful result I cannot blame Napoleon." Though a retreat might save the army for a few days, it could only mean ultimate disaster. The Emperor, then, was right to attack, his mistake was that he did not send the Guard to the front as reserve, the moment that La Haye Sainte fell.

It was just seven when Ney led out from the French position the last column of a wall. It was composed of six battalions of the Middle Guard, arrayed in hollow squares—a curious formation for attack, dictated probably by the fear that Wellington might have cavalry waiting to receive them. Two battalions of the Old Guard followed some distance behind, to act as supports. The remaining five were still held back in reserve near or behind La Belle Alliance. The attack was delivered *en* directly up the high-road towards La Haye Sainte, but half a mile farther west and near to Hougoumont. By chance or design the battalions took a formation *en* echelon, with the right in advance and the left somewhat refused. The leading square, that furthest to the east, rose up the slope opposite Halkett's British brigade, the others were making for the ground held by Maitland's brigade of the Guards. The moment that they began to ascend the heights, all came under a heavy fire of artillery, for Wellington's guns, though often driven from their places by the cavalry charges, were still holding their positions. The smoke was dense; and the different units seem to have lost sight of each other and to have fought each its own battle.

The shock was short and decisive. The right-hand echelon first reached the crest, engaged in a close and unceremonious cavalry fight with Halkett's brigade, and then recoiled. A little later the central force, apparently three battalions, came up against Maitland's Guards and the British battery beside them. When they were once leaping through the smoke,

Wellington, who was present himself at this point, bade the Guards run to their feet—they had been lying down to escape the fire of the French artillery—and give one volley, after which they were to advance strong. Now, as so often in Peninsular battles, the first point-blank discharge of a well-formed British line was irresistible. The heads of the French squares went down in one withering mass; then, when their squares wavered on them, still pouring in deliberate volleys, the survivors broke and fled downhill. The advance of Maitland's brigade was only checked by the appearance of the last French *débris*, two battalions strong, somewhat on their flank. But, while the Guards were refusing to meet this new attack, another force came on the scene. Colonel Colborne of the 53rd, whose corps belonged to Adam's brigade, the next next to the right of Maitland, had wheeled his battalions out of the main line, so as to place it at right angles to the advancing French and parallel to their flank. His fire tore away the whole left flank of these two battalions, which broke in helpless disorder and rolled down the slope after their broken comrades. Their retreat ceased with it the two battalions of the Old Guard which were crossing the valley in their support, as well as the half-formed and depleted masses of Rader's corps which were lagging under the lee of Hougoumont.

The cry, "*à l'ennemi*," was already running along the whole French line, when Wellington let loose upon the retreating masses below him his last British reserves, the two cavalry brigades of Vyse and Vandenberg. They rushed down the hill-side east of Hougoumont, across the debris of the fight, and fell upon the retreating Imperial Guard and the exhausted and disordered remnants of Kellermann's and Mikhail's cavalry. All gave way, almost without resistance, and the French centre was transformed in a minute into a panic-stricken crowd. Wellington had bidden his whole front line to advance in support of the cavalry, but it found no enemy to fight; after ascending to the crest of the French position it halted, and left the pursuit to the Prussians. There was no strength to smother left in the remnants of the shattered battalions which had borne the brunt and heat of the day.

At the moment when Napoleon's last attack was repulsed by Maitland and Colborne, Rother's Prussian corps had broken in between d'Erlon's and Lobau's troops at the north-eastern point of the French front. The right angle formed by the enemy's line gave way upwards, and the Prussian cavalry arrived near La Belle Alliance, driving their immediate opponents before them, at the same moment that the brigades of Vyse and Vandenberg reached the same point from the other side.

The last resistance made to the Allies was offered by three squares of the Old Guard near the high-road; they held out for some time, in order to prevent the retreat of the Emperor, who had lingered with them while there was any hope of rallying his centre. Charged without success by both British and Prussian cavalry, these veterans at last

retreat, and mingled with the flying masses in their rear. The Young Guard in Planchenoit held out almost as long! Had their guns any earlier, the Prussians would have reached the high road south of the French position, and cut off the whole army. But this was prevented by the admirable coolness of Lobau's men, who held their own till night fell, and the main battle had long been lost.

The Emperor's army, now no more than a hapless band of fugitives, was chased all night by the Prussian cavalry, and never offered a moment to rally. After being driven out of seven successive positions, which it had attempted to form, it fled over the Sambre next morning, and around the frontier in selected bands. In the last great battle it had lost all its artillery, more than 500 guns, and about 50,000 men in killed and wounded alone. The prisoners were comparatively few, probably not more than 6000 or 7000, but, as many units of the Imperial army, the actual casualties amounted 50 per cent. of the men present. Wellington's army had lost over 15,000 men, of whom 7000 were British. The Prussians reported a loss of over 6000.

It has often been endeavoured to fix the responsibility for the loss of Waterloo upon Grouchy; Napoleon himself, and countless later writers on the French side, have alleged that he had it in his power to intervene effectively in the battle and failed to do so. The answer to this accusation is that the Marshal, like Napoleon himself, had not forgotten Blücher's bold flank march to join Wellington, and acted in strict accordance with his master's orders. In the first despatch that he received on the 18th, written from the field of Mont St Jean at 10 a m., the Emperor told him to march on Wavre, pushing before him the Prussians in his front, and at the same time to keep up his communications with the main army and send frequent reports. This was exactly what Grouchy, long before he received the despatch, had determined to do. His troops were already on the march for Wavre, when the opening guns of Waterloo were heard. Some of his officers urged him to march toward the enemy, but he refused, saying that his duty was to look after the Prussians. As soon as his advanced cavalry reported the enemy in strength beyond the river Dyle—it was Thielmann's corps, left behind to detain him—he made preparations to attack them. When the Emperor's despatch reached him, he congratulated himself on having foreseen and carried out his master's orders. The critical hour of Waterloo passed while Grouchy was forcing the fords and bridges of the Dyle, slowly driving back Thielmann, who fought desperately to gain time for his commander-in-chief to reach Wellington. Not till 3 p.m. did the Marshal receive Napoleon's last despatch, telling him that Blücher had been sighted on the heights of Chapelle St Lambert, and ordering him to turn westward and crush the Prussian corps, "which he would catch *« en flagrant délit »*." It was far too late for Grouchy to do anything of the kind, at that hour Blücher was attacking Planchenoit;

and, even if the Marshal had at 8 o'clock despatched towards the field of Mont St. Jean such of his troops as were not already engaged at Wavre, they would not have reached it till long after the close of the battle had been decided. By 8 p.m. the main struggle was over; and there was with more than a three hours' march (in the Prussian process) between the Dyle and Finschoven. Had Gravelly detached troops in that direction, they would have found the Emperor already routed.

Gravelly fought his way across the Dyle on the 18th, but received no news of the great battle that night. He therefore renewed his march on Thirloumont next morning, lost him by sheer force of numbers, and was about to pursue him northward, when he at last heard of the results of Waterloo. Promptly perceiving the danger that Blücher might cut him off, Gravelly ordered an instant retreat. He executed it in very stiff style, reached Namur just in time to avoid being intercepted, defended that town by a rear-guard action till his main body had got clear away, and escaped to France up the valley of the Meuse. He returned with his 35,000 men intact, thinking that he had deserved well of his country, but found that he was to be made the Emperor's scapegoat and to have the loss of Waterloo imputed to his stupidity or treason. It was a hard fate; his only crime was that, like Napoleon, he had failed to foresee Blücher's great flank march.

Napoleon, after ordering the works of his army to rally at Laon, set out for Paris at once, and arrived there in a state of great mental and bodily prostration on June 29. The news of his disaster had reached the capital on the preceding night, and was not generally known till a few hours before his arrival. He did not at first grasp the completeness of his own ruin, and spoke to his Ministers of his intention to continue the war, raise a *levée en masse*, and defend Paris. He had to be reminded that he was no longer the autocrat that he had been when he returned from Moscow or from Leipzig; and that he would have to reckon not only with the enemy in the field, but with the Chambers at home. The House had allowed him to appeal to the attachment of the army; but, after his disaster, it was unlikely that they would continue the struggle against united Europe, merely in order to keep him on the throne. The Allies had proclaimed that they were attacking not France but the Emperor; peace, then, might be secured by his abdication. Napoleon had no intention of throwing up the game; and, for a moment, he contemplated dissolving the Chambers and declaring himself absolute. Deceived apparently by treacherous assurances from Fouché, to the effect that the spirit of the deputies was not so hostile as he supposed, he took no decisive measure on the morning of his arrival. In a few hours it was too late for him to act. The Chambers no sooner met than, at the suggestion of La Fayette, they declared themselves in permanent session, and voted that anyone who attempted to dissolve them would be guilty of high treason. To defend

themselves, they called out the National Guards, on whose loyalty they could rely. This move struck the Emperor's counsellors with terror. Later Bonaparte alone dared to advise his brother to collect the few regular troops which were in Paris, appeal to the *Jacobins*, and disperse the Chambers. But Napoleon's spirit was broken. He declared that he "would never lead a Jacobin"; the idea of conducting a civil war at the head of the mob was hateful to him. That night he made up his mind to abdicate; and when, on June 22, the Chambers sent him word that his choice lay between resignation and deposition, he bowed before the storm, and signed a declaration by which he abdicated in favour of his son. On June 23 he retired to Malmaison.

The Chambers believed that it was now in their power to decree a new Constitution for France, though they were much divided as to its form. They appointed a Provisional Government, of which Fouché and Carnot were the leading members. But already it had been practically settled that the Emperor should be restored. Immediately after Waterloo, Wellington wrote to Louis XVIII at Ghent, advising him to cross the frontier in the name of the allied armies. The old King saw the wisdom of this counsel, and, on entering French soil at Calais (June 22), published a proclamation in which he announced that he came to resume his rights, that he should adhere to the Constitution of 1814, repair the horrors of war, reward his faithful subjects, and punish the guilty in accordance with the forms of law. Next day he made a triumphal entry into Oostend, which, after a feeble resistance, had been restored by the British on the 21st. Within the next five days, all the towns north of the Somme which were not held down by regular troops hoisted the white flag; and a "royal army" of 2000 or 4000 irregulars assembled at Arras. The movement spread to Normandy, where the Imperialists were forced to shut themselves up in the larger towns; and the whole country rose to help them on. When Louis XVIII had been recognised as legitimate King by the greater part of northern France, it was too late for the Chambers to debate on what form of government they would inaugurate, too late also for the Allies to take into consideration any other plan for dealing with France than that of restoring the *status quo* of 1814. Several of the Powers were not too well pleased. Prussia, in particular, had intended to extract many things before allowing the King to be restored; and her Ministers were indignant with Wellington for having permitted or rather encouraged Louis to take possession of his kingdom again.

Meanwhile the British and Prussian armies were advancing against Paris with all speed. Their leaders had agreed that the enemy must not be allowed time to rally. On their approach, the remnants of Napoleon's army at Laon, and Grouchy's corps also, retired into Paris. On June 29 the heads of the Prussian columns appeared on the heights to the north of the capital. Wellington's army was about a day farther

off, but within good supporting distance. The Provisional Government sent messenger after messenger to the Allies, requesting them to grant an armistice and stay their advance, now that Napoleon had abdicated. Blücher and Wellington wisely refused; there was no knowing what might happen if the army were allowed to rally, and to bring up reserves from the north. Napoleon, from his retreat at Malmaison, was already offering to take command of the army in Paris; and, though this was the last thing that Fouché and his colleagues desired, they were well aware that many regiments would have gone over to their old master if he had invited them to follow him against the Allies. The four days, June 23-26, which Napoleon spent at Malmaison were full of possibilities of danger. The Provisional Government, however, at last succeeded in inducing him to depart; had he stayed a day longer, they would have had either to arrest him or to order him to fall into the hands of the Prussians. Blücher had sent off a flying column with orders to seize him, dead or alive, and had expressed his intention of shooting him offhand, as an outlaw, if he were captured. The Prussian army reached Malmaison only a few hours after Napoleon had driven off on the road to the north. His last idea had been to quit Europe and betake himself to the United States; the Provisional Government had eagerly fallen in with the idea, and provided him the use of two frigates then lying at Rochefort. On June 29, therefore, Napoleon disappeared, and several days passed before the Allies ascertained his whereabouts. It was only discovered on July 13, when he sent a message to Captain Maitland, commanding the Maitland squadron off Rochefort, in which he asked whether he would be allowed to put to sea and sail for America.

Meanwhile, after Napoleon's departure from Malmaison, the Provisional Government was left face to face with Wellington and Blücher; and an suspension of hostilities had yet been arranged. Indeed, there was sharp fighting in front of Paris on July 1. The allied generals, after reconcentrating the strong line of fortifications along the northern front of the city, had determined to cross the Seine, with the object of presenting themselves before its undefended northern side. The brigade of cavalry which formed Blücher's advance-guard was routed near Vanvres by a superior force of French horse; but this did not prevent the Prince from taking up his position on the heights which command Paris on the north. At the same time Wellington occupied positions covering the northern front of the city.

The Provisional Government had now to make its choice whether it would fight or capitulate. There were some 70,000 men of the regular troops within the city, besides the National Guard. Blücher's and Wellington's armies united did not much exceed 120,000 men and bayonets. But the British and Prussians were only the van of the advancing hosts; it was known in Paris that the Austrians had moved

the eastern frontier on June 28, had beaten Hupé and his small army of the Rhine on June 28, and had shot him up in Strasbourg. Their columns were already advancing across Lorraine unopposed. At the same time, the Austria-Sardinian army of Italy had crossed the Alps and attacked Suverbi, who, on hearing the news of Waterloo, asked for and obtained an armistice (June 28). If there had been any great national cause to defend, if any appeal to loyalty could have been made, it might have been worth while to fight. But no one knew whether the Chambers and the Provisional Government intended to acknowledge Napoleon II, to proclaim a Republic, to recall Louis XVIII, or to choose some new ruler—for example, the Duke of Orleans. The only persons who knew their own mind were Fouché and a few others, who had determined that the best thing for France and for themselves was to make a prompt submission to Louis XVIII. Further resistance would be useless; it would only irritate the Allies, and lead to the dismemberment of the realm. It was by arguments of this kind that Fouché won over Drouot, who commanded the functions of Minister of War and commander of the army in Paris, to face the unpleasant prospect of concluding a capitulation and admitting the King. The two acts must be done simultaneously; for, if the city surrendered before the King was recognised, it would be treated as a conquered place. Blücher was for some time inclined to press matters to extremity, and to offer the Provisional Government nothing save the alternatives of unconditional surrender and a storm; but he was induced by Wellington to accept a capitulation. The French army was to retire beyond the Loire; the allied troops were to enter the city, but to respect all private and public property, except military stores and the works of art which Napoleon had plundered from Italy, Germany, and Spain. The allied generals undertook to make no attempt to arrest or punish any French subject for having borne arms under Napoleon (July 5).

Fouché and Drouot had considerable difficulty in inducing the army and the Chambers to accept these terms. But all the military authorities agreed that Paris was indefensible on the northern side, and that the army was too disorganised to make a successful resistance. In face of such statements it was necessary to yield; and on July 5-6 the French troops marched for the Loire. On July 7 the Allies made a triumphal entry, and on the 8th Louis XVIII returned to the Tuilleries. Fouché and Drouot had already settled with him the terms on which he was to be received. As soon as the army had left Paris, the Provisional Government recognised Louis as King, and the Chambers dissolved themselves. New Moons, duly summoned by royal writ, were to meet within two months. They actually commenced their session before August was out, and showed themselves "more royalist than the King."



## CHAPTER XXI.

## THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA. II.

When Napoleon was meditating his return to France, he had been well served by the agents whom he maintained at Vienna, but not especially well. Before the middle of February the moment had passed away when his advent would have found his adversaries on the brink of a conflict with one another. As it was, the news of his departure from Elba did not for some days give rise to any overt sign of apprehension on the part of the sovereigns and statesmen assembled at the Congress. Metternich, however, showed promptitude of action as well as presence of mind; and, within an hour after the receipt of the news, the four Allied Powers had resolved on ordering their troops back upon France, while the necessary dispositions were at once made for the movements of the Austrian force. During their journey to Frankfort, Metternich and his companions discussed the terms of the Declaration to be addressed to the French nation and army. On their return, the news having arrived of Napoleon's landing at Cannes, it was agreed, at a meeting of the Committee of the Eight Powers, on the proposal of Metternich, to issue in their name the Declaration which was actually promulgated on the following day (March 13, 1815). Goyen's suggestion that the Declaration should be issued by the entire Congress had been twice made; but, after an almost continuous series of political and military conferences, a further step, the expediency of which had from the first been urged by Wellington, was on March 15 taken by the Four Powers, in the conclusion of a solemn treaty of alliance. This treaty expressly applied to the new situation the principles of the Treaty of Utrecht, and invited the adherence of all the Governments of Europe. The King of France was specially invited to join the alliance, and to specify the measures required by him in accordance with its provisions. In notifying its acceptance of the treaty, the Government of Great Britain, of whose loyalty towards the Alliance her war and ample subsidies furnished the most convincing proof, refused to bind itself to continue the war with the intent of obliging France to adopt any particular form of government; and the Door was at this time by no means favourable to

the older branch of the Bourbons. The tact and skill with which, in these circumstances, Talleyrand maintained his position and that of his Government at Vienna certainly call for admiration. The smaller States of Europe, almost without exception, gave in their adhesion to the treaty. The German States, in according on April 27, agreed that all their efforts should be directed towards maintaining the pacific basis of the First Peace of Paris; Göttern's refusal to sign seems to have been due to his demarcation with the frontier assigned to the Netherlands. His Dutch colleagues agreed, but Münster also held back; and the adhesion of the King of Denmark, who it must be allowed had reason enough for doing, did not come in till all was over (August). Spain and Sweden persisted in their refusal, but their abstention, caused in the former case by national pride, and in the latter by the withholding of a British subsidy, counted for very little.

At Vienna, though all eyes were turned towards the theatre of the impending struggle, there was at the same time a general wish to prevent the threads of the diplomatic transactions from being scattered while it was still possible to gather them up; and the settlement by the sword for which Europe was once more waiting might be hastened by removing all doubt as to conclusions already settled in principle. Thus, on April 7, the Emperor of Austria proclaimed the union of the Italian States now subjected to his rule, under the designation of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom. A few days earlier (April 5) he had provisionally taken over from his daughter the administration of the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla. The affairs of the Helvetic Confederation were hastened by the Declaration adopted by the Eight Powers on March 20, which was solemnly accepted by the Diet on May 27 following. The arrangements as to Poland were rapidly formulated in two treaties, concluded on May 3 between Austria and Russia, and between Russia and Prussia, respectively; and on the same day the plenipotentiaries of the three Eastern Powers signed a further treaty as to the Republic of Cracow. This treaty somewhat resolved, as if by way of compensation for the intervention in Prussia of the free city of Danzig, a guarantee of its independence and neutrality, together with a Constitution. To the Poles who were subjects of any one of the Three Powers the treaties provided the grant, at such time as might seem expedient to each Government, of institutions preservative of their nationality; and, before the Tsar quitted Vienna, he proclaimed the basis of the Constitution intended by him for his kingdom of Poland, which were immediately to regulate its provincial administration, and included an inalienable union with the Russian Empire. The Saxon difficulty ended with the conclusion of a treaty of peace on May 18 between Prussia, Russia, and Austria, and King Friedrich Augustus, who had at last been made to see the wisdom of yielding to necessity.

Only two problems of first-rate importance still remained unsolved

There were the two questions which, as has been seen, Canning had before his departure from Vienna opened to Liverpool—the Neapolitan, and that concerning the future Germanic Constitution. The former necessarily entered into a new phase with Napoleon's return, though already Murat's action had been influenced by the hopes which he founded on that event. By acting blindly on the assumption that Austria was in complete accord with those who sought his ruin, Murat relapsed her from the difficulties in which she had involved herself by guaranteeing Naples to him in the treaty of January 11, 1814. He now called upon Italy to arm on behalf of her independence. Whereupon, on April 18, the Austrian Government published a manifesto which, while exposing the duplicity of Murat's conduct, declared him to be (*de facto* he had been *de jure*) at war with Austria. A British declaration of war against him speedily followed. Early in May the Austrian Government signed a treaty of alliance with King Ferdinand IV., and on the 13rd of the month the Austrian troops entered Naples. Yet no overt act of the Congress or of any of the Powers had declared King "Joachim Napoleon" to have defected his throne, and in the British Parliament Canning had to argue that their engagements towards him lapsed with his attack upon Austria. Even now, had he shaped his conduct with more circumspection, some compensation might have been offered him. His end is told elsewhere; his consort Queen Carolina, whom a revolt of the Neapolitans had forced to make terms for herself, was treated very ungenerously by the Emperor of Austria.

After the collapse of the achievement of the "Festung," the question of the future Germanic Constitution had, it will be remembered, been kept alive by the efforts of the minor States and by the importunate assiduity of Humboldt. On Napoleon's return, it became clear that the choice lay between two courses. Either the whole subject must be deferred till a more favourable season—and, as a matter of fact, Hardenberg would have been content with the nearest lying of foundations till the war was over—or, if the Congress was to offer something beyond this to the German peoples, then what had to be done must be done quickly, even though inadequately. After two further drafts had been brought forward by the Prussian plenipotentiaries, Metternich at last, early in May, took action by laying before them, as a slightly revised form, Hardenberg's draft of the previous December. In a series of conferences, at which this draft served as basis, he and Hardenberg evolved a final draft—the sixth of the series—which Metternich in the name of both the Austrian and the Prussian Governments submitted to those of all the German States.

This draft proposed a Federal Diet, in which out of 55 votes Austria and Prussia should have but one each, the former Power holding the presidency, but without a casting vote. There was to be no smaller council, committee, or other executive body; and the members of the

Confederations were to be possessed of equal rights. They were prohibited from entering into any alliance with foreign Governments against the Confederation or against any members of it. The possession of a judicial tribunal, which should in accordance with the laws of the Confederation determine differences between it and them, or between any of them, was reserved for the Diet. Nothing could have been broader than the article declaring that no every German State a Constitution of Estates (*Landstände*) should be set up; and the maintenance of the fundamental rights of German citizenship was indisputably merged. On the other hand, the article as to the rights of the so-called "Nobilität" was long and elaborate. It is to the credit of Wittenberg, the author of the draft, no doubt inspired on this head by his brother Henry, who at this time (April, 1848) published anonymously some notable proposals on the subject, that it contained a stipulation for the grant of a Constitution to the entire Catholic Church in Germany, safeguarding its natural rights as well as providing for its needs.

The conference which drew off the draft elaborated the Federal Act, was eleven in number, and lasted from May 25 to June 18. In the first two the associated minor States were represented by five delegates only; not was it till the third sitting that the entire body of plenipotentiaries found admission. Wittenberg took no part in any of these conferences; and Baden withdrew at the sixth sitting. For the rest, Metternich, in his opening remarks on May 25, while pointing out that the Congress could not be ended until the basis of the Germanic Confederation had been laid down, stated that the development of these in detail must be left to the Diet. The statesmen whom Metternich thus instructed took him at his word, and busily declined to address themselves to their task in any such thoroughgoing spirit as that, for instance, which animated the Frankfurt Parliament in 1848. Accordingly the Federal Act remitted to the Diet the drawing-up of the fundamental laws of the Confederation, and of the organic institutions concerned with its foreign, military, and internal affairs.

After, at the sitting of May 26, much time was wasted on trifling questions of procedure, the discussion turned on the distribution of votes at the Diet, and a proposal was made to reserve one "vital" (or essential) vote for the "Nobilität." On the other hand little opposition was now offered to the prohibition of the conclusion of separate alliances by members of the Confederation. Hardenberg and Bismarck, whether consciously or not, were so much discouraged by the slow progress made that about this time they urged Metternich to put in a kind of ultimatum, refusing any further amendments to the draft. As a matter of fact, no addition of importance was made to it except that besides the ordinary body of the Diet, now extended to seventeen votes, there was instituted for the discussion of organic changes in its fundamental laws and Constituent Act, and for other questions affecting the

union Confederation, a larger assembly or *plénum* with distributive votes, proportionately distributed among the States, but as as to give at least one vote to each (June 12). The final discussions produced one other important change. Already on May 28 Bismarck, on the plea that the Government had already resolved on granting a Constitution, had carried a proposal for a significant change in the text of the much-voted article as to each grant. On May 29 King Frederick William had signed the ordinance providing representative institutions in the whole of the Prussian monarchy; and the article now ran that, in each State, Constitutions "will be granted," instead of "shall be granted."

At the sitting on June 3, Metternich (who was just about to quit Vienna) announced that before the close of the Congress the German Federal Act must be placed under the protection of the European Powers; and, while proposing that the twenty articles, which had been pushed through committee, should be accepted as the requisite foundation for the German Federal Constitution, he declared that they were so accepted by the Emperor of Austria. At the same time he disclaimed all intention of putting pressure upon any Government, thus exhibiting a characteristic defiance to the pretensions of the minor States, instead of adopting the Prussian way of offering them the proposed Federal Constitution as a thing to be taken or left, or Metternich's contention that Europe had a right to insist on all the German Governments entering the new Confederation, whether they liked it or not. Then, upon the Federal Act of twenty articles was unanimously accepted by Prussia and Hanover (on the ground that it seemed better to agree upon an imperfect Confederation than upon none at all), by Holstein (Danzig), and with certain reservations by several of the minor States; Luxembourg (Netherlands) assented only on condition that all the other German States become members of the Confederation. For the present, the Saxon and Bavarian plenipotentiaries declared themselves obliged to wait sufficient instructions, but on June 6 Metternich met the remaining Bavarian objections by accepting certain modifications of the Act.

The most important of these submitted for the Federal judicial tribunal, as the means of settling disputes between members of the Confederation, the obsolete *Austro-gallic*—*i.e.*, the appointment of special Courts nominated ad hoc by particular States. Saxony, too, now obtained the omission (proposed by Austria already on June 1) of Wenzburg's article promising a common Constitution to the Catholic Church in Germany, which at first Cardinal Consalvi had in his initiative way seemed disposed to favour. The claims of the Jews had been actively urged at the Congress by the agents of the Jewish communities of Frankfurt and of the three Hanseatic free cities, and strongly supported by the Viennese banking interest; but notwithstanding the goodwill of the Austrian, Prussian, and Hanoverian Governments, they were unable to secure the insertion in the Federal

Act of more than a guarantee of the rights already possessed by them in particular States of the Confederation. For the Diet was also occupied the drawing up of uniform regulations concerning the liberty of the press, and the protection of authors and publishers against piracy.

Thus, then, measures were taken to an extent had made it possible for the Federal Act in its entirety to be signed and sealed (June 8, 1815) by the plenipotentiaries of thirty-six German Governments. The signatures of Württemberg and Baden were still wanting, an offer on the part of the plenipotentiaries of the former to sign the first eleven articles only of the Act having been declined. They did not come into the Confederation till July 26 and September 1 respectively. Landgrave Frederick VI of Hesse-Hanau, whose military services and connection with the royal family of Great Britain secured him special consideration, was, by a protocol drawn up during the conferences on the Second Peace of Paris, included in the Confederation as a sovereign prince.

After the Federal Act had been signed, there was just time enough for inserting its first eleven articles in the Final Act of the Congress, and adding a further clause giving to the remaining articles the same force as if they had likewise found a place there. Thus, the Germanic Constitution was—like the Helvetic and that of the Republic of Geneva—to be placed under a European guarantee; *per contra*, an inevitably complicated, manifestly artificial, and even more imperfect constitutional fabric depended for its endurance upon the interested goodwill or the indifference of the Powers at large. In any case, as Böttgerich had himself in the first instance hinted, the vitality of the constitutional settlement depended upon the endurance of the territorial changes which had so materially altered the size and power of the several German States and their mutual relations; while each of the two Great Powers on whose cooperation the whole structure hinged was placed in a position towards the other which, without constant loyalty and prudence on both sides, could not fail to end in jealous rivalry.

On the day after that on which the German Federal Act at last passed through committee, the Final Act of the Congress itself was formally adopted. So early as March 12, at the sitting of the Committee of the Eight which had agreed upon the Joint Declaration against Napoleon as the detacher of the peace of Europe, a Special Committee, composed of one plenipotentiary of each of these Powers and of three secretaries, had been appointed to draft in a definitive form a General Act of the Congress, summarizing its results. Before the labours of this Committee were completed, the Tsar, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Austria left Vienna. On June 9 the plenipotentiaries of seven out of the eight Powers signed the Final Act, the Swedish plenipotentiary alone recording certain reservations, as to no intimation having been provided for the deprived "Grand Duchy of

Tuscany (Napoleon's sister Élie), or for the Grand Prince (Barradas) in consideration of the restoration of his former principality of Porto Cervo to the Holy See. Spain refused altogether to sign, Labrousse replying to the complaint by which he had answered a previous invitation to agree to the settlement about Parma and the restoration of Olivença to Portugal. Only a small proportion of the subjects dealt with in the Final Act had, he argued, been reported in the sitting of the Committee of the Eight; and a fraction of these Powers ought not to be permitted to settle the affairs of all Europe, merely reserving the rest to accept or refuse their signature. The Spanish protest was at bottom much the same as that of England, who, when dissatisfied with the conditions of the Netherlands settlement and informed by Wellington that it had been made by the Great Powers, "very much as was the case with the Treaty of Clugny," retorted that of this newly-invented term "the Great Powers" he knew neither the precise import nor the intention. The Congress of Vienna by its procedure set the seal upon the principle that the settlement of the affairs of Europe appertained to the Great Powers, and that the other States had merely to decide whether they would accede to such settlement or not.

Whether we review the provisions of the Final Act of the Congress in detail, or as a whole, it is not easy to keep asunder the two questions as to what it actually accomplished and as to what it left undone. First and foremost, the Congress had sought to secure to the political system of Europe a stability which it had not enjoyed since the First Partition of Poland. The fulfilment of this purpose was not easily reconcilable with the "satisfaction" of those Powers who were desirous either of recovering or extending their former limits, or of securing as far as possible of their recent gains; nor again could it consistently be combined with adherence to the principle of legitimacy, as claimed by many of the sovereigns and statesmen assembled at Vienna, and put forward, by the Bourbon interest in general and by the sagacity of Talleyrand in particular, as of paramount importance for the Governments of Europe. In seeking to restore the balance which the Revolutionary and Napoleonic era had upset, the Congress of Vienna was not content, like that of Westphalia, with more or less levelling the surge of its efforts, or, like that of Utrecht, with directing them entirely against the danger of the preponderance of a single Power France, while reserving the greater part of her colonial possessions, had been virtually restricted to her boundaries of 1793; and by means of new territorial dispositions along her eastern borders security had been provided against a new intrusion of the power of Europe. But the Congress had at the same time shown itself sensitive to an excessive increase of the territorial strength of Russia, whose partnership Napoleon had formerly been prepared to accept in his widest schemes of dominion. To the question of the balance of maritime power the

Congress shut its eyes, for Great Britain, from the first the mainstay of the defensive alliance of Europe, was still its paymaster.

With regard, then, to France, the Final Act added nothing of moment to the provisions of the First Peace of Paris. Talleyrand's attempts to obtain for France at least those portions of the Belgic lands which were comprised in the grand-duchy of Luxembourg and the see of Liège, as well as Geneva and Savoy, had ended only in the confirmation of various concessions in the latter quarter already settled in that Peace. Belgium, as Louis-Philippe said a quarter of a century afterwards, was, in the Galignani statement at Vienna, "the stumbling-block of Europe." Of the colonial possessions not affected before the opening of the Congress, the Final Act specifies only that by Portugal of French Guiana, whose ultimate conditions were afterwards pronounced unfavourable for a continuance of the penal settlement into which it had sunk. Both Guadeloupe and Martinique were restored to France by Great Britain before the adoption of the Act, so the last remnants of a dominion which France had administered with as conspicuous a success.

The moderation exhibited by the Allied Powers in their treatment of France was the result partly of a recognition of her services to civilization, partly of deliberate judgment. At Paris and Vienna it was not held to be in the interest of Europe to leave France in a condition of weakness which would be a source of disquiet to herself and therefore to her neighbours. The return of Napoleon, however, once more revived the thought of securing a better western frontier for Germany. This was recognized in England as opportune; and Stein, Hardenberg, and Metternich agreed in June that France ought to be deprived of Alsace and Lorraine as well as of French Flanders. But even then it was held certain that the Tsar would intervene in favour of France. Castlereagh and Wellington were opposed to any serious diminution of her territory; and the German demand was not formulated as so to alienate its being passed in the subsequent negotiations for peace. As it was, France had preserved at Vienna what constituted her chief source of strength, namely, the compactness and unity of her territory; indeed, she was in this respect stronger than she had been in 1792; inasmuch as all the colonies which had at that time remained within the boundaries of France were now incorporated in it, nor were any of those except certain German districts taken back, at the Second Peace of Paris. As for the government of France, her throne was at the time of the dissolution of the Congress of Vienna left in the nominal possession of the House of Bourbon; and the plenipotentiaries of King Louis XVIII were among those who signed the Final Act. There was nothing to cause apprehension in the disclosure by Great Britain of any intention to impose any particular form of government upon the French nation; for Louis XVIII had himself acknowledged that to the British Government he owed all owed his restoration. The avowal of Alexander I



from the Bourbons was very soon to give way to reactionary influence. The Austria Emperor's goodwill to Napoleon was an uncertain factor. Nothing would prevent a second seizure of the throne of France by the Bourbons had a manifestation, such as now seemed wholly improbable, of the national will, and nothing was likely again to cut short their tenure of that throne but disloyalty to their own process, as a fatal want of common-sense in themselves.

While the Final Act thus avoids such direct reference to France, it records even slighter mention to the Power on the rock of whose resistance the wave of her disturbing action had broken. Great Britain's maritime supremacy was tacitly allowed by the European Concert; nor did the Congress so much as consider the propriety of subjecting to international discussion the practices and claims which that supremacy involved. Her colonial conquests in part were retained and in part recovered, according to her own demands. Of her own free choice she returned portions of her conquests to France, which in 1810 had been left without a single colony. To the Dutch, whose entire East Indian possessions had been in her grasp before the close of the war, she now returned them all except Ceylon; on the other hand, she retained Demerara and Cape Colony. No notice was taken in the Act of the final cession to Great Britain by Denmark of the island of Heligoland, the occupation of which had proved highly profitable during the War. The influence of Great Britain was, naturally enough, thought traceable in the considerable increase of territory granted at the Congress to the new kingdom of Hanover, and in the exclusion, by the restoration of East Prussia to that State, of Prussia from the coast-line of the German Ocean. Nothing had come of the futile attempt to amend the provisions of the Peace of Paris which had finally established British rule in Malta. The return of Napoleon frustrated any scheme for providing the Order of St John with an indemnity in Corfu, or elsewhere. Elba was now transferred to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; while Corfu (where Bavaria would have liked to settle Eugene Bonaparte) was with the other Ionian Islands soon afterwards placed under the British protectorate. Tyszkewitch and his fellow Slavophiles, incessantly endeavoring to engage the sympathies of the Tsar on behalf of the liberation of Helia, were checked by the unwillingness of the other Great Powers to open the Eastern Question, of which the Greek problem formed an integral part; and the Tsar himself had no wish again to revive a pathway like that provided by his attitude of friendship to Poland.

Great Britain had throughout taken the most active interest in the negotiations concerning the newly-established kingdom of the Netherlands. The treaty which placed Belgium and Luxembourg under the Prince of Orange, now King of the Netherlands, was not concluded between him and the Four Allied Powers till May 31, 1815; but the acceptance of the sovereignty of the Belgic Provinces had been signified

by him, in accordance with the invitation of those Powers, to be back on July 22, 1814. The question had therefore become one of boundaries; and the article of the Final Act incorporating Belgium with Holland, the hereditary sovereignty of which was vested in the House of Orange, was accordingly a long and elaborate one. Luxembourg, which included as a grand-duchy in the German Confederation, was assigned to the King of the Netherlands in compensation for the German principalities formerly belonging to him as lord of the Orange-Nassau branch of the House of Nassau, and now ceded by him to Prussia. The city of Luxembourg, occupying a position which nature rendered all but impregnable, became a German federal fortress. With the grand-duchy was united the portion of the contested duchy of Bouillon not joined to France by the Peace of Paris.

Thus was introduced into the European family of States a Power of considerable strength, though of secondary rank, deliberately intended to serve as a barrier against France, as the interests were especially of the Low Countries themselves, of Germany and of Great Britain. Holland was at the same time compensated for important colonial losses by a great augmentation of its importance as a European State. No serious doubts as to the continuance of the system seem to have suggested themselves to its authors and abettors. Yet nowhere were the reasons for such doubts more manifest and disconcerted, and more absolutely illustrated by the history of the past.

The first fourteen articles of the Final Act were concerned with the Polish question, and the following nine with the Saxons, which together had so occupied the attention of the Congress during its earlier period. In accordance with the treaties of May 3, 1808, between the three Eastern Powers, the greater part of the grand-duchy of Warsaw was secured to Russia under the title of the kingdom of Poland, to be perpetually bound to the Russian Empire. Like the portions of Poland assigned to France and Austria, the kingdom was to receive such representative national institutions as the Russian Government might determine. Before leaving Vienna, the Tsar carried out his promise by solemnly laying down on May 31, 1808, the basis of its future Constitution; and this was actually proclaimed on November 22. Prussia's share of the grand-duchy of Warsaw included, together with her Polish acquisitions of 1794, the fortress of Thorn with the surrounding district, and portions of what had hitherto been the departments of Posen and Silesia. Austria remained in possession of the parts of Eastern Galicia assigned to her at the Peace of Vienna (1809), together with the salt mines of Włocławek and their vicinity. Cracow was declared a free city, with a Constitution and an episcopal see of its own, whose independence and neutrality were placed under the joint protection of the three partitioning Powers.

The Polish question had thus, though within a more limited scope

and at the cost of considerable concessions to the two other participating Powers, been settled on the lines to which Russia had from the first adhered; and the alternative of an independent Poland, after being momentarily entertained at Vienna and London, with the certainty of its finding favour at Paris, had been finally shelved. A reasonable limit had been set to the advance of Russia's western frontier, and, since she had already established her predominance in the northern Balkan, the natural process of expansion would henceforth have to take other directions. Meanwhile, the agreement of the three Eastern Powers, effected at Vienna in the face of difficulties for which they were originally alike responsible, were now helped to establish an enduring community of interests between them.

The other partner in the Polish compact was likewise obliged to content himself with a partial satisfaction of his expectations. The Treaty of May 18 and the articles of the Final Act founded upon it, which transferred to Prussia, under the title of the duchy of Saxony, a portion of the former Saxon kingdom, represented a relative fall of hand. Whatever importance might attach to the feeling of historical right which had survived the disappointed expectations of the German nation, under the Holy Roman Empire and since its extinction, there can be no doubt that, in the eyes of a large proportion of that nation (to say nothing of foreign peoples), Prussia, whose conduct towards Hanover in the Revolutionary period was unexampled, was morally discredited by this transaction. On the other hand, while what remained of the kingdom of Saxony could not suffice as a barrier in the case of a conflict between the two Great Powers of Germany, a State had been preserved of sufficient importance to add considerably at a critical moment to the balance against France. Austria renounced the Bohemian rights of overlordship over the portions of the two Luxemburgs now ceded to Prussia, except in case of the extinction of the House of Brandenburg.

Passing over the treaties by which Prussia regulated her territorial arrangements with other Governments, we come to her treaties of June 4 and 7 with Denmark and Sweden respectively, by which the former ceded to Prussia Swedish Pomerania and the island of Rugen (acquired by the Treaty of Kiel) in return for part of the duchy of Lauenburg (previously ceded to Prussia by Hanover) and a sum of two million dollars.

The general provisions of the Final Act as to the reconstituted and expanded Prussian territory were contained in three articles, of which the first enumerated the territories recovered by it, viz., those which had been formerly under Polish sovereignty, including the city of Danzig and its district, the duke of Cöslin (recovered by Saxony) and the Old Mark (formerly part of the kingdom of Westphalia); all the former Prussian dominions between Elbe, Weser, and Rhine, but not the former Brandenburg principalities of Ansbach and Bayreuth, the portion of the duchy of Cleves on the left bank of the Rhine, and Ansbach and

Ydengh. The second of these articles concerned the new acquisition of Prussia east of the Rhine, comprising, besides the duchy of Saxony and part of Lauenburg, part of the Westphalian department of Pader, including the former abbotcy of Corvey; the free town of Bielefeld, the seat of the *Reichshausengericht*; the grand-duchy of Berg, including the city of Dortmund and parts of the former dominions of the Archbishop of Cologne; the duchy of Westphalia, as assigned at Lunenburg to the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt; a large number of principalities, countships and lordships formerly "immediate" and belonging to the Westphalian Circle; and those portions of the former dominions of the Nassau-Oranien line, ceded to Prussia by the King of the Netherlands, which she had not again exchanged with the Duke of Nassau. Finally, a third article defined the districts assigned to Prussia on the left bank of the Rhine, which followed a long line beginning at Bingen, including nearly the whole of the former electorate of Trier and as much of the electorate of Cologne as had lain on the left bank, and terminated by the old Dutch frontier between Rhine and Meuse.

As a result of all these acquisitions and exchanges, the Prussian monarchy gained no population not more than half a million of inhabitants, while, as compared with her extent in 1806, she suffered an actual loss in area. More disappointing, however, to Prussian statesmanship was its failure to secure to the monarchy the territorial continuity and cohesion for which two military roads connecting its halves afforded no equivalent; nor did the rights of trade and navigation that Prussia had reserved to herself on the East make up for her being cut off by Hanover from the North Sea. Prussia's greatest gain, as has been truly pointed out, lay in the fact that the reconstitution of her territories had not only made the German element in her population more decidedly preponderant than it had been in 1806, but had brought her into cooperation or contact with almost every German interest, and had enabled her to assume her position as the principal guardian of the national security on the Rhine. Loyal attachment towards the Prussian throne was certain to be a plant of slow growth in the Catholic Rhine-valley and in ultra-conservative Westphalia; but all these difficulties must in the end be overcome by Prussia, if her statesmen were resolved to achieve what Austria dared not contemplate.

Among the remaining German States a material increase of strength had been gained, with a rise in dignity, by the new kingdom of Hanover, thanks perhaps partly to her close connexion with Great Britain and partly to the remembrance of the exceptional severity of her recent experiences, but chiefly to the sagacity and vigilance of her representative, Count Münster, and to the powerful influence which he had so long enjoyed with some of the chief princes and statesmen of Europe. Besides recovering her former position of East Friesland, Hanover acquired

the principality of Hildesheim, with the ancient Imperial city of Goslar, and several other additions.

The transactions at the Congress had given more trouble than the arrangement of the compensations which the Treaty of Rast (October 3, 1813) and the supplementary treaty concluded at Paris (June 3, 1814) between the two Governments promised to Bavaria as return for her services to Austria. Bavaria was strongly suspected of an intention to play the part of a Great Power, and, while distrust of Montgelas combined with dislike of Wittels and his Master to thwart such schemes, a strong current of patriotic jealousy opposed the scheme of placing Mainz, the key of western Germany, in the hands of a Power so long an avowed ally of France. Metternich had, however, very skilfully succeeded in changing the traditional hostility of Bavaria to Austria into an attitude of respectful friendship. Before the opening of the Congress the two States had advanced a large part of the way towards a settlement by taking possession, Austria of Tyrol and Vorarlberg, and Bavaria of Würzburg and Ansbach-Regen. On April 25, 1815, a treaty was concluded between them, and approved by Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain, which, in return for the cession to Austria of the Hausruck and part of the Inn Quarter (old divisions of Upper Austria), with the bulk of the former archiepiscopal territory of Salzburg, assigned to Bavaria an ample series of resources and provinces which would have secured to her an acceptable frontier. But this treaty, which would have necessitated further exchanges, remained unratified: and the Final Act secured no acquisition to Bavaria beyond that of Würzburg and Ansbach-Regen. At Paris, on November 3, a supplementary treaty approved by the Allied Powers secured an exchange to Bavaria by which the mixed districts in the former French departments of Donnersberg, the Lower Rhine, and the Lure, including the sovereignty of the federal fortress of Landau, with a total population of not far from half-a-million, besides the reversion of the Baden share of the Palatinate, and to this Bavaria at last acceded in the Treaty of Munich (April 27, 1816).

The Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt was compensated for the loss of Westphalia and for some other losses by a considerable territory on the left bank of the Rhine, which had been isolated in the French department of Donnersberg, and by a smaller territory on the right bank, formerly under the sovereignty of the Prince of Leiningen. The remaining lands on the left bank at the disposal of the Powers were ultimately distributed among several minor German potentates.

The grand-duchy of Frankfurt had in December, 1815, been broken up by the Allies, who had at the same time restored to the city of Frankfurt its ancient status as a free Imperial city. This recognition of its historic past, as well as of its future political distinction, found full expression in the Final Act, where, in brief commemoration of

Dillingen's enlightened tolerance, an equality of rights for the several Christian confessions was declared to be established in the city, the case of whose Constitution was committed to the Germanic Diet.

The Germanic Confederation established by the Federal Act, comprised thirty-eight states, among which a total population of between twenty-nine and thirty millions was distributed with the utmost unevenness. Austria and Prussia joined for them only of their provinces which had formerly belonged especially to the German Empire, Denmark for Holstein and Lauenburg, and the Kingdom of the Netherlands for Luxembourg only. Though the Federal Act had undoubtedly been concluded in haste, its imperfections were not due to any declared sectional dissension as to its provisions between the two great German Powers; and its failure, if such was to come, would only declare itself gradually. To the claims of the Princes and Counts formerly "immediates" to the Empire, the Emperor of Austria had listened benignly, and the Prussian Government, at the royal edictance of June 21, 1814, had shown much consideration; but their example was not followed by Bavaria and Württemberg, and by some of the minor States. It must be allowed that, while some of these former petty potentates had entered into compromising relations with the French Empire, others had, without any fault of their own, lost not only their rights of sovereignty, but in some instances rights of property likewise, besides suffering personal ill-treatment. The provisions of the Federal Act seemed to the "mediated" Princes and in a modified measure to former members of the "immediate" nobility of the Empire, the maintenance of former family conquests, exemption for themselves and their families from accessibility to any but superior judicial tribunals and from military service, and the exercise of criminal jurisdiction at certain definite stages. Their demand of a rural (collegiate) class in the voting of the powers of the Diet was metrical for decision by the Diet, so that the protest in which the "Mediated" placed on record the maintenance of their claims, had met with distinct encouragement. In the end, however, it proved futile.

Notwithstanding the labours of the special Military Commission, no provision of a satisfactory military frontier for Germany had been introduced into the Federal Act; and the deficiency was only partially supplied in the Final. Though, in the latter, Luxembourg was named as a federal fortress, no such mention was made of Mainz, notwithstanding the pressure put upon Austria and Prussia first by some of the minor German States, and then by Russia, no doubt instigated by Silesia. Of the other intended federal fortresses some had been previously demanded by the French, the reconstruction of Ehrenbreitstein was committed to Prussia. On November 3, at Paris, the plenipotentiaries of the Four Allied Powers drew up a final agreement, constituting Luxembourg, Landau, and Mainz federal fortresses—the last named to be garrisoned,

as hitherto, by Austrian and Prussian troops *separately*, with an Austrian governor and a Prussian commander.

If Austria, in the negotiations concerning the Germanic Constitution, displayed a persistent reluctance to assume Imperial responsibility towards the nation at large, this was not due to any want of dynastic ambition in the House of Habsburg. Indeed, at the Congress, the power of that House was raised to a height which it had not reached since the age of the Counter-reformation. Adhering to a policy which she had long pursued, Austria had declined to restore the former "Austrian Netherlands" with her dominions, and any lands recovered or acquired by her on the left bank of the Rhine she merely meant to utilize in later arrangements; but she made up for this self-denial in other quarters. Throughout, she kept a firm hold on the portions of Upper Austria and Salzburg, which Bavaria had consented to give up in addition to Tyrol and Vorarlberg. The Final Act set the seal upon her recovery of all the losses to which a succession of disastrous treaties had subjected her in Italy, and upon the union of all her Italian dominions under the name of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, proclaimed by her two months earlier. The Vallées, with Chivasso and Bressan, which had been reunited with Italy by France, formed part of Austria's new Italian kingdom; she regained Trent, Aquileia, and Trieste. Gorizia, Cambray, and Trieste (Jussow), were likewise recovered, and henceforth named the kingdom of Illyria. Dalmatia fell back to her, and, enlarged by the territory of the former Republic of Ragusa, and by the Montenapua support of Cattaro, was henceforth also designated a kingdom. Though the reckoning is not easily run up, it has been estimated that Austria owed from the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars with an increase in population amounting to between four and five millions over that of the Habsburg dominions in 1799, she had, moreover, by the large extension of her Adriatic coast-line, become a maritime Power of considerable importance.

Austria might perhaps have been inclined to retain a permanent hold of the Legations; these, however, had been restored to the Holy See with the exception of certain Ferrarese districts on the left bank of the Po, Austria also obtaining the right of garrisoning the fortresses of Ferrara and Comacine. The duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were definitively assigned to the "Emperor" Marie-Louise, but for her own life only; the succession to be determined by the Five Powers and Spain in common, subject to the reversionary rights of the King of Sardinia. The Final Act defined the enlarged limits of the Sardinian kingdom, and confirmed its possession of Genoa; to the north it made certain cessions to the duchy of Geneva, and the Sardinian provinces of Chablais and Faucigny were admitted to a participation in the Swiss confederacy. The Aut confirmed Genoa Duke (Archduke) Ferdinand in his possession of Tuscany, to which the Staff degli

*Perù* and part of *Elis* were added, the rights of Prince Ludovik Bonaparte being however reserved both in that island and in the principality of Monaco. Lucca was assigned as a duchy to the Infanta Marie-Louise (late Queen of Etruria), with an income of income payable by the Emperor of Austria and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to whom the duchy was to revert in the event of the demise of the Infanta and her son Don Carlos, or of their succession elsewhere. Finally, King Ferdinand IV was recognized by the Powers as King of the Two Sicilies.

The above, together with the stipulations already noticed concerning the Helvetic Constitution, make up the main provisions contained in the Final Act as to the territorial limits of the several European States, and the internal institutions of some of them. With the exception of a reference to the restoration of Greece as a desirable act of justice to Portugal, the Act was, for the best of reasons, quite silent as to Spain; and it also contained nothing respecting Scandinavian affairs proper. The Swedish plenipotentiary, Count Lewenhelm, had, in the Committee of the Eight, played a more or less passive part, reflecting both the disappointment of Bernadotte's former ambitions and his desire to adhere to his bargain with Russia, to whose power in the Baltic that of Sweden was now altogether inferior. The King of Denmark's hopes of a compensation for the cession of Norway had been grievously disappointed; Denmark had to content herself with Luxembourg and the sum of two million dollars, while another sum of three and a half million was paid by France to Sweden. These arrangements, made by treaty on June 8 and 7, found, however, no expression in the Final Act; and indeed Denmark long kept from joining the coalition against Napoleon on his return till some time after the dissolution of the Congress (August, 1815). Denmark had to pay a severe penalty for her ill-luck, and this may help to explain the fact, otherwise surprising, that no protest was raised by the Powers against her retention of the very probable right of leaving the Sound Dues on European concerns.

A vast number of other claims were left unattended in the final settlement adopted by the Congress—from the persistent prayer of the Greeks for liberation from the Turkish yoke and the demand of the Papacy for the restoration of Anagnin, down to the grievance of the French military recipients of Napoleonic detentions in Germany and in Italy, where a special fund had been reserved at Milan for the purpose.

If the Congress failed time for completing these territorial changes and adjustments which formed its primary purpose, it necessarily failed to satisfy expectations as to the settlement of other questions of European interest. With regard to river navigation, the Final Act invited various bases of agreement settled by the Committee appointed as the subject, providing for the constitution of another Commission to be charged with deliberating there in the form of regulations. Absolute freedom of navigation, in the case of rivers traversing several States or



drawing from these one another, was declared, on a uniform system, subject to special regulations in each case; and mercantile laws, not variable unless with the consent of all the States concerned, were prescribed. The distant advantage hardly secured for an internal commerce was of the highest importance at a time when steam still afforded the principal means for the transport of heavy goods, and it was not unreasonably regretted that the Congress should not have proceeded further, and assigned the more difficult task of facilitating an easier line the commercial intercourse between States on the coasts of the internal sea of Europe, especially the Mediterranean and the Baltic.

The Declaration of February 6, 1815, concerning the African slave-trade, had announced the intention of the Eight Powers to carry out its universal abolition as promptly and efficiently as possible by all the means at their disposal. But, as this Declaration left to each Power the choice of the date which it might consider most suitable for carrying out the definitive abolition in its own case, the universal accomplishment of the great reform remained a matter of negotiation among the Powers. The document was printed among the annexes to the Final Act, the text of which contained no reference to the subject. An important step forward was taken when Napoleon, anxious to conclude British public opinion on his return from Elba, decreed the immediate abolition of the slave-trade throughout the French Empire; and, Louis XVIII having been prevailed upon by British diplomacy to follow the emperor's example, Talleyrand could on July 30 inform the representatives of the Allied Powers that, as far as France was concerned, the slave-trade was forever at an end. The reproach deliberately cast upon Great Britain as one of the settings of the Slave-trade Committee (January 22) was afterwards repeated by Cardinal Consalvi—that, while so ardent in her condemnation of the African slave-trade, she had displayed culpable indifference as to the acts of violence committed against the personal liberty of Christians by the Barbary pirates. The subject had been brought and kept before the Congress by the ardent energy of Sir Sidney Smith; but, although Great Britain seemed more than ever called upon to act it at last since she had taken possession of Malta, whose knights had been the appointed protectors of Mediterranean Christianity, it was only by the Alger expedition of 1816 that she effectively met this responsibility.

The last of the annexes to the Final Act of the Congress was that which, as already mentioned, classified the diplomatic agents of the several Powers. These regulations expressly abstained from introducing any change as to the legates and ambassador of the Pope, who as a matter of course were ranked in the first class with ambassadors. But the official worth of the Vatican at such that the Congress had done, or neglected to do, was not then to be appraised. On June 14 Consalvi addressed to the Signatory Powers at the Palace of Park, with an

surrounding rule, a protest which ever more adopted the attitude observed by the Papacy at Münster and at Neuwied. But, in an allocation addressed not long afterwards to the Sacred Consistory, Pius VII adopted a more conciliatory tone; and in truth, while his complaint as to the incomplete restoration of his temporal domains was inevitable, his lament over the extinction of the Holy Roman Empire was little more than a rhetorical flourish. The really important facts for the Church of Rome, though not of a nature to be dealt with either in protests or in allocations, were that, while the rule of Protestant powers had been newly established over large bodies of Catholic subjects—notably so in Prussia and the Netherlands—the greater part of Poland, whose constitutional allegiance was likewise due to Rome, had been permanently subjected to the dominion of Russia, the representative Power of Eastern Christianity. For Rome and her agents new methods of policy had once more become necessary, and a new period in the history of the Western Church began.

With the exception of the Papacy and Spain, all the Governments of Europe unreservedly went in their adhesion to the Final Act and joined in the ratification which involved a general, complete, and reciprocal guarantee of all its articles. The large majority of the provisions contained in the Act and elaborated in its annexes, in so far as they had not been already carried out before the close of the Congress, were executed immediately afterwards. Then the supposed neutrality of the Swiss Confederation and the inviolability of its territory were solemnly recognised by the Four Allied Powers and by France at Paris on November 25, 1815. After the conclusion of a series of conversations between the several German Governments, and the promise, in one form or another, of representative Constitutions to their respective subjects by all of them except Austria, the Diet of the Germanic Confederation was opened on November 3, 1815.

When the Hundred Days were over, and Paris was once more occupied by the Allies, it became necessary to negotiate another peace with France. The protests of Louis XVIII, who had adhered to the coalition against Napoleon, and had now returned to France (July 8), were quite logical; but the Great Powers were unanimous in concluding that a rupture had now more than taken place between France and Europe, and that the closing of it must be marked by a general pacification. To the negotiations concerning this it was determined by the Four Powers on August 18 not to admit representatives of the other Governments till after the main issues had been decided. In the previous conferences, held from the middle of July onwards between the leading ministers of the Four Powers, a disagreement had already manifested itself as to the measures to be taken against another disturbance of the peace of Europe. On July 28 Hardenberg laid before the Committee of the Four Powers the Prussian

proposals, which included the strengthening of the Belgian frontier by the cession of a series of French fortresses, and of the German by the cession of Alsace, whose fortresses were to be possessed by Austria, and by the transfer to Prussia of those on the Saar and Upper Moselle, while some of the strong places in the Jura were to be included within the Swiss frontier, and Piedmont was to be placed in possession of the whole of Savoy. It was well known that these views were shared by several of the smaller German Governments, and enthusiastically advocated by the Crown Princes of Saxony and Württemberg. During the discussion which ensued, Metternich appears to have argued that a territorial cession might fairly be demanded from France, together with a permanent guarantee consisting in the surrender of the entrance of her three lines of fortresses, and Humboldt finally insisted on such the same admission. Had Austria and Prussia, before entering upon the new war, agreed upon the demands which they would make on its termination, they might possibly have succeeded in carrying these proposals; but it is open to doubt whether it would have suited Metternich, as it scarcely would have been repugnant to Gortschak, the conductor of his policy at the Congress of Vienna, to make any radical alteration in its conclusions. The problem was decided by the unwillingness of Great Britain materially to modify, and of Russia to detach at all, the arrangements of the First Peace of Paris as elaborated at Vienna. Wellington, though unwilling to impose important cessions upon France—a policy which Clarendon upheld with remarkable resolution—allowed that this First Peace had left her in a position of relatively excessive strength, while Capotristras argued that, once the war had been undertaken to maintain the conditions then settled, no alteration of them could be expected at its close.

The controversy ended by a rearrangement which cannot be called a compromise. A new line of demarcation was drawn in the north-east, separating from France the whole of the duchy of Basle and a portion of the department of the Ardennes, the fortresses of Saarbrück and Landau were transferred to Germany, and Fort Joux to the Swiss Confederation, while the fortifications of Strasbourg were to be razed. Part of the heavy pecuniary indemnity to be imposed on France was meant to enable her neighbours to complete their defensive system against her. This ultimatum having been communicated to the French ministry by the plenipotentiaries of the Four Powers in the conference held on September 20, Talleyrand resisted it with as much vehemence and bitterness, and with as important a reference to first principles, as to convey the impression that in his own opinion the situation would best be served by his making himself impossible. His speedy recognition of his unstarred office, in which he was succoured by the Duke of Rutland, facilitated the conclusion of peace. Thanks to the efforts of the Tsar, easier terms were granted to France, so far as the pecuniary indemnity was concerned.

On September 26, 1815, the Emperors of Russia and Austria and

the King of Prussia signed the manifesto known as the Holy Alliance, which proclaimed that, alike in the government of their own monarchies and in their political relations with other States, their conduct would be absolutely regulated by the principles of the Christian religion, and inserted the alliance in this declaration of all the Christian sovereigns and Powers of Europe, including the Most Christian King. This document, which had been reluctantly signed by the Emperor Francis and King Frederick William without being communicated to their Cabinets, though Metternich had seen and disliked it and suggested certain changes of wording, was not of a nature to be fitted into the peace negotiations; but the Tsar, the author of this "diplomatic apotheosis," was undoubtedly anxious that the Peace mediated under his predominant influence should be accounted his first-fruits. Nor would it be difficult to show that, though the Holy Alliance had no direct or formal connexion with the Second Peace of Paris, the train of ideas which led Alexander to conceive the one strongly influenced his policy with regard to the other, more especially as to the treatment of Prussia. Under the guidance of Richelieu, the friend of Madame de Krüdener, France would, the Tsar hoped, support him in the execution of his Eastern designs, counterbalancing Great Britain, as his faithful ally, Prussia would counterbalance Austria. Yet he did not omit the establishment of the Protectorate of Great Britain over the "United States" of the seven Ionian Islands, which was recognised by the Four Allied Powers on November 3, 1814, though it implied the practical recognition of British naval supremacy in the Mediterranean.

The treaties known collectively as the Second Peace of Paris were concluded on November 20, 1815, the basis of these agreements, afterwards elaborated by Wessenberg, Capodistria, and Humboldt, and put into their final shape by La Bourdonnaye and Gontz, having been settled some weeks previously by the representatives of the Great Powers. These treaties provided that the frontiers of France should be those of 1792, with the modifications already indicated, and a few others, including the stipulation between France and Baden of the bridge between Strasbourg and Kehl; while certain further contractions of the French frontier, both towards Switzerland and Savoy and towards the Netherlands, were successfully opposed by Richelieu. No other changes of significance were made in the permanent provisions of the First Peace of Paris and of the Vienna Final Act, and it was stipulated that, in all cases where these provisions were not expressly altered by the present treaty, they were to be regarded as confirmed and maintained by it. The Second Peace of Paris made no attempt to supplement the Final Act where (as in the case of the Russian compensation) the Vienna settlement had remained incomplete. Metternich was therefore very near the mark in observing that the only difference between the First and the Second Peace of Paris, apart from the transfer of a few frontier-places, and the provisions as to the

war-indemnity payable by France and the occupation of her soil by the Allies, lay in the wholly justifiable restitution of the artistic spoils brought to Paris by Napoleon.

The stipulations, intrinsically more important, as to the continued occupation of French soil by the allied troops were devised with studied moderation. The total of troops distributed among the northern and eastern frontiers of the kingdom was not to exceed 150,000 men; and the duration of their presence was not to extend beyond five years. The indemnity payable by France was fixed at 700,000,000 francs, to be handed over within five years, and subsequent bonds to the amount of 145,000,000 more were issued, to cover the debts due from France to other countries, which in reality reached a much larger total.

On the same day or that on which the Peace was signed (November 20) the Four Allied Powers agreed to a joint guarantee for its maintenance, thus carrying out the promise of alliance concluded at Vienna on March 21, 1815, and at Chaumont on March 1, 1814. In this convention, while maintaining the exclusion of Napoleon and his family from the French throne, and reserving their mutual promise to unite if necessary in common measures of war, they undertook to convene at stated intervals meetings between the sovereigns and their plenipotentiaries on subjects of common interest, and for the discussion of measures conducive to the tranquillity and prosperity of their peoples, and to the preservation of the peace of Europe. Thus, while the Holy Alliance was distinctly repudiated by the statesmanship of Europe as a declaration of principle leading to no direct results, the agreement between the Four Powers based upon the Treaty of Chaumont meant not only the renewal of an offensive and defensive Quadruple Alliance of the utmost moment, but also the actual beginning of the congressional epoch of European politics. It was left to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) to complete the system of the Five Powers acting in conference by the admission of Prussia into what it declared to be a union animated by the eternal principles of the Holy Alliance. Certain territorial questions left open at Vienna were here set at rest; others (including those of the Thronensuccession and the guaranteeing of Milan) were settled by a Committee of representatives of the Four Allied Powers at Frankfurt (July, 1819).

§ 6 The Congress of Vienna was in its earlier days accused by critics, judging near at hand like the Prison de Lige, or at a distance like Goethe, of wasting time. But the assembly which in June, 1815, hurriedly brought its labours to a conclusion was not justly chargeable with idleness. Its task had been, not to make peace in Europe—for, when this had not been accomplished before the meeting of the Congress it had no commission to bring it about—but to elaborate out of the conditions laid down by the First Peace of Paris a political system which should ensure to Europe an endurance of powerful resistance among her States. Within the nine months during which the Congress remained

assembled, it was called upon to repair the consequences of a quarter of a century of upheaval. It was therefore incumbent upon the Congress after re-organizing Europe against a restoration of the same evil from the same quarter by strengthening the frontier against France from the Low Countries to Italy, to re-tribute the territories which had been directly or indirectly subject to French rule. This had to be done with a regard to the security and balance of Europe on the one hand, and on the other to just and reasonable claims of former possessors. The Congress accomplished its twofold task by excluding France within limits virtually the same as those which had bounded her territory before the Revolutionary Wars, including all her acquisitions under Louis XIV., by constructing on her north-western boundary an important boundary State, the Netherlands; by reconstructing France as a Great Power, materially strengthened on the Rhine and Lower Rhine, and by the transfer to her of part of Saxony; by establishing in the centre of Europe the Germanic Confederation as a permanent political organization, and restoring, likewise under European guarantee, the Confederation of the Swiss Cantons; by supporting Prussia among the three Eastern Powers in such a way as to increase the Russian share; and by enlarging the conservative Austrian Empire, while at the same time holding its control over northern Italy through the re-establishment of the throne of Sardinia (with increased territorial power) and of the Bourbon throne of the Two Sicilies.

Among the criticisms to which these results were open, the most obvious was that of their incompleteness, as measured not only by the expectations of the European public, but also by the desires of those who took a prominent part in its history. The scheme described, according to Talleyrand, by himself, Castlereagh, and others—that of establishing, in lieu of mere temporary alliances, a permanent system of general and reciprocal guarantee and international adjustments—was broken off by the return of Napoleon. There was some question of deferring the conclusion of the Congress until it should have been completed on these broader lines; and Talleyrand too, credit for having permitted the security of pressing on the Final Act without waiting for such a consummation. The scheme, had it been carried out, must have amounted to the substitution of a body representing all the European Great powers for the self-appointed Committee of the Four Powers which took action at Châtillon and Paris, and into which France was not admitted till 1818.

There is, however, no reason for concluding that the establishment of the former kind of tribunal seriously entered into the conceptions of the leading statesmen of the Congress. The adherence to the Final Act of all the European Governments, its express confirmation by the Second Peace of Paris, and the assumption by the Four Allied Powers of the task of watching over the peace of Europe on the basis then

agreed upon, might fairly be regarded as together offering as complete a security as in the existing condition of things could be obtained. At the same time, it cannot be said that in its territorial arrangements the Congress consciously followed either the principle of history or any other single principle; indeed, as was more or less inevitable, it largely followed Napoleonic precedent. THE SPEECH to the established principle of secondary States of the Union of States of the first class ("hégémonie" in more exact phraseology), as in the instance of the Netherlands and of Prussia; and to the extinction, where possible, of separate Governments (though, paradoxically, Neuchâtel was forced into the Swiss Confederation), as well as of static political corporations. But did the Congress, though it might derive from nothing disregard of historic usage or tradition, show itself at bottom more ready more than Napoleon had really been by considerations of expediency. The great historic wrong done to that principle by the partition of Poland was not undone at Vienna. Austria was allowed to consolidate her grasp over a large part of Italy; Finland was left under the Russian dominion; Norway was severed from Denmark, to which it was bound by ties of language as well as by other associations. Hungary, Spain, Portugal and Antigua were treated with as much regard as was possible of expediency; Catholic Belgium was united with Protestant Holland; Genoa was subjected to her ancient foe the House of Savoy, and Sicily which, when in reluctant union with Naples, had possessed a separate Constitution, was now once more joined to her under a single despotic Government. But on the whole, a business-like spirit predominated in the territorial dispositions of the Congress; violent transference of sovereign authority were avoided as far as possible; and there was little of that juggling with thrones and principalities which had been habitual with Napoleon. There was, however, a good deal of incoherence in the distribution to the advantage of petty potentates whom the great sovereigns, for reasons of state or of family, desired to oblige; and little appreciation of the claims of nationalities.

The Eastern Question is its national question, among which the future of Greece, of the Danubian Principalities, and of Egypt had already become prominent—was, with the common consent of the Great Powers, passed by. From want of courage, probably, rather than of courage, British statesmanship lost an admirable opportunity of impressing upon the Porte the necessity of reforming its internal administration, and adhering to treaty engagements with the European Powers; and the intervention which had hitherto characterised Metternich's Oriental policy likewise operated in favour of inaction. But this was not the only important political question, sooner or later certain to become one of burning interest, which the Congress left untouched. The future of Spanish America likewise remained undisturbed, although British statesmen, and Castlereagh in particular, were fully aware that the old system,

which had been restored in the Pyrenean peninsula, could not be revived in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies; and although it was manifest that an independent Spanish America would supply Great Britain, whose own colonial possessions had been so largely augmented, with a market such as had never before been opened to her in the New World. The repulsive policy of the Spanish Government was sure to justify a crisis; as for Portugal, the incorporation with it of Brazil into a single country had been announced, but the Prince Regent probably remained at Rio. None of the Great Powers besides Great Britain cared to meddle with the Spanish American colonies, Spain wishing to play the part of trusted counsellor at Madrid in Great Britain's place, and France representing the interests of the Spanish Bourbons.

Of actual methods creating the peace and tranquillity of the European family of States, in the good government on which the general peace so largely depended, the Congress was not reporting; but it laid the basis and preparation for practically discussing Kant's Project of a Perpetual Peace had been just seven years before the world; but it had not yet won the deference which the principles evoked in it, neither than the accompanying proposals for their application, deserved, and the London Peace Society was not founded till 1816. The conference agreed upon at Chaumont and reaffirmed on the occasion of the Second Peace of Paris had in effect—namely that of periodical meetings of representatives of the chief European Powers, to whom dominions the other States were to be invited to accede. No proposal for instituting a permanent tribunal of arbitration, or any similar authority for the settling of disputes between the States of Europe, could at present be expected to find serious support; the principles of the public Law of Nations, as interpreted by a preponderance of learning, had in the last resort to be enforced by the just action of what Metternich called "moral Prerogative," approved and supported by the remaining Governments. When the Congress assembled, there was no doubt every hope that the dawn of a long if not perpetual era of peace might itself be heralded by a general disarmament. The Congress gave no sign of the willingness of the European Governments, or of the Great Powers in particular, to entertain any such proposal. But a reduction of the military forces of the individual Powers had been actually begun on a considerable scale when the return of Napoleon put a stop to the process. It was something that a beginning, however abortive, should have been made, and the opportunities for the termination of the second occupation of France probably furnished by the precedent. The conception of a permanent armed camp in each of the European States was foreign to the generation which had undergone the experience of a war military tyranny.

The belief, in the main incorrect, that the good government of the several States of Europe, and consequently its general peace, would



be greatly assisted by the grant of popular representative Constitutions, was encouraged by many influences. Among these were the enthusiastic receptivity of the Emperor Alexander for the ideas which presented to him by some of his chosen associates, a widespread conviction of the excellence of the British Constitution, and the extraordinary prestige that had accrued to the constitutional form of government from the stability of the British State and its policy. Yet the process was rapid enough to reach all phases of continental cooperation, and most of all to the dynasty and statesmen of the Austrian Empire. Even Austria, however, made no objection to Constitutions outside her own dominions; and, in more cases than one, the statement of the Congress, like that of Napoleon, was proposed to treat the grant of Constitutions as much less burdensome than their growth. The Final Act itself guaranteed the German Constitution, which in one of its clauses announced that representative Constitutions would be granted in each of the States of the Confederation. It also declared the participation of the Belgic Provinces of the Netherlands in the constitutional rights of the Dutch, while it protected the national institutions of the Poles who had become subjects of the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian Governments respectively, conferred a Constitution on the republic of Cracow, and secured representative rights to Greece on its union with Serbia. Elsewhere, in Norway, in Spain, and in France itself, the Great Powers were understood to approve the grants of Constitutions which here and the Congress were not bound to guarantee.

That the Congress of Vienna was chargeable with shortcomings, mistakes, and failures, that none of its creations, like the Union of Belgium and Holland, proved of any kind and nature, while others, like the German Confederation, were more and more broken down, that the separation which its settlement failed to satisfy failed to satisfy, if conceivable, is inseparable from which no part of the period ending with the revolutionary outbreak of 1848 witnessed wholly free—all this is as true as it was inevitable. But to make the Congress of Vienna the scapegoat of the troubles which marred the general peace and prosperity of the next thirty years is to overlook several considerations. In the first place, the task of the Congress was limited by the terms of its commission, while it must be madmen to suppose it allowed to have produced substantial remedies to the agitation of interference between European States and to the progress of human civilization. Secondly, if the commission of the Congress was restricted, so was its real power. And the lack of divergent interests, compromise was the only alternative to coercion, as such, and this was clearly seen by the representatives of the Great Powers who virtually controlled the situation. It was indeed no secret, Spain openly defied the Great Powers, of whom she would have been accounted one, to depose her of Orléans; Austria at one time declared that force alone

should compel her to return to subjection under Rome. How near the Great Powers came to an armed conflict among themselves has been seen from the brief account given above of the Saxe-Polish difficulty. The results actually obtained by the Congress, or the Committee of the Great Powers which acted on its behalf, could only have been accomplished by means of patient argument, resourceful diplomacy, and a judicious display of America. Thus, while much of its success was due to the tact of the Humboldts and the Wessenbergs and of their indefatigable subordinates, none of the credit should in equity also be given to the magnanimous impulses of Alexander, the friendliness of the British plenipotentiaries, and others all in the tact of Metternich and his confidential adviser Gorts.

What the Congress, within such limits and restrictions, actually did achieve, was not only to restore a balance of power in the European assembly held by Germany or their dynasty, and to secure the independent existence of a number of States which had been subjected to an alien rule; to furnish that assembly for the regulated political action of Europe by instituting a federal union of the States of Germany, strengthening that of the cantons of Switzerland, and securing a prospect of constitutional life for a number of European peoples; to secure a large and unfortunate portion of humanity from the hideous calamities of a cruel and wicked slave; and to add still a few further promises to enable to the principle of tolerance and to that of free and full reciprocal intercourse between the nations. The Congress did more than this. It built up for Europe a territorial system, which had some doubtful points and some considerable defects, and for which permanency could not be hoped any more than for any other set of human affairs. But the system itself was neither accidental in its main principles, nor altogether transitory in its main conditions. It re-established a real balance of power in Europe, if this expression be understood to mean that every assault was provided against the violent disturbance of the peace of Europe by any one Power, or by any actually existing or probable combination of Powers. An augmented Austrian Empire, a stronger and more thoroughly German Prussia, and a Germanic Confederation whose conditions showed in some respects an unmistakable advance on those of the old Empire, furnished guarantees for the security of continental Europe against Russia as well as against France. The results achieved by the Congress may fairly be described as a settlement which, though open to many criticisms, and in many respects inadequate, as the whole fairly met both the necessities that it had received, and the demands that could reasonably be made upon its efforts. The method which it exemplified in dealing with the affairs of Europe, though likewise full of imperfections, yet deserved to be called the best and most expeditious likewise devised by her statesmen in the common interest or her peace.

## CHAPTER XXII

## GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND (1795-1801)

THE year 1795 forms the dividing line between the earlier and later periods of Pitt's career. That France was in convulsions and Europe in commotion seemed to Pitt no reason why he should cease adding to the order of financial reform and commercial prosperity at which he had toiled uninterceptedly for the last decade. In introducing the Budget he bound himself not to touch the Sinking Fund and to discontinue taxation, and, in the conviction that fifteen years of peace might be reasonably expected, he reduced the vote for war, and allowed the subsidy treaty with France-Cisal to expire. That his compromise was undisturbed was further shown by his warm support of the Liberal Bill. Erskine's plan that the jury had to determine the question of libel no less than the fact of publication had been adopted by Kenyon in 1786; and in 1795 Fox proposed to make this principle part of the law of the land. Considerable opposition was offered by Thelwall; but in 1795 the measure again passed the House of Commons unopposed, and was accepted by the Lords. Events in France had nevertheless begun to modify the grouping of parties. Many who were ready enough to suggest or support measures of political or religious emancipation in ordinary times deemed it unwise, in Windham's phrase, to repair their houses in the hurricane season, while in other quarters the Revolution was interpreted as a warning of the perils that attended the delay of reform. Early in 1795 the more liberal element in the Opposition formed the Society of the Friends of the People, from which Fox, who cared little for parliamentary reform, stood aloof, though it was joined by his chief lieutenants. Grey was deputed to introduce the question of reform in the following year, but, when he gave notice of his intention, Pitt rose to express his belief that such an attempt could not safely be made at the present time. This declaration, uttered on the last day of April, 1795, may be taken to mark the transition from the peaceful to the repressive period of Pitt's ministerial career.

The ultimate cause of this change was the Revolution in France,

but its proceeds came into the rapid growth of Radical opinion at home. The Corresponding Society, founded at the end of 1794, was sending large numbers of addresses, and the immense circulation of Fox's *Speeches of Pitt* moved the great opposition. Pitt made himself the interpreter of the growing anxiety by a royal proclamation on May 21, 1795, against "divisive violent and seditious writings." The proclamation was supported by Windham and some less prominent Whigs in the Lower House, and by the Princes of Wales, Portland, and Spencer in the Upper; and so strong was the feeling of alarm that in neither House did its opponents hazard a division. The debate on the proclamation provided to the world the differences of the Whigs. Lord Malmesbury, arriving in England at this moment from service abroad, at once set to work to consolidate the position of the action which disagreed with Fox, and the conferences that took place almost daily throughout June and July are described with incomparable vividness in the pages of his diary. The moving agents were Loughborough, Franks, Portland, Windham, and Gilbert Elliot; while Burke, who alone had openly quarrelled with Fox, strove by tongue and pen to encourage the dissenters. The situation developed when, on June 12, Dundas was dismissed by Pitt in consequence of repeated acts of ministerial insubordination. Dundas called on Loughborough, and on behalf of Pitt offered the Chanceryship and three seats in the Cabinet as the price of a coalition. Fox had no belief in Pitt's sincerity, and declared that the nation must not be a mere accession of members to the existing Ministry, but a fair and equal division of power and patronage. Portland refused to join without Fox, and declared for a neutral Frontier such as the Duke of Leeds. Malmesbury and Loughborough, on the other hand, felt that Pitt ought not to be asked to surrender the Treasury. The publication of the memoranda of the Duke of Leeds has made it clear that Pitt was not at this time really anxious for a coalition; and it soon became obvious that the disintegration of the Whig party had not proceeded far enough to admit of such a step.

The fall of the French monarchy, the September massacres, and the offer of aid to emigrant princes increased the alarm of the country to fever point. Part of the militia was called out by proclamation on December 1, though such a step was only legal when insurrection could be alleged. Parliament met on December 12; and the King's Speech pointed to designs to subvert the Constitution and social order. Fox replied that the duty of the Government was to remove grievances. His proposal to acknowledge the French Republic led to the renewal of the negotiations which had been broken off in the summer, though there was no longer any thought of including him in the coalition. The dissentient Whigs looked to Portland as their leader, because of his high rank, his wealth, and his long political career. But Portland was among the least efficient politicians of his age. He undertook to

repudiate Fox; but, when Lambton and Lambton's grave attention to the opinions which he advanced, he remained silent. Melbourne, who sat by him, urged him repeatedly to speak. "He said he really could not; Loughborough had said all that could be said. I pressed him to say these very words and nothing more, but without effect." This astonishing scene was afterwards attributed by Portland himself—a man who had been Prime Minister—to "want of habit in speaking in public." Its real explanation was that Fox's influence was still powerful, and that Portland was at the mercy of the last visitor at Burlington House. After a few more meetings the task was abandoned as hopeless, and Loughborough accepted the Chanceryship.

Fearing that the advent of royalist refugees might, if Paris fell, be followed by an influx of Jacobin fugitives, Pitt introduced an Alien Bill (Jan. 1794) providing that foreigners must state the object of their visit, register their names, and procure passports. The *Emigrants' Correspondence Bill* quickly followed (March), extending the law of treason to the supply of arms or military and naval stores to the enemy, and to the purchase of land in France; and intercourse with France was forbidden except by special license under the Great Seal. When Grey brought forward the motion of which he had given notice to the previous session, he presented a striking report on the abuses and anomalies of parliamentary representation. But, though he only begged for a commission, not more than fifty members supported him; and the Opposition remained appreciably at this strength till the resignation of Pitt. A year later, on July 11, 1794, a coalition with the disaffected Whigs was formally announced. Portland accepted the Home Office, Fitzwilliam became Lord President, Windham Secretary for War, and Spencer Perceval Solicitor, which office he quickly exchanged for the Admiralty. A peerage was offered to Burke, but the death of his son led him to refuse it; and the heartbroken old man retired from Parliament and public life at the moment when the concentration of which he was the prime author was accomplished. When the Speaker asked Pitt if he did not fear being outvoted in his own Cabinet, he replied that he placed much dependence on his new colleagues, and still more on himself. While Pitt's dictatorship was in no way impaired, the brilliant energy of Windham, the admirable administrative work of Spencer, and the great moral influence of Portland immensely strengthened the Ministry.

The position of the Foxite Whigs was now a lonely one. All who aspired to a title or to promotion in the Church or the Law found it wise to profess Tory opinions. The country gentlemen were Tory almost to a man; and the managed classes had rallied to Pitt long before the outbreak of the Revolution. The Liberalism which advocated a moderate measure of parliamentary reform and opposed coercion was involved in a common condemnation with the Radicalism which demanded universal

refuge and annual parliaments. Yet the little band, though powerless in the division lobby and unregarded by the country, kept alive the spirit of freedom, and preserved the nucleus of a party to which men could rally when the war and the peace should be over.

In the spring of 1785 the affairs of the Prince of Wales were once more fixed on the attention of the country. He was again deeply in debt, and had no choice but to extract money from Parliament by a promise to marry. The Duke of York, while campaigning, had met his cousin Caroline, the daughter of the Duke of Brunswick, and spoke highly of her to his brother. The King approved the suggestion, and dispatched Melanbury to the Court of Brunswick to ask her hand. Melanbury reported that the Princess was spoiled by a bad education and had examples, though with a good husband he believed she might turn out well. When the Prince met his future wife, he was unable to conceal his doubts for her. The mutual dislike of the royal couple was fostered by Lady Jersey, whom the Prince, with regular bad-taste, appointed to be lady-in-waiting to his wife; and, after the birth of a daughter in the following year, a formal separation was effected.

By the autumn of 1785 the burdens imposed by the war and the operations of the press-gang began to be heavily felt. The enormous open-air meetings organised by the Corresponding Society on Sturges Pitt that he remarked to Wilberforce that, if he were to resign, his head would be off in six months. The King, on his way to open Parliament, was greeted with cries of "Road! No War! No Expenses!" and a pelt of or a bullet from an air-gun, broke the glass of his carriage. Pitt replied to the challenge by rendering illegal almost every form of agitation. A Treason Bill was introduced, imposing penalties on attacks intended bodily harm to the King; while to excite hatred of the King or the Constitution by writing or speaking was made punishable on a second conviction by transportation for seven years. A second measure, known as the Seditious Bill, forbade meetings of more than fifty persons without notice to a magistrate, who was ordered to apprehend the speakers if the Government or the Constitution were brought into contempt. Every public meeting was to be advertised by a paper signed by resident householders; and a licence was made necessary for houses, rooms, and fields where money was taken to hear lectures or speeches. Pitt partly observed that this Parliament had taken more from the liberties and added more to the burdens of the people than any of its predecessors.

The currency question gave rise to much anxiety throughout the war. The rapid advance of prosperity had led to the issue of notes far beyond the gold reserves; and a crisis began shortly before the war broke of hostilities. The situation was modified when by the action of the Bank of England, which, in the expectation of being required to supply a quantity of bullion for the expenses of the war, restricted its note issue. Pitt knew the country to be alarmed, and authorised the

issue of Exchange Bills for five millions to merchants against securities or goods (1795). The advances were quickly repaid, and the plan ceased. But the stress which produced the shortage of bullion, among them the practice of advancing cash to the Ministry in payment of Bills of Exchange, continued to operate. When, in December, 1794, the French fleet reached Ireland, a panic ensued, and deposits were withdrawn from country banks, which in turn withdrew their deposits from the Bank of England. In February, 1795, the alarmed Directors applied for advice to Pitt, who promptly issued an Order in Council, forbidding the Bank to pay in cash till Parliament could be assembled. The merchants of London agreed to accept and to tender bank-notes, and the Bank Restriction Act forbade the redemption of cash payments exceeding £1 until six months after the conclusion of peace. Suspension was on the whole a wise policy. It averted the raising of the great loans, and sustained commercial credit by enabling the Bank to increase the circulation without regard to the demands of Government. The Opposition forbade for the nonconvertible paper the title of assignats, but the Directors of the Bank acted with caution, and the difference between the value of gold and that of notes in the early years of suspension was slight.

If the currency crisis and the Making of the Navy rendered the year 1795 one of unusual anxiety, the parliamentary difficulties of the Ministry were lightened by the accession of the leading members of the Opposition. A Reform Bill was introduced by Grey, but its supporters were aware that the measure had no chance of passing, and resigned that they would cease to take an active part in Parliament. The retirement of Fox was for some years almost complete. He had lost the drive for office, and was never so happy as at St Ann's Hill, surrounded by his flowers and his books. The visitors of Goethe, Baly, France, and Spain were his daily companions, and his letters to Gilbert Wakefield and to his adored nephew, Lord Holland, reveal his intense delight in literature. Grey's northern home was equally attractive, and his sessions was scarcely less complete. Erskine gladly seized the opportunity of retirement from an arena where he added nothing to his name. These withdrawals left the stage free for the minor actors, and Tierney, whose financial ability rendered him a formidable opponent of Pitt, became the working head of the Opposition. The accession of the leaders was a tactical blunder, due chiefly to Grey, in which, according to Lord Holland, Fox acquiesced rather from reluctance than judgment. The step was reinforced by Lambton, Sheridan, and other influential Whigs, and its effect was neutralised by its incompleteness.

After the failure of Pitt's negotiations with the Directory in 1797, the question of ways and means became acute. He had so confidently expected a speedy pacification that he met the expenses of the early years almost entirely with loans. It was only slowly that he perceived that he had entered on a long struggle, demanding not only loans but

heavy war taxation. During his first ministry the National Debt was increased by £224,000,000. Of this sum he only secured about £200,000,000 in cash, as he borrowed in a low stock. He has been sharply blamed for not raising his loans in stock of a higher description; but he was most eager to do so, and his failure was due to the absence of public expectations. The burden was reduced during the same period by more than £40,000,000 through the operation of the Sinking Fund. Pitt's scheme of war taxation has been less censured, and in it his desire to spare the poor may be clearly traced. In 1796 he introduced a graduated Legacy Duty, incorporating the proposal in two Bills, one relating to personal, the other to real property. The former passed without difficulty, but the latter incurred so much hostility that it was deferred, the remedy remaining till 1855. The Budget of 1797 tripled the assessed taxes, a few abatements being made for the poorer classes. A suggestion by Addington that wealthy men should be invited to make voluntary contributions was soon adopted, and brought in £4,000,000 within the year. In the following year the triple assessment and the voluntary subscriptions were superseded by the Income Tax. Pitt estimated the taxable income of the country at £200,000,000, and proposed a levy of 10 per cent. Income under £25 a year was to escape, and those under £200 to pay at a graduated rate. Pitt reduced the yield at about £7,500,000, but the tax brought in nearly more than £6,000,000. His other taxes are too numerous to be mentioned here. They extended to every kind of food and drink, to the necessaries not less than to the luxuries of daily life, to every item of property and every operation of trade and business. But, despite the suffering they involved, exports and imports steadily increased throughout the war, while English shipping gained the place which it has never lost.

The great riots around the coping-stone in 1793. The political societies were not quite illegal; and the Irish rebellion impelled Pitt to frame the Corresponding Societies Bill. The Corresponding Society was suppressed by name, and all associations were declared unlawful whose members were required to take an oath not recognized by law, or which included members or committees not known to the whole society. Unlicensed debating clubs and reading-rooms were to be regarded as disorderly houses; printing-presses and type-foundries were to be registered, and the printer's name was to appear on every publication. Thereafter the dissenient movement ceased for a number of years.

The passing of the Union scarcely ruffled the surface of English politics; but Pitt had more than one ground for uneasiness in the summer of 1800. When Napoleon became First Consul, Pitt believed that another effort for peace should be made, though with diffidence of opinion existed within the Cabinet. He was even more concerned at the economic condition of the country, deciding that the problem of peace or war was not half so serious as that of the scarcity. There



was a third question, the complexities of which Pitt did not at the time fully realise. He had always favoured far-reaching concessions to the Irish Catholics; and, though he was dissuaded by Clive from incorporating these concessions in the Act of Union, he was resolved that they should immediately follow it. Cornwallis had been empowered to seek Catholic support for the Union; and it was with confidence that Pitt summoned his colleagues to a Cabinet meeting. He informed Loughborough, who was at Weymouth with the King, that he desired to discuss the general state of the Catholics, tribes, and a programme for the Catholics and dissenting clergy. Loughborough showed the King Pitt's letter, and learned his strong objection to the proposals. At the meeting of the Cabinet on Sept. 30, 1800, when Pitt advanced the substitution of a political for a sacramental test for office, and the consecration of titles, Loughborough raised general issues by declaring that he was opposed to the admission of Catholics to Parliament or office, though he approved the settlement of the title question. Pitt had no choice but to adjourn the discussion. The plot now matured rapidly. At the time of the Fitzwilliam episode, the King had asked the opinion of Chief Justice Eyre and the Attorney-General, Sir John Scott, as to whether his assent to the admission of Catholics to Parliament would be contrary to his Coronation Oath, and had received a reply in the negative. He had then applied to Loughborough, who returned an ambiguous answer; and the King's own feelings were strengthened by a document drawn up by Lord Clive asserting that the Coronation Oath was a bar to any such measure. The Archbishop of Canterbury was now invited to write a strong letter to the King; and a similar communication arrived from the Primate of Ireland.

Pitt was actually unaware of the conspiracy, but he knew that his proposal had opponents besides the Chancellor. Portland, Westmoreland, Liverpool, and Chatham were hostile; but Grenville, Dundas, Gordon, Windham, and Spencer supported the plan. Pitt made up his mind to go forward, and in January, 1801, wrote to Castlereagh that he was firm. The King was equally determined, and on January 18 he remarked to Dundas at the house, "What is it this young Lord (Castlereagh) has brought over which they are going to throw at my head? The most Jacobinical thing I ever heard of!" Next day he requested Addington to see Pitt and "prevent him ever speaking on a subject on which he could scarcely keep his temper." Pitt wrote to the King, explaining the proposal and begging leave to resign if he was not allowed to bring it forward. The King suggested that neither should recur to the subject. Pitt answered that he could not remain on those terms; and on February 3 his resignation was accepted. Thus the King and his Minister parted without an interview.

It is easy to understand the King's indignation that a measure of such importance had been discussed by his ministers far from him without

any official intimation to him; but the motive that led Pitt to withhold such intimation is clear. If he had informed the King of his intention to discuss the Catholic Question with his colleagues, the project might have been stopped in the bud by a peremptory veto. On the other hand the waiting course incurred two very grave dangers. There was nothing but *Calicut* loyalty—in those days a broken word—to prevent his colleagues from inferring the King of what was going on; and, secondly, it was inevitable that the King should be by no means left without information. Pitt afterwards expressed regret that he had not informed the King at an earlier stage; but his original judgment is not necessarily invalidated by one formed subsequently at a period of painful agitation. Both courses were beset with difficulties. That which he pursued failed; but it is not clear that the other would have succeeded.

On the approach of the crisis, the King's thoughts had at once turned to Addington; and, when Pitt resigned, the Speaker was invited to form an administration. Addington's reply depended on the attitude of Pitt; but, having promised the King his support, he could not decline his invitation. Addington was in later life to declare that his resolution was taken when Pitt declared that hesitation must not run. Though the most pressing matter was thus easily settled, the excitement was too much for the King. After reading the Coronation Oath to his family, he remarked, "If I declare it I am no longer sovereign of this country, but it falls to the House of Lords." By the middle of February he was thoroughly ill. No business could be transacted during the King's sickness. Pitt had resigned, but was still in control. Addington had been appointed, but had not received the seals of office. The anomalous situation was only averted from danger by the affectionate relations between the actual and the prospective Minister.

When the King regained his senses, his thoughts still ran on the Catholic Question. He sent a message to Pitt through the doctor, "Tell him I am now quite recovered; but what has he not to answer for who is the cause of my having been ill at all?" Pitt was so affected that he immediately replied that he would never again bring forward the question during the King's lifetime. This momentous communication set all men asking why he had resigned; and Pitt himself had begun to doubt whether he had acted rightly. On the evening of his Budget speech, February 16, he had talked for three hours with his friend Rose, Secretary to the Treasury, who related that there were painful workings in his mind, and most of the time tears in his eyes. The dangerous illness of the King agitated him still more; and, when the reproachful message reached him, his resolution was taken. Some of his intimate friends had already urged him to resume office, and their efforts were now redoubled. Pitt forewaged the idea, but refused to take the first step. Dundas begged the Duke of York to urge the King to restore Pitt; and, when the Duke, though sympathising with the project,

refused, Portland offered to approach Addington. Pitt forbade the mission; but his friends were determined, and urged Addington to retire. Addington replied that they might speak to the King, but they ought first to ask the doctors if such an interview was likely to be dangerous. At this point Pitt definitely declared his intention of supporting Addington, and on March 14, 1804, resuscitated office.

The sudden resignation of Pitt gave rise to the belief that it was not exclusively due to the Catholic difficulty. There was in truth no ground for the supposition that the chief or even a contributing cause of the resignation was a desire to escape the responsibility of making peace. The fear lest it should necessitate a reconstruction of his Cabinet might have influenced a weaker man; but Pitt's confidence in himself was boundless. The subject of the peace was never mentioned in the long and confidential discussions held between Pitt and his intimate friends during the crisis, such when the change was made, it was intelligently and repeatedly repudiated by him. Nor is there any reference to it in the letters of Lord Grenville to his brother. Secondly, Pitt was willing, and indeed eager, to return to office a few days after his resignation, and was only prevented from doing so by Addington's refusal to withdraw. In the next place, he aided Addington to negotiate the peace, discussed and approved every article with him, and defended it in public and in private. Again, why should it be supposed that the French would prove more accommodating in dealing with a weak than with a strong Cabinet? It is true that Malinsbury records a conversation in which Dundas spoke strongly in favour of Pitt's return, and added that, if it was not feasible, the fact that the new Ministers would make peace would only smooth the way for his recall. But this was obviously an after-thought, not an efficient cause of what had taken place.

Peace having been made (March, 1804), Pitt continued to give Addington a sincere and disinterested support on the tacit understanding that the latter would not depart from his policy. The statements that Addington declared himself to be merely a *homo novus* for Pitt, and that Pitt gave his successor a solemn pledge of support unshakable by any lapse of time, rest on no first-hand authority and are inherently improbable. The Minister's second pillar of support was the throne. He had long been a favourite at Court, and the King once paid him what was intended to be a compliment by saying, "What I converse with you, I think aloud." As Pitt had gone to the extreme of ministerial independence, so Addington went to the extreme of ministerial subservency. He consulted his master's wishes in every detail, and was rewarded by letters of almost ecstatic satisfaction at his arrangements. Of all the Ministers who served George III, Addington was the one most completely fashioned to the royal mind. The King was perfectly contented, and at the first news when the change he drew Pitt and Addington aside and said, "If we three do but keep together, all will

go well." Having such powerful allies, Addington could dispense with a strong Ministry. The King had made use of Loughborough's intrigues; but he had read his character, and replaced him in the Chancellorship by Eldon. Castlereagh, Portland, and Westmoreland remained in the Cabinet; Mackintosh went to the Foreign Office, Lord St Vincent to the Admiralty; and Perceval became Solicitor-General. The first business of the new Ministry was the case of *Beane Trade*, the tobacco smuggler, who had been returned for Old Sarum. Trade declared that he had thrown off all clerical functions and had undergone a quarantine of fifty years; but Addington, who felt that the law was sacrosanct, proposed and carried a measure definitely forbidding the clergy to enter Parliament. The same business of the new Ministry, however, was the peace. The signature of the preliminaries in October was the signal for a great outburst of popular enthusiasm, but was received in higher circles with mixed feelings. The King called it *experimental* but *unavoidable*. Fox applauded it as ending a war which he had consistently opposed. Sheridan defined it as a peace of which all men were glad and none were proud. The only pronounced opposition came from the small section which followed Grenville, Spenser, and Warrilliers.

Pitt's support of the Peace Ministry was disapproved by almost all his friends; and, when he paid a visit to the Bishop of Exeter shortly before Christmas, his old tutor openly remonstrated with him. The interview was soon followed by a delicate state of offence. When Tierney accused Pitt of holding back changes which fell on his measures, Addington comforted himself with a single sentence in *declat*. Pitt was pained at his friend's silence, but professed himself satisfied with Addington's explanation; and the Budget, regarding the Income Tax, was framed with his full approval. The late Minister's fame indeed had many champions. Burke's moved for an enquiry into the conduct of the late Government, "in order that punishment should follow guilt." This unpopared attack was met by an expression of the thanks of the House to Pitt "for his great and important services to his country"—"not tribute without parallel," and a few days later Canning's magnificent ode, "The Pilot that weathered the Storm," was recited at a crowded banquet to celebrate Pitt's birthday. The speech from the throne during the session in June was approved by Pitt, who shortly afterwards pressed Castlereagh to accept the offer of a seat in the Cabinet.

These pleasant relations were, however, soon disturbed by the renewed importunity of Pitt's friends. After a sharp attack of illness in September, 1803, Pitt was ordered to Bath. Malinsbury reported that he had spoken during the summer to many leading men, who recognised the necessity of Pitt's resumption of power. Canning, ever the most forward of the band, formed a plan for an address to Addington, urging him to replace the government in the hands of Pitt; and at his wife Malinsbury saw the Duke of York, who suggested that Addington

should be approached through a friend or colleague. A memorandum was accordingly drawn up and presented to Eldon. At the same time Canning pursued his plan of collecting signatures for an address to Addington; but, on hearing what was on foot, Pitt immediately forbade it. The agitation had not been wholly fruitless, for Pitt undertook to give the Government no further advice.

When Parliament met at the end of November, 1803, the return of Pitt was for the first time openly demanded. Georgeville declared that he was the only possible balancer, and Canning contended that, as France was made powerful by Napoleon, there was need of "one countervailing spirit" to cope with him. On leaving Bath, Pitt went to spend Christmas with Ross. They studied the Budget together, and found a grave misapprehension. On December 30 Pitt wrote to Addington, who had asked him for an interview, that he feared there were many points to which he could not help looking forward with regret and anxiety. When the two men met in January, 1804, Addington hinted in an embarrassed manner at Pitt's return; Pitt merely replied that he would consider the matter. Addington then discussed with Dundas, whom he had lately created Lord Melville, the plan of a coalition. Addington and Pitt were to be Secretaries of State under the nominal headship of Lord Chatham, and Melville was to replace St Vincent at the Admiralty. Melville entered warmly into the project, and set off for Walcott. Pitt replied that he would only come forward as the undisputed head of the Administration. Addington was pained and surprised, but said that he hoped Pitt would not desert on Grenville and his friends leaving place. Pitt replied that he could not bind himself, and proposed an arrangement by which Addington should become Speaker of the House of Lords. Addington, after consulting his colleagues, refused. Pitt replied that the negotiation was "finally and absolutely closed"; and the letters of the old friends became stiff and formal.

The renewal of war in May, 1803, impelled Pitt to return to Westminster, where he at once delivered one of his greatest speeches, supporting the war but ignoring the Ministers. The motion was re-embodied; and a reserve army of 50,000 men, raised by ballot for four years, was voted. The *Military Service Bill* provided for the enrolment of Volunteers; and before the end of the summer 100,000 responded to the call. Pitt entered with enthusiasm into the movement, and, as *Warden of the Cinque Ports*, raised 5000 Volunteers. But the issue of arms was slow, and an adequate response was made to local offers of help. The stores that had threatened during the session broke out after its close. A paper war began with a pamphlet written from materials provided by Bage, brother-in-law of the Prime Minister, though without the knowledge of the latter. Pitt was deeply indignant, and supplied the facts for a reply. Other pamphlets followed, and both parties steadily grew more conditioned. In January, 1804, Pitt refused

an invitation of Grenville to join the regular Opposition, but he apparently started at such management. By the end of March he had made up his mind to support to the King the formation of a broad Administration. When the Government majority fell to 21, Addington wrote to ask Pitt for his views. On Pitt's reply that he would only communicate them to the King or someone selected by him, Addington asked permission to introduce Eldon to meet him. On April 13, after an attack by Pitt on the whole system of defence, Addington determined to resign; and Eldon informed Pitt that the King would be glad to have a written plan of a new Administration. Addington's pretensions had been thrust upon him, and he had played his part as well as anyone had a right to expect. But everyone except the Minister himself recognised the truth of Canning's merciless epigram, "Pitt is to Addington as London to Paddington." He was vain and mediocre; but he needed a free from any personal reputation.

Pitt's reply to the King's invitation was to form a Ministry drawn from all parties except the immediate followers of Addington. A sharp letter expressed the royal indignation at the isolation of the names of Fox and Grenville. Pitt again explained the need for a national Ministry, and begged for no audience. The King agreed to accept Grenville and any friends of Fox, but not Fox himself. Fox magnanimously urged Grenville to accept office, adding that he was too old to care about it; but his friends refused to enter the Ministry without him. Pitt made no complaint of the conduct of the Foxites; but he was deeply hurt at the refusal of his uncle, who in the previous year had urged upon him the formation of a cabinet in which Fox would have no part. He has been severely blamed for expressing in the audience of Fox; but he was apprehensive of another outbreak of madness. Thus nearly all Addington's colleagues remained. Pitt equally regained his usual buoyancy of spirits, but his health impaired gave apprehensions among his friends. He had never been really strong since 1797; and, though the Bath waters and his open-air life at Walmer had done him good, he had lost his former elasticity. The King was polite, but not cordial. Pitt stood alone, and the burden proved too heavy for him.

His first task was to strengthen the national defences. At no time during the war was it an easy task to obtain soldiers; for the prisons were subject to severe punishment; and their comfort and well being were shamefully neglected. To procure a more regular supply, Pitt introduced his Additional Force Bill. Each parish was assessed at so many men, the sum for deficiency being used for the recruiting fund. As the Bill introduced an element of compulsion, it was violently attacked and narrowly escaped defeat. The debates revealed Pitt's weakness, and in the autumn Addington was invited to enter the Cabinet. When the two men met, they at once yielded to the force of old enmities. "I am sure you are glad to hear Addington and I are

at one again," and Pitt to Wilberforce. "And then he added, with a sweetness of manner I shall never forget, 'I think they are a little hard on us in being both with our making it up again, when we have been friends from our childhood and our fathers were as before us.'" Addington accepted a peerage as Lord Sidmouth, and became President of the Council. Sidmouth's accession strengthened the Ministry in voting power thereby and he proved a troublesome colleague.

In the session of 1805 an event occurred which darkened the close of Pitt's life. Though Dundas, now Lord Melville, had undertaken the ill-considered mission to Palermo, Pitt retained something of his old affection for him and had sent him to the Admiralty. Among St Vincent's measures, when at the Admiralty, had been the appointment of a Commissioner of Naval Enquiry. The first nine reports were technical, but the tenth related to Melville's conduct as Treasurer of the Navy in Pitt's previous Ministry. Wilberforce was with Pitt when the report was brought to him, and could never forget how eagerly he looked into its pages without waiting to cut them open. The report showed that Dundas, who had been made Paymaster by Melville, had paid national money in to his own account; and that a large sum, which Melville claimed to have been used for secret service, was not accounted for. Pitt was only dissuaded from defending his friend at all costs by a threat of resignation from Sidmouth. When Wilberforce's resolutions were introduced, Wilberforce supported the measure and won over the independent members. The voting resulted in a tie, on which the Speaker gave his voting vote against Melville. Pitt put on the little cocked hat that he was in the habit of wearing when dressed for the evening, and pattered it lightly over his forehead to smother the tears trickling down his cheeks. The same day Melville resigned his office, which was given to an admiral. Sidmouth had urged the appointment of one of the Ministers, with a view to creating a post for an adherent of his own. He now resigned, but Pitt could not afford to lose him; and it was arranged that, in regard to Melville's case, Sidmouth's friends should vote as they pleased. Thus Addington, however, and other followers of Sidmouth joined in only in the attack that Pitt declared they had rendered themselves negligible for office. Sidmouth now once resigned, and his resignation was this time accepted. But the loss was so serious that Pitt again explained the King to allow him to strengthen the Ministry. On the King's refusal, he determined to introduce Canning into the Cabinet.

Pitt once more stood alone, and he knew that his strength was ebbing. When on November 9—a fortnight after Trafalgar—the Lord Mayor gave the toast of "the saviour of Europe," Pitt rose and said, "Europe is not to be saved by any single man. England has saved herself by her actions, and will, I trust, save Europe by her example." It was his last speech. A month later he went to Bath to prepare himself for the coming test, the news of *Amstelrta* (December 3) drove the govt to the

vital parts, and he left for Pittman a dying man. He had paid little attention to religious observances, but he derived comfort from reflecting on the immensity of his life. On January 23, 1806, he died.

Pitt's instincts were for freedom, for the peaceful development of national resources, for pushing forward the frontiers of political and religious liberty; but the period of his life conveyed in this chapter was one of almost unbroken failure. That he accomplished little which he regarded as necessary was due partly to the character of the King, partly to the French Revolution, but partly also to himself. No Minister has possessed greater self-confidence: but Pitt lacked persistence in domestic affairs. He deliberately put aside parliamentary reform; but he permitted his colleagues and supporters to maintain the slave-trade, and he allowed his own intention of combining Catholics ruled with the Union to be overruled. Of his foreign policy this is not the place to speak. His repressive measures were the offspring of peace, and created more danger than they averted. As a thinker he stands beside Walpole, Peel, and Gladstone. As a leader of the House of Commons he has perhaps been equaled by Peel alone. As an orator he excelled in polished and lofty declamation, though rarely rising to impassioned eloquence and heaving variety. Inferior to his father in dramatic power, to Fox in warmth and passion, to Sheridan and Canning in sparkling brilliancy, he rivaled them all in logical statement and purity of diction. His private character was singularly attractive. Reserved and unobtrusive in public, in congenial society he was sunny, buoyant, and companionable. He was loved like a father by his niece, Miss Stanhope, to whom he gave a home; and the passionate devotion of Canning is unique in the history of political friendships.

On Pitt's death the Ministry resigned; and the King sent for Gascoigne. On his saying that he should first consult Fox, the King, who saw that there was no alternative, replied, "I thought so, and I meant it so." Fox became Foreign Secretary, Spencer and Windham Secretaries for the Home Department and for War respectively. Grey went to the Admiralty. Lord Henry Petty commenced his long official career as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Baskins became Lord Chancellor, and Blandy Solicitor-General. Fitzwilliam, Mordaunt, and Sir Gilbert Elliot received subordinate places. Sheridan, whose habitual absence in drinking prevented his inclusion in the Cabinet, was made Treasurer of the Navy. Brougham became Privy Seal, and insisted on the abolition of a third. Lord Ellenborough, the Chief Justice, was accordingly admitted to the Cabinet, criticism being met by reference to the precedent of Mansfield, and by the theory (followed under Lord North) that each member of the Cabinet is responsible only for his own department.

The new Ministry first directed their attention to the slave-trade. Fox had always felt strongly on the subject, and, after slight opposition, he pledged the House to take measures for its prohibition. In the



Lords the resistance was so slight that he determined on a Bill to forbid the trade in slaves after January 1, 1808, declaring that, if he had done nothing else in his forty years of public service, he would be content. The Bill was brought in by Grey and carried in the following year (March, 1807); but Fox did not live to see his measure become law. His health was bad when he entered office, and its fatigues told heavily on him. Brough appeared, and he died after a short illness in September, 1806. The King had yielded to the spell of his winning personality, and remarked that he had never thought he should live to regret Mr Fox. He had been debarred from office in his earlier years partly by his own errors, and in later years by the French Revolution. He lives as the greatest of debaters, the undaunted champion of liberty in an age of reaction, the most lovable of English statesmen.

On the formation of the Ministry, the Catholic Question had not been mentioned by the King or Grenville; but it was thought possible to remove one glaring anomaly. The Irish law of 1793 had opened to Catholics all posts in the army up to and including the rank of colonel; but, though the Union made the armed ones, officers in Irish regiments could not hold rank when their regiments came to England. The King consented to the removal of this injustice, while declaring he would go no farther. At this point the question was raised whether the existing certificates as to rank were to prevail in English regiments. The Cabinet decided that they should be removed; and Grey believed himself to have obtained the royal approval. But Portland wrote offering to form a Ministry; and on the day after the second meeting the King informed the Cabinet that he would not accept the Bill. Ministers acquiesced, but drew up a Cabinet minute asserting the right of offering whatever advice relating to Ireland they might regard as necessary. The King replied by demanding a written declaration that they would never again recommence concessions to the Catholics. The demand was refused; and the "Ministry of All the Talents" was dismissed. Its lack of homogeneity is vividly portrayed in Lord Holland's memoirs; but its fall was due to two fatal errors. It was courting disaster to extend the Catholic measure without gaining the King's express consent; and the Cabinet minute could serve no useful purpose. Grenville was a man of high character and ability, of wide culture, and great experience; but he was lacking in tact, and his fall was unregretted.

After a year's exclusion, the Tories returned to office (March, 1807), nominally under the Duke of Portland, really under Perceval, and entered on a spell of power which lasted twenty-three years. Throughout this period there were two schools of Tory thought. The one, led by Castlereagh, drew its inspiration from Pitt, championed the Catholic cause, and was willing to consider any change except parliamentary reform; the other, which asserted the dominant influence, was represented if not formed by Eldon, whose philosophy was summarised by Sydney Smith

in *Woolf's* *Decline*, and disappeared with the Reform Bill. The prolonged extinction of the Whigs was due to a variety of causes. In the first place, they suffered from the lack of a leader. Their titular chief, Lord Greyville, preserved the gardens and library of Dispersure to the aristocracy of Westminster. Nor was there any one in the Commons to whom they could look for guidance. When, in 1805, Grey went to the Upper House, George Ponsonby, who had played a leading part in Ireland, was chosen as leader, merely because he divided the party the least. Whitbread was detested by the pure Whigs. Brougham entered Parliament in 1815, and at once became the most formidable opponent of the Government, but his character inspired no confidence. The second main cause of the impotence of the Opposition was that it was sharply divided into two sections: one, led by Grenville and Grey, representing the great families; the other, following Whitbread and Burslett, speaking for the middle and commercial classes, and pledged to a more advanced programme. The latter fought hotly against slaves and portage, disapproval of the war, and led the onslaught on the Duke of York; and, when the Regent deserted his old associates, they retaliated by championing the cause of the Princess of Wales. Success has detrimental to the party was the personal animosity which divided the leaders. The publication of the *Quarterly Review* has gone far to explain why so many able men formed no viable an Opposition.

While the Whigs were almost powerless in Parliament, their class steadily gained ground beyond its walls. In Holland House the men who cherished the memory of Fox found a rallying-point. But the most powerful factor in the revival of liberal ideas was the *Edinburgh Review*. During the long reign of reaction, Scotland had laid prostrate at the feet of Dundee. Freedom of thought nurtured in the Universities alone; and it was among the Edinburgh students that the flag of rebellion was raised. The idea of a Review occurred to Sydney Smith during a residence in the northern capital, and was discussed by him with a number of young Whigs who met in the rooms of Francis Jeffrey in the spring of 1802. Smith was just over thirty; Jeffrey, who edited the *Review* till 1825, was a few months younger; Haume, the economist of the group, was twenty-four; and Brougham only twenty-three. The first number appeared in the autumn of 1802, and its effect was described by Lord Cockburn as electrical. Scott and other Tories contributed articles on non-political topics; but an article written on the Spanish War by Jeffrey in 1803 disgusted the masses of its supporters. The idea of a rival organ had been suggested by John Murray to Canning in 1807 and was discussed by him with Scott in 1808. On the publication of the Spanish article in the *Edinburgh*, the plan was carried into execution by Canning, George Ellis, Southey, Erskine, and other Tories, an editor being found in Gifford and a publisher in Murray; and the first number of the *Quarterly Review* appeared in 1809.

Bentham has aptly characterized the first thirty years of the last century as a period of dual between the *Edinburgh Review* and Lord Eldon. But, in the world on an office Toryism, the Whig discipline received valuable aid from two groups of men whose opinions by no means coincided with their own. Bentham had come to believe that the legal and other reforms which he advocated were only to be accomplished by an altogether different kind of Legislature; and in 1802 he wrote a *Catechism of Parliamentary Reform* demanding universal suffrage, the ballot, and universal suffrage. Though the influence of the Benthamites was confined to a comparatively small circle, their ability and their fascinating proposals made them formidable opponents of the reigning philosophy. The second group consisted chiefly of the survivors of the Radical movement which Pitt had for a time suppressed. Though it was represented in Parliament by Burdett and Colclough, its main work was carried on outside by Major Cartwright, Place, Henry Hunt, and other democrats. But its real leader was Cobbett, whose *Political Register* exercised an influence over the lower middle classes rivalling that of the *Edinburgh Review* in more cultivated circles.

On the fall of Grenville, Pitt's old followers returned to office. Portland was from the first a shadow in his own Cabinet, which was dominated by Perceval and Canning. The former had made his mark under Addington and Pitt as a powerful debater and a man of great parliamentary capacity. In private life he was genial and affable; but he was impatient and arrogant, and shared Eldon's belief that every change was a step towards revolution. Canning possessed the qualities which Perceval lacked; he had wit, fancy, scholarship, genius; but he declared that his political allegiance was sworn to the genius of Pitt; and he was never trusted by the orthodox Tories. The chief episode in the domestic history of the Portland Cabinet was a royal scandal. The Duke of York was the King's favourite son, and warmly returned his father's affection. In January, 1809, a colonel of militia, named Wardle, informed the House that commissions in the army were being sold by Mrs. Clarke, the Duke's mistress, and avowed his belief that the Commander-in-Chief shared the money. When the evidence had been taken, the Duke wrote to the Speaker regretting his connexion with Mrs. Clarke, but maintaining his ignorance of her practices. A motion was carried declaring him ignorant of the traffic; but, before an address to the Queen for his dismissal could be moved, the Duke resigned. Parliament refused to decree his permanent exclusion from office, and he returned to his post in 1811.

The incognito character of the Cabinet was soon illustrated by the Walpole expedition (1809), which was arranged by Castlereagh. Canning, as Foreign Minister, declared that he could not share in the responsibility, and would resign if Castlereagh remained in the Cabinet. When the propositions became generally known, he repeated his demand

The King explained him not to resign; and Peel told him the change would be made. On the failure of the expedition, Canning at once left the Cabinet. Castlereagh, whose position had been undermined by charges of corruption, and had told men known nothing of the agitation for his removal, also resigned. When Portland wisely followed their example, Wellesley was summoned from Spain to fill the post of Secretary. Liverpool succeeded Castlereagh at the War Office, and Perceval became Premier.

The condition of the currency again claimed attention. Towards the close of 1855 the price of gold had risen to more than 10 per cent. above the Mint price; and the rates of exchange with Hamburg and Paris fell heavily. Ricardo called attention to the matter in a masterly pamphlet; but the Bank denied depreciation, declaring that gold had risen in value owing to the schemes, the needs of the armies, and the disposition to hoard. A committee appointed at the instance of Horner reported that there had been an over-issue of notes, and urged that the Bank should resume cash payments within two years. But, when Horner and Hume called for legislation, the House voted that bank-notes were equivalent to gold, though £100 of paper were only worth £95 15s 6d, and declared the refusal to accept notes at their face value a *non-event*. The paper currency therefore continued; and cash payments were not resumed until 1816.

A large share of public attention in 1816 was claimed by the contest between Sir Francis Baring and the House of Commons. The election of strangers from the House in the Walbrook enquiry was chosen as the topic of discussion in a debating society; and placards announcing the debate and denouncing the proposal were placed on the walls. Thereupon the House declared the chairman of the society guilty of a breach of the privileges of Parliament, and ordered him to *Navega*. The sentence was challenged by Baring, who had been almost owing to prison. Finding only twelve supporters, he published a "Letter to his constituents denying the right of the House of Commons to imprison the people of England." The House declared the letter a scandalous libel, and committed its author to the Tower. Baring replied by barricading his house in Finsbury, in front of which a large mob assembled. When the house was forced, Baring was discovered explaining *Magna Carta* to his little son, and was removed to the Tower. The affair ended with the prerogative of Parliament, but the vast crowds gathered to celebrate Baring's release were gloriously disappointed on learning that their hero had returned home by water, and Baring's reputation as a champion of the people never entirely recovered the blow.

The old King's Jubilee (October, 1816) had scarcely been celebrated when the shock finally gathered round him. The exposure of the Duke of York, the failure of the Walbrook expedition, and the fatal illness of his dearly-loved daughter Amelia combined to overwhelm his sanity, and

Peacock carried resolutions in December establishing a Regency for a year on the model of that of 1788. The Prince objected at the first meeting, and asked Grenville and Grey to suggest a reply to the forthcoming address (January, 1811) requesting him to assume the Regency. The Prince sharply criticised their suggestions, and summoned Sheridan, the only Whig with whom he had resumed intimate, to draw up another reply. The Whig Lords were indignant; and the breach rapidly widened. The doctors forecast the King's speedy restoration; and the Queen asserted that his recovery would be jeopardised if he feared new Ministers in office. Yielding to the pressure, the Prince assented that he should make no change; but at the end of the year he determined to strengthen the Government. Grenville and Grey replied with the inadmissible stipulation that they should be allowed to grant Catholic emancipation to Ireland. At this moment Wallisley resigned in disgust at the lack of support for the Peninsular War, and was succeeded by Castlereagh; and within a month before long re-entered the Cabinet. Peacock had hardly time to congratulate himself on his retention of office when he was assailed by a lamia. Negotiations were at once resumed. Wallisley and Castlereagh refused to serve with Castlereagh, and failed to arrange terms with Grenville and Grey. The Whig Lords then attempted to form a Ministry, but deserted Maize, the friend and counsellor of the Prince, by taking entire control of the Household appointments. In face of these difficulties, the Regent retained the Ministry and appointed Liverpool Prime Minister. He had had long official experience and possessed considerable tact; but he was chosen merely because he seemed least likely to divide the party; and the real head of the Cabinet was Castlereagh, who led the House of Commons. The Catholic Question was expressly left open; but, though Peter Plymley's Letters led out the country thinking, they had made but few converts at Westminster.

The Regent dallied business, and intervened little in purely political affairs; but his unpopularity was great, and he was denounced as a Heretic by Leigh Hunt and linked in Moore's stinging lampoon. His elevation to the Regency brought into greater prominence the quarrel with his wife. When the King became insane she lost her only protector; and her intercourse with her daughter was still more narrowly restricted. The Regent was not kinder to his daughter than to his wife, and when, in 1814, the Princess Charlotte broke off her engagement to the Prince of Orange, her household was dismissed, and she became a virtual prisoner in a lodge in Windsor Forest. The royal visits of 1804 made the exclusion of the Princess of Wales still more painful, and in the autumn she went abroad. Her daughter was soon to find refuge in a marriage of brief happiness.

The economic condition of the working classes throughout the great war gave rise to the most anxious reflections. There was an almost unbroken succession of bad harvests from 1799 till the Peace of Amiens

The attack on the King in 1795 made Pitt aware of the urgency of the problem, and led him to appoint a committee of enquiry. The report did not satisfy Pitt, and he proposed to reverse the old practice of setting wages at Quarter Sessions. Pitt opposed the demand, but undertook to introduce a comprehensive measure. His Bill advocated Schools of Industry for the destitute poor—the materials to be bought, the products to be sold, and the wages to be fixed by the local authorities. Land was to be bought or hired, and commons might be enclosed. Persons having more than two children were entitled to relief, and money for the purchase of a cow or some other animal might be advanced in deserving cases. The Bill was so sharply criticised in Parliament and suggested, to its critics, an analogy to Bentham that it was withdrawn. But the measures actually adopted were no less drastic. In 1798 the Berkshire Justice, Lord of Speenhamland, and granted allowances from the rates according to the price of corn to supplement wages. Though this step was taken only in order to meet a local and temporary crisis, the allowance system was widely adopted. It largely contributed to reduce marriages, the raising of the rates, and the fall of wages. A second potent cause of suffering was the rapid increase of enclosures. Enclosure had improved the breeding of stock; but there was a great want of corn. The problem of the food-supply became urgent with the expansion of population and the interruption of foreign trade. To develop the food-supply of England was the life-work of Arthur Young, and the object of the Agricultural Board of which he was the chief founder. A General Enclosure Act was passed in 1801; and over five million acres were added to the cultivated area of England and Wales during the war. But, though the change was economically profitable, it brought with it considerable hardships. The small farmers disappeared, pasture-rights were lost, and the labourer became entirely dependent on his wage. Village industries were gradually extinguished by the industrial revolution, and the high price of corn benefited the landlord and the farmer rather than the labourer.

The sufferings of the towns were still greater. The new conditions created by the industrial revolution, the rapid growth of population, heavy taxation, the closing of foreign markets, currency difficulties, fluctuations of trade, and the decreased purchasing power of the currency, led to widespread distress. In the belief that serious might lack behind labour meetings, and in consequence of the rapid growth of unions among the textile workers of Yorkshire and Lancashire, a severe Combination Act was passed in 1799. Though the law equally prohibited combinations of employers, its indulgence on that side went unperceived; and it was used to stifle the interests of labour in every possible way. In only one direction did the Legislature recognise the duty of protecting labour. The first Factory Act was passed in 1802 at the instigation of the older Sir Robert Peel, for the protection of

apprentices in cotton and other factories. But no adequate machinery was provided for its enforcement; and the Act as only important as the first step in the modern system of industrial regulation. If super-emancipation were made, they were due to humane employers such as Robert Owen at New Lanark. The working-classes clamoured for protection against employers, but opinion in Parliament ran strongly in the contrary direction, and no alleviating measures were introduced.

Distress reached its climax in 1811-12, when the harvest failed all over Europe. The sufferings of the workers in certain trades were intensified by the introduction of machinery. In 1811 the hosiery of Nottingham were enabled to discharge a large number of workmen. An attack on the factories followed, and new machinery was destroyed before it reached the town. The frame-breakers were called Luddites, after an mythical who had formerly broken some clanking frames. A law was hurried through Parliament, punishing the destruction of machinery a capital offence, but the movement spread rapidly through the Midlands. The most glorious period of British arms abroad was the time of the greatest misery at home.

The only way in which effective aid was rendered to the people during the reaction was in regard to education. In 1808 a young Quaker named Lancaster began to teach a few poor boys in a shed in north London. He soon had so many pupils that he adopted a system which had been applied by Dr Bell in Madras, by which children were set to teach one another. He formed a plan for covering England with schools, and in 1810 his friends and supporters, including James ME, Brougham, Flax, Rogers, and several Nonconformists, created the Royal Lancastrian Association, which in 1818 became the British and Foreign School Society. The movement, which was uncertain, grew so rapidly that in 1811 a number of Churchmen, under the leadership of Joshua Watson, formed the National Society for the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church. By these joint endeavours elementary education in England was secured on all the introduction of a national system in 1878.

In one other direction there was progress to be recorded. The criminal law was reformed by nearly all English opinions. Compassionate juries acquitted prisoners; and extreme sentences were rarely carried out. But Eikon and Ellsworth were nothing to change; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Bessely secured a reduction in the number of capital offences. Of greater importance was the abolition of imprisonment for debt. The noble efforts of the Thatched House Society had succeeded in buying out thousands of victims, but it was not till the work was fully exposed in a report drawn up by Grey that action was determined on. The distinction between poverty and crime was at last recognised by the Act of 1818, which discharged debtors on producing a true account of their debts and property, and

placed them under the jurisdiction of a Court of Law in the same year that Elizabeth Fry resolved to continue Howard's work, and paid her first visit to Newgate.

We turn now to the affairs of Ireland, with which for the sake of clearness, it has been thought better to deal separately. The Bognorey question had thrown Irish politics into confusion; but, with the recovery of the King in February, 1793, the Administration resumed its power. Fitzgibbon, the Attorney-General, who had borne the brunt of the struggle, received a peerage, and shortly after succeeded to the Chanceryship. Pitt hoped that the termination of the dispute and the withdrawal of Bognorey would lead to quieter times; but, within a few days of the Viscount's departure, the King's Club was founded to maintain the principles advocated in the Bognorey debates. Among its members were Chalmers, the Duke of Leinster, Grenville, Parsons, and George and William Ponsonby. Though not a few were implicitly in favour of parliamentary reform and Catholic emancipation, the club in its corporate capacity was a defensive rather than aggressive organisation, demanding nothing more revolutionary than Place and Parnell Bills and the reduction of tithes. The crying needs of Ireland found no place in its programme, and it was to these needs that the more advanced members called attention when, in January, 1793, the new Viceroy, Lord Westmoreland, arrived, and Parliament assembled.

The interest in political freedom that had been kindled by the Bognorey debates was further stimulated by the events that were taking place in France. Religious disabilities and the tithe system—the two most acutely felt grievances under which Irish Catholics laboured—were mitigated by the first breath of the Revolution; and the revolt of a people against misgovernment was viewed by the Presbyterians with the same approval that they had extended to the uprising of the American colonies. The Volunteers were urged to rally their ranks; and resolutions were passed endorsing the measures of the French reformers. When Parliament met in January, 1791, everyone was conscious that opinion was changing; but motions for enquiry were debated, and a short session terminated without additions to the statute-book. The direct facility of direct parliamentary attack set earnest reformers searching for other modes of influencing the Government. The Volunteer movement had been purely and even militantly Protestant; but the steady decline of religious bigotry among the educated classes, reflected in even an extent as the Bishop of Derry, Holy Churchman, and Keweenaw, facilitated co-operation. In July the Festival celebration of the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille was signified by the demand for emancipation as well as reform. The acknowledgment by some Catholic bodies of a revolution in favour of the abolition of religious disabilities marks the first real step towards the union of Presbyterians and Catholics.



The idea of co-operation that was stirring in many minds was set forth with convincing force in an anonymous pamphlet which appeared in September. Its author, who called himself a *Northern Whig*, was Wolfe Tone, a young Protestant lawyer already known in a wide circle of friends as a man of advanced views and unusual ability. The reforming Whig desired to extend and purify the existing Constitution; Tone boldly attacked the whole system of 1792. Three-fourths of the people were without political rights. The paralyzing influence of English domination could only be removed by the efforts of a united nation; for, as long as the acts were at war, the Administration could defy them both. The pamphlet circulated by thousands, and within a month the Society of United Irishmen was founded in Belfast to carry its ideas into practice. Conventions were opened with the Catholic Committee; and a branch was speedily formed in the capital. Members of the United Irish Societies pledged themselves to nothing more than Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform; but the ultimate programme of some at least of the leaders indicated a standpoint that was new in Irish politics. In a letter written in the summer of 1791 Tone declared his opinion that separation from England would be the regeneration of Ireland, and the attitude of the Society as a whole towards England was from the beginning one of indifference verging on disaffection. In the second place, the United Irishmen heartily rejected the Whig philosophy. While Grattan declared an Upper Chamber indispensable and believed that a democratic franchise would lead to an attack on property, Tone pleaded for equal electoral districts, manhood suffrage, and annual parliaments. Finally, while Grattan was resolutely opposed to the use of force, Tone was prepared to employ whatever means were necessary to overthrow the government of Ireland.

While the Presbyterians and the advanced Protestant reformers were championing Catholic claims for their own purposes, the Catholics themselves were awakening from their slumber. The Catholic Committee carried so little weight that in 1790 they could not induce any member of Parliament to present a petition. But the partial removal of restrictions had led to the growth of a prosperous middle class; and in John Keogh, a wealthy Dublin tradesman, the advocate of a more active policy found a leader. Frightened by schemes for political union with the Dissenters, the conservatives or country gentlemen, led by Lord Kenmare and Piquet, recoiled. The control of the Committee passed into the hands of Keogh; and assistance from most of the towns approved the policy of the first plebeian leader of Irish Catholicism. In October, 1791, the Committee issued a strongly worded demand for the abolition of the penal code, invited Richard Burke to be their agent, and determined to send a deputation to England.

Fitt and his principal colleagues were without the slightest taint of religious bigotry, and were convinced that the Catholics might be made

one of the most effective bulwarks against the curbs of the revolutionary French—a conviction not forth with matchless power by Burke in his *Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe*. Before the deputation reached London, the Cabinet had occupied itself with the matter, and in December, 1791, Wickhamstead was informed that the meeting concerned was considered indispensable. The Viceroy replied angrily that his advisers were unanimously opposed to such a deputation, since the concession of England with Ireland rested on the unopposed maintenance of the Protestant ascendancy. Pitt consented to postpone his larger schemes, but informed the Viceroy that they were not abandoned. The introduction of a modest Relief Bill in the session of 1796 gave rise to little direct opposition. The measure opened to Catholics the lower branches of the legal profession, repealed the laws limiting the number of apprentices and relating to marriages with Protestants, and removed the absolute prohibition against educating their children abroad.

The Viceroy informed the Cabinet that the Catholics were grateful and satisfied, and that the country was tranquil; but the events that occurred during the races pointed to a less serene condition. The Volunteers of Belfast sent an address to the French nation on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. In Dublin, a military association, modelled on the National Guards, adopted as their emblem the harp without a crown, surmounted by the cap of liberty. This overt manifestation of republicanism was followed by the spread of French fashions; and Chalmers lamented that the Volunteers had long ceased to ask his advice. The Catholic Committee replaced Richard Burke by Tonn, who at once issued invitations to every point to elect delegates to a Catholic Convention. In December, 1794, the Dublin United Irishmen invited the Volunteers to resume their arms and resolved that a deputation should be sent to the forthcoming Convention. So threatening was the outlook that Grattan formed a society called the Friends of the Constitution, with the dual purpose of working for reform, which the Whig clubs would not officially recommend, and meeting republican tendencies. There was however at present little real dissension among the Catholics outside Dublin. The priests, the gentry, the peasantry, and the peasantry were almost untouched; and, when the Catholic Convention met in December, even the Viceroy admitted the loyalty and moderation of its conduct. A petition to the King for the removal of Catholic disabilities was drawn up, and Keogh and four of his colleagues were deputed to present it. Pitt and Dundas at this point informed the Viceroy that the concessions which they had postponed must now be granted. The deputation were graciously received at Court; and in the King's speech at the opening of the Irish Parliament in January, 1795, the condition of "His Majesty's Catholic subjects," no longer "English," was commended to the attention of members.

The Executive was the mouthpiece of the English Cabinet; and the

Chief Secretary introduced and carried a Relief Bill which the Irish Government had in the previous year assured Pitt would have no chance of passing. It gave the franchise to Catholics on exactly the same terms as to Protestants, except that the remaining disabilities relating to property, allotted them to great juries, allowed them to become magistrates, threw open to them degrees in Dublin University, permitted them, subject to a property qualification, to carry arms, and rendered them eligible to receive commissions in the army and navy, and to hold, with a few exceptions, any civil office. Gordon vehemently urged the Government to complete their work by admitting Catholics to Parliament, pointing out that to give power to the peasantry and withhold political influence from the gentry was to risk detaching the people from their natural leaders, whose loyalty was always suspicious, but Pitt had no mind to sever his struggle with the Irish Executive. Thus without the addition, the Catholics gained a position superior to that occupied by them or by Protestant Nonconformists in England. It has been estimated that the number of electors in Ireland was tripled, and Catholic voters obtained a clear majority of votes in the rural constituencies outside Ulster and in many of the open towns. On the other hand, the private borough system was unaffected; and the Protestant ascendancy remained imperiously entrenched behind the nomination members, who formed a majority of the House of Commons.

During the same session the Government accepted a Place Bill, re-creating revenue officers and holders of offices created after the passing of the Bill from sitting in Parliament, and made re-election necessary in the case of members accepting places of profit already in existence. The English Lifer Act was adopted; an Appropriation Bill on the English model became law; and the East India trade was thrown open to Ireland. The Volunteers were suppressed in March, and a Convention Act was passed to check the practices which had grown up of summoning large assemblies independent of Parliament; for, though the Catholic Convention had declined itself on the passage of the Relief Bill, the United Irishmen were planning a similar gathering. The longest, most eventful, and most profitable session since 1789 closed in August, 1791.

Outside Parliament, however, the horizon was overcast. Gordon's support of the war completed the breach between the Whigs and the radical reformers. The annual Synod of Ulster Presbyterians expressed its approval of the Relief Bill and its dislike of the war. Equally disconcerting was the attitude of the Catholic peasantry in certain districts. The quarrels of the Pop-of-Day Boys and the Defenders had originated about 1786 in Armagh, where the poorer Presbyterians wrecked the houses and chapels of Catholics. In 1791-2 the disturbances became so general that early in 1792 a Committee of the House of Lords was appointed to investigate the matter. The report showed that the Defenders had become a secret organisation, whose chief object was

the abolition of tithes; and that through the chosen many of the Catholic peasantry were passing into the realm of dissipation.

The chief feature of the motion of 1798 was a Reform Bill, introduced by George Ponsonby and supported by Grattan. Each county, and the cities of Dublin and Cork, were to have a third member; and large tracts of the surrounding country were to be thrown into the small borough constituencies, the franchise being extended to the small freeholders. But the measure aroused little interest, and was rejected by a majority of three to one. Parliament was prorogued in March; and the retention of the Government was at once called to the United Irishmen. An Anglican clergyman of low character, named Jackson, who had long resided in Paris, was sent by the French Government to discover what support the English democrats were likely to render in case of an invasion. Finding no encouragement in England, Jackson crossed to Dublin, taking with him an acquaintance who secretly reported his change to the Government. At Jackson's request, Tone drew up a paper on the state of Ireland, but the document which was destined for Paris found its way to the Castle. Jackson was imprisoned, and the United Irishmen were in consternation. Tone was allowed to go into exile in the United States, but was compelled to leave behind him an account of his relations with Jackson, which would serve to convert him of traitors if he returned. The Dublin Society of United Irish was broken up, and its papers were seized.

The junction of the discontent Whigs with Pitt in 1796 entered in one of the most important episodes in Irish history. The Whigs understood that Portland, the Home Secretary, was to have the chief direction of Irish affairs, and the discrepancy was offered to and accepted by Fitzwilliam, on the understanding that the appointment should not take effect till Westminster retired some other post. Fitzwilliam at once began to make arrangements for taking office, and told Gascoyne that he looked to him and the Foxes for counsel and support. The appointment, and the change of policy that it appeared to foreshadow, soon became known in Ireland. Pitt and Gascoyne, on learning from their Irish friends that there was open talk of a change in men and measures, were deeply annoyed; and, when Portland urged that Fitzwilliam's appointment should take effect, the relations between Pitt and his Whig colleagues became seriously strained. Pitt repeated that nothing could be done till a plan had been found for Westminster, and that the removal of Fitzwilliam, which was demanded by Gascoyne, was not to be entertained. It would be best, he wrote in a memorandum, that Fitzwilliam should not go to Ireland; but, in any case, his appointment must be on the understanding that all idea of a change of opinion should be given up, and that no supporter of the Government should be displaced.

After some weeks of severe strain, Fitzwilliam was formally appointed.

The powers of the new Viceroy were not defined in writing; but, shortly before his departure, Pitt and Grenville met Portland, Spencer, Windham, and Fitzwilliam. No notes of the meeting were made at the time; but in March, 1795, after the quarrel had taken place, a memorandum was drawn up, probably by Grenville, and approved by the other Ministers present with the exception of Fitzwilliam. According to this, the new Viceroy said that he desired to admit the Peninsulars to places in the Government, and that he intended to reduce the Revenue Board. Pitt assented to the former request; but, with respect to the latter, Fitzwilliam was to counsel him before any step was taken. Boscawen's name, according to the memorandum, was not mentioned. As regards emancipation, which was only briefly discussed, it was arranged that Fitzwilliam should endeavour to prevent its agitation; but, if it were strongly pressed, he was not to oppose it, though he was not to commit the Government without further instructions. It is thus clear that Fitzwilliam left England bound by definite though unwritten instructions.

The Viceroy landed in Dublin on January 4, 1795, and two days later dismissed several members of the Administration with prejudice. The most notable, John Boscawen, though holding the subordinate office of Commissioner of the Revenue, possessed enormous borough influence, and occupied a position second only to that of Fitzgibbon, being often spoken of as the King of Ireland. Fitzwilliam afterwards stated that he had distinctly told Pitt that he might find it necessary to remove Boscawen, and that the Premier had acquiesced by his silence. Pitt replied that he had no recollection of such an incident. In any case, a man of such importance should not have been removed without communicating with the Home Government; and Pitt was justified in declaring the step to be an open breach of a solemn engagement.

The Viceroy's attention had also been drawn by the Catholic Question from the moment of his arrival. Four days after landing, he informed Portland that it would be exceedingly impolitic and even dangerous not to grant cheerfully what the Catholics demanded, and that nothing could prevent the matter being brought before Parliament. On January 15 he wrote that he was endeavouring not to commit the Government, but that, if he received no orders to the contrary, he should acquiesce in the demand for the admission of Catholics to Parliament. The session of 1795 opened on January 28; and Fitzwilliam informed Portland of the unanimity of the Catholics and the readiness of the Protestants. No mention of concessions was made in the King's Speech, but the Viceroy explained to Grattan's giving notice of an emancipating measure. Despite the pressing communications of Fitzwilliam, Portland made no reference to the matter till February 2, when he urged the Viceroy not to commit himself. On the following day Pitt wrote censuring the removal of Boscawen, but without mentioning the Catholic Question. Fitzwilliam replied that Pitt must choose between him and

Beresford; and to Portland he wrote that he would not risk a rebellion by deferring the measure. These letters caused two from Portland, opposing the whole policy of emancipation. Without waiting for a reply, Portland wrote on February 18 in peremptory terms that Grenville's measure must go no further, and on February 19 the Cabinet agreed to Fitzwilliam's recall.

In the letter to Lord Gifford, in which Fitzwilliam defended his conduct, he asserted that the cause of his removal was not the Catholic Question but the demand of Beresford and the intrigues of Beresford's friends in England. In this opinion Gifford, Burke, and other friends of the Viceroy concurred. Westmoreland and Buckingham were indignant at the removal of their policy; and Auckland, who was joined by Beresford, led Pitt to believe that the whole patronage of the Irish Government was passing into the hands of the Peasants. That Fitzwilliam's demands were a continuation of the understanding on which his appointment rested is beyond doubt. On the other hand, the House Government were not less to blame for their conduct in regard to the Catholic Question than was Fitzwilliam in respect of the demands. The silence of Pitt may be explained by the assumption that Portland did not show him the Irish despatches; but Portland's reticence was utterly unnecessary. The most probable explanation seems to be that the Home Secretary, to whom all decisions were referred, had not made up his mind and allowed matters to drift. Meanwhile the King learned Fitzwilliam's view that the admission of Catholics to Parliament would involve a violation of his Coronation Oath, and drew up a memorandum, dated February 6, setting emancipation. The Cabinet met next day, apparently for the first time since Fitzwilliam's arrival in Dublin, and determined to consult and disavow the Viceroy. Portland received his cue, and wrote the letter to which reference has been made. Fitzwilliam was a warm-hearted and generous man, who saw clearly that the system of Irish government was a thoroughly vicious one; and that, if a policy of conciliation and reform was to be undertaken, it could not be carried out by men who were opposed to it. It would therefore have been best if he had refused to undertake the viceroyalty on the conditions imposed by Pitt; but, having accepted the terms, he ought to have observed them. The fact that his Whig friends and colleagues, Portland, Spencer, and Wadham, approved his recall is conclusive evidence that he broke the agreement. It is possible, however, to blame Fitzwilliam's conduct, and yet to believe that his policy was sound. Pitt was in favour of admitting Catholics to Parliament; but the strong protests that reached him from Ireland determined him to defer emancipation till a Union had been accomplished. His conduct is intelligible; but his vacillation is more responsible for the tragic consequences of the succeeding years than is the generous weakness of Fitzwilliam.

The news of Fitzwilliam's recall was received at Dublin Castle with

delight and cheerfulness with reconstruction. It was taken as a definite rejection of the Catholic claims; and large numbers of men became weary and despaired of achieving reform by possible means. The United Irish Society was already to a large extent a respectable body; and the result of *Friswellham's* result gave an impetus to violent energies and attracted many recruits. *Friswellham's* result was not the cause of the rebellion of 1798, but it intensified the bitterness and despair which were the principal factors in that event. The new Viceroy, Camden, son of the great judge, reached Ireland at the end of March, 1795. The promotion of *Plinghiam* to the see of Glace and the establishment of Maynooth College for the education of priests revealed the dual tendency of his policy. But Camden was a colourless personality; and Irish politics quickly relapsed into their chronic condition of conflict and repression. The *Defenders* became increasingly aggressive; and in September a sharp conflict occurred at the village of the Diamond in *Armagh*. Though the Catholics had the larger force, and were on this occasion the aggressors, they were defeated with considerable loss. The following day the first Orange Society was founded. For a time the new organisation was nothing more than a league of defence, almost confined to the Protestant peasantry of Ulster. But the Drop-of-Day Boys rapidly became merged in the *Orangeans*, and a terrible persecution followed. Houses and churches were burned or wrecked; and hundreds of Ulster Catholics fled desolate into Connaught. The revival of fierce sectarian passions struck right at the scheme of the United Irishmen. Though it furnished their plan in so far as it frightened multitudes of the Catholic peasantry into their ranks, it put an end to their dream of a rebellion in which the two religions would fight side by side.

The session of 1796 was short and uneventful save for the passage of the *Insurrection Act*, authorising arming penalties on the taking of a seditious oath, authorising the search for arms, and empowering Justices to send men to the fleet without trial. The United Irishmen replied by forming a military organisation and ordering their members to procure arms. Arthur O'Connor, an able man of high birth, Thomas Emmet, a lawyer, and William James MacDonnell, a physician, and a cultivated Catholic, joined the Society in the autumn, and the control of its policy passed into their hands. In December a French fleet sailed into *Shannon Bay*: but *Monster* was far from Dublin, and its loyalty had not been affected. In March, 1795, General Lake, by order of the Viceroy, issued a proclamation which came near to a declaration of martial law in Ulster, and the search for arms led to horrible outrages by the yeomanry. A final attempt at conciliation was made by *Gustian*, who proposed a far-reaching Reform Bill, admitting Catholics to Parliament and the great offices of state, and introducing household franchise: but only thirty members supported him. Inside and outside the House his influence was gone. Together with George Ponsonby, Curran, and a

his affairs, he retired from Parliament. He disapproved both the conduct of the United Irishmen and that of the Government, and refused to encourage the one by attacking the other.

Sir Ralph Abercromby arrived in Ireland as Commander-in-Chief in December, 1797. Strongly disapproving the actions of pure republicans, he issued a General Order rebuking the honour of the troops, and forbidding them to act, unless attacked, without the orders of a civil magistrate. The proclamation was a direct rebuke of the Government; and Abercromby was compelled to resign. Late attempts to impose a check on military violence were made by Parsons, Wolfe, and Fieschi, the last of whom was at this time brought into Parliament by Charlesworth. The United Irish movement was weakened by the combination of arms, and by its want of skill, discipline, and unity. But the Executive believed that they had half a million members, and could count on 80,000 men to appear in the field. The insurrection, however, was deprived of much of its danger by the betrayal of its leaders. Arthur O'Connor was seized at Margate on his way to France on February 28, 1798. The Leinster Committee were seized at Ross's house in Dublin on March 19; and Emmet and MacNevin were captured in other parts of the city. On March 20 martial law and free quarters were proclaimed, and the following weeks witnessed scenes of severity and horror. The result was to be headed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had served in the American War and had been expelled from the army for attending a dinner given in Paris in 1792 to celebrate French victories. He had subsequently thrown himself bravely into the revolutionary movement, his noble birth and winning nature rendering him a formidable popular leader. Clare was anxious that he should leave the country, but he refused to go; and on May 19 he was betrayed and seized after a desperate resistance, in which he received wounds of which he died. Two days later Henry and John Sheares, who had assisted the Executive after the arrest of the Leinster Committee, were captured.

The rebels were as sheep without a shepherd; but, since there were not more than 15,000 British troops in the island, they were not without hope. The roads on the roads round Dublin were stopped on the night of May 30; and next day the persons gathered in arms in the counties of Kildare, Dublin, and Wick, the rebels spreading rapidly into Carlow and Queen's County. The rising in the north was speedily quelled; but it flamed out in the north of Leinster, where it was not expected. In Wicked the whole found leaders in Father Murphy, Father Roche, and Hall. After some successful skirmishes, Murphy entered Wicked with a force of 50,000 men, which rapidly swelled to 60,000. The rebels elected a Protestant, Reginald Harvey, to command "the Army of the People," and with Wicked as a base began to march north. But reinforcements were reaching the Government; and Lake took the rebel



re-embarked on Vinegar Hill, and entered Wexford. The rebellion failed because there was no real harmony of aim between the Protestants and Catholic insurgents. The Protestants realised that, if it succeeded, they would become an insupportable minority in a Catholic and independent Ireland; and the success of the rebels gave the rising the character of a religious war. Thus the greater part of Ulster stood aloof. Connaught and Munster remained tranquil, and the priests, with some notable exceptions, took no share in the rebellion.

On the outbreak of the revolt, Cornwallis was induced to accept the viceroyalty, combined with military control. When he landed in June 80, the rebellion was almost over, but passion was running high. He bettered toward the friends of the troops; and he describes the conversation at his table as taming or keeping, shooting, and burning. He stood out hotly for democracy, and succeeded in some degree in stemming the tide of vengeance. A few of the rebels were executed and a few transported; but the majority were allowed to return to their homes. The rebels were defeated by Curran, but were hanged on July 14. Thomas Russell, Arthur O'Connor, and MacNevin consented to give information as to the movement, on condition of being allowed to go into exile. Scarcely was the insurrection over when Humbert, with a French force, landed in Kildare; but he was surrounded to overwhelming forces. A larger French expedition started in October, which also failed. Tene, who had accompanied it, was taken prisoner and condemned by court-martial, but committed suicide in prison. Till the frontier of the United Kingdom, the object for the English reaction, was dead, the danger could not be said to be past.

The rebellion and the insurrection turned men's thoughts once more to the idea of a Union. The legislature had been combined by Cornwallis; and a Union was demanded by both Irish Houses under Queen Anne. Adam Smith advocated it in conjunction with free trade; and Montagu expressed to Chatham his approval of the idea. Every Irving or Ventry except Fitzwilliam had long wished for it. On the other hand, the growth of national sentiment had changed the opinion of Irishmen. Arthur Young found the project highly unpopular; and the debates on the commercial propositions and the Regency proved that the Parliament was jealous of the slightest infringement of the settlement of 1786. It was not till the Reform Bill of 1793 that the idea began to find support with the champions of the English constitution. The dispute with Fitzwilliam strengthened Pitt's inclination for a Union, but it was not till after the rebellion that he came to regard it as essential to the preservation of the Empire. So early as June, 1798, he was studying the Scottish Act of Union with Grenville; and Anskins's of the was asked in regard to the commercial and financial settlement. Cornwallis approved the proposal; and Castlereagh, who had lately been appointed Chief Secretary, became its strongest advocate.

It is not difficult to understand the considerations that appended with varying force to different sections of Irish opinion. The Protestants were alarmed for their lives, their property, and their Church, and may well have felt the need of closer connexion with England. Even many who were animated by friendly sentiments towards the Catholics before of that to open Parliament to them would exchange the Protestant ascendancy; while to retain the disqualifying laws seemed to ensure the permanence of discontent. On the other hand, the lawyers perceived that their professional opportunities would be diminished; the official classes feared the loss of their posts; and the borough-owners feared the disappearance of their political influence. There was also a class, weak in numbers but strong in character and ability, to whom the maintenance of a separate national life outweighed in importance any dangers which the continuance of the Irish Legislature might involve. The Catholics were less divided; and Cornwallis pertinently remarked that they considered any change better than the present system. If conscription had been included, Catholic Ireland would have without actually supported the scheme. The opposition of the capital may be largely explained on commercial grounds.

In the autumn of 1789 the Government employed Cochrane, the Under-Secretary, to state the arguments for a Union. He dwelt on the benefits of the Union with Scotland and the dangerous preponderance of France in Europe, and held out hope of a provision for the poor. With the appearance of Cochrane's pamphlet the great debate fairly commenced. Meetings of the Dublin bar, the Dublin corporation, and the bankers and merchants condemned the plan, the speakers dwelling on the certain increase of absenteeism, and the probable merging of the National Debt, and denouncing the Scottish analogy on the ground that Scotland had been poor and Ireland was flourishing. But the Government was not to be deterred from its course. Parnell was dismissed from the Exchequer; anti-Unionist officials were replaced by Unionists. When Parliament met in January, 1789, the project was attacked by Ponsonby, Parsons, Donnell, Joseph Barrington, Burke, and Flinck, Carborough standing almost alone in its support. An amendment to the Address condemning a Union was only debated by one vote; and a second amendment to expunge the paragraph of the Address relating to a Union was carried by five; but, when Ponsonby tried to plunge the House against future consideration of a Union, several anti-Unionists protested, and the motion was withdrawn. In the Lords the Address was carried by 28 to 17. A speech delivered by Pitt was at this stage widely distributed by the Government. He declared that a Union would give Ireland security and wealth, and he promised to keep the debts separate and to resist the increase of taxation. The problems that confronted Ireland (he said) could only be settled by a Legislature free from local prejudices; a voluntary association of the two countries was not admissible but

prevalence. The Irish Opposition started by denouncing a Raginney Bill to obviate the repetition of the crisis of 1859, but Castlereagh pointed out that it did not provide for such dangers as the refusal of supplies for war or the imposition of commercial restrictions on English goods. In this debate, the Speaker, Foster, delivered a speech which contains the most powerful presentation of the case of the Irish University. He had supported the Government in its opposition to the Catholics and its struggle with anarchy, and he was considered the greatest living authority on Irish commerce and finance. He asserted that lunatics would increase, and that the material progress of the last two decades would be jeopardised; he reviewed the circumstances and probable fortunes of the leading industries, and pointed out that the Irish members would be a powerless minority in an ignorant and indifferent Parliament.

The matter, however, was not to be settled by argument. The work of the House is portrayed in the letters of the high-spirited Young. "My occupation is most unpleasant, negotiating and juggling with the most corrupt people under heaven. How I long to kick them when my public duty obliges me to court!" Nearly all the great borough-owners were willing to consent to a Union if they received compensation for the loss of their influence. Pitt had adopted this principle in his Reform Bill of 1832, and even the United Irishmen indicated compensation of borough-owners in their scheme. Eighty boroughs, about a third of which belonged to opponents of the Union, were bought at the market price of £12,000 apiece; and the sum was added to the National Debt. In the case of boroughs which were to send one member to the joint Parliament, no compensation was given for the suppression of a second seat. In some cases, where a borough-owner was doubtful, the promise of a peerage was employed to turn the scale. During the recess anti-union riots were roused. A few of the vacancies were caused by the dismissal of officials who opposed the Union, but the greater number by the resignation of nominees. Finally, government patronage was steadily exerted in the same direction. One hundred and seventy members who held places or pensions knew that their promotion and even their tenure depended on their support of the Union. Direct money bribes were almost unknown, for they were scarcely needed. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that during the later months of 1799 the notion of a Union gained ground independently of corruption. A general idea of the measures proposed was given to leading men, and Cornhill declared that outside Dublin the feeling of the masses was indifferent. The active opposition was almost confined to Ulster, to those who were interested in maintaining the existing system, and to the little band of Nationalists who followed Grattan.

The Irish Parliament met for the last time in January, 1800. Dublin was as hostile as ever, and the Orange lodges sent numerous resolutions against the project; but the parliamentary majority was now secured,

and Castlereagh explained the details of the proposal. The debts and taxation were to remain separate, and Ireland was to pay two-pence-tenths to Imperial expenditure. The commercial clauses were modelled on those of 1786. Though nothing was promised, the Chief Secretary hinted that an arrangement for both Catholics and dissenting clergy was under consideration. Two hundred seats were to be extinguished, and Ireland was to be represented by one hundred members—the counties to return six each, Dublin and Cork two each, thirty-one other towns and Dublin University one each; while four spiritual peers were to sit in rotation, and twenty-eight representative peers to be elected for life. Foster delivered another powerful speech, demonstrating that, in offering the Union as an alternative to bankruptcy, the borough was guilty of gross exaggeration, the financial distress being due to specific causes. Davies, who had lately sought protection, took higher ground. He predicted that the Union would be one of parliaments, not of people. To destroy the Parliament was to destroy an organ of national intelligence, a source and symbol of healthy national life. Ireland would become subservient without ceasing to be separate.

The fundamental weakness of the settlement of 1782 was that the Irish Administration was responsible not to the Irish but to the English Parliament. Friction between the Legislature and the Executive was thus almost inevitable, and was likely to increase with the growth of a vigorous national consciousness. The opponents of the Union pointed to the loyal record of Parliament, but did not deny that it was within its power to threaten the policy of England. The second weakness of the settlement was that Parliament represented only one of the three religious bodies into which Ireland was divided; and that a possible representation might overthrow the Protestant ascendancy and thereby endanger the connexion with England. Whether national sentiment would have proved strong enough to overcome sectarian animosities and to weld the Churches and the races into a loyal and homogeneous community, is a question which can never be answered with certainty. Gifford believed there would not be a Catholic majority, and that in any case the loyalty of the Catholics was secure; but he underestimated the risk to the Protestant ascendancy, of which he was a professed supporter. Thus the Union cannot be judged as a separate event. It was brought about by a number of circumstances, some of which were inherent in the Irish position, while others were due to the selfishness and malice of the English and Irish Governments. Its defence must rest on the dual ground that, at least after 1788, the continuance of the Irish Legislature seemed likely to prove a source of weakness to Great Britain in her deadly struggle with France, and that it was the necessary preliminary to complete Catholic emancipation. If these grounds are accepted as conclusive, they must be borne in mind in judging of the means by which the Union was accomplished. If a Union was necessary,

these means were necessary, for in another way could it have been achieved. But it was a settlement by conquest, not by consent; and the penalty of such methods is that the instrument possesses no moral validity for those who do not accept the grounds on which it was adopted. Pitt had hoped that Ireland would become a partner in the Empire, but she found herself a dependency, her true position being conceded by the presence of a hundred members at St Stephen's. It was also Pitt's intention that the Union should be followed by concessions to the Catholics. Their most pressing needs were the commutation of tithes, the ordainment of the priests, and the admission of Catholics to Parliament. The first and second were approved by many who resisted the third, but with the fall of Pitt the opportunity was lost. Emancipation and the commutation of tithes had to wait till their concessions started on banking Ireland, and the endorsement of the clergy had become impossible. The Union, as Pitt designed it, might have proved a blessing for Ireland, as it was accomplished, it merely added to the store of bitter memories which constituted the Irish problem.

The Union was carried, Ireland became quiet and almost indifferent. The brilliant society of the capital broke up, and the country sank back into the lethargy and provincialism from which Flood and the Volunteers had aroused it. But the fall of Pitt, bringing with it the resignation of Cornwallis and Castlereagh, was a bitter disappointment to the Catholics. The new Viceroy, Harcourt, the Chief Secretary, Abbot, and Bredaule, who succeeded Croke as Chancellor in 1805, were openly anti-Catholic. On the other hand, the Administration was mild and honest. Catholic chapels which had been burned or wrecked were rebuilt at public expense. The Peace of Amiens strengthened the hope of French aid; and a reaction followed the enactment of the Union. The harvest of 1800 was good, and increased expenditure was concealed by loans.

In the summer of 1802 Bredaule wrote to Addington that the satisfaction he had previously expressed had been premature, and that nothing but the fear of consequences prevented a rebellion. The chief danger was to be apprehended from the survivors of the United Irishmen, who found a leader in Robert Emmet, younger brother of Thomas Addis Emmet, and a comrade and fellow-student of Thomas Moore at Trinity College. Robert Emmet left Ireland in 1801 for Paris, where he met his brother and Russell, the friend and colleague of Tone; but Napoleon gave him no little encouragement that he returned to Ireland next year. The elder brother remained as the avowed agent of the executive, and his diary shows that French aid was still expected; but Robert, contrary to the advice of Arthur O'Connor and other allies, determined not to wait for help which might never come. Arms were accumulated in Dublin; Russell was sent to organise a revolt of Ulster; and Emmet spent a capable and daring colleague in Miles Byrne. But treachery was at work; and the Government received frequent reports as to the

proper of the plot. On July 16, 1805, the city was startled by an explosion of gunpowder in Emmet's depot; but the *Viceroy* thought it best to take no notice. A week later, at ten o'clock in the evening, a rocket gave the signal; and a few hundred men hurried to head-quarters. There were handed out, and Emmet found himself at the head of an undisciplined rabble. But his followers, though he beckoned them to the Castle, lacked determination. While they hesitated, the carriage of Lord Eglinton, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, approached. The horses were stopped. Eglinton and his nephew were seized by police, and his daughter, weeping in the confusion, carried the news to the Castle. Emmet had been prepared to stop the daughter, and the appearance of a body of troops quickly scattered the crowd. Next day the insurrection broke out in Ulster, but it was at once suppressed, and Russell was captured and hanged. Emmet took refuge in the Wicklow Hills and might have escaped to France; but he wished, before he died, to see Sarah Curran, the great advocate's daughter, to whom he was attached. His varied Dublin, was betrayed, arrested, and hanged. The rising raised the greatest alarm. The Seditious Corporations Act was suspended, and martial law was proclaimed. Suspects were arrested and kept in prison without trial. The system of coercion thus introduced continued, except during the short interval of the Grattan Ministry, throughout the war.

On the news of Emmet's rising, Lord Fingal saved his treasury and placed them at the disposal of the Government. As a mark of recognition he was appointed a knight, but the Chancellor, in transmitting the warrant, took care to secure Oath-taking of want of loyalty. His letter aroused great indignation, and it was determined to petition Parliament. Accordingly, when Pitt returned to office, Fingal and other prominent Catholics pursued their claims. Pitt respectfully replied that he could do nothing during the lifetime of the King. The matter was debated in 1805, when Grattan made the first and perhaps the greatest of his few speeches in the Imperial Parliament. On the death of Pitt, the Duke of Bedford became Lord-Lieutenant; and the requests of the Emmet men were liberally granted. For a brief interval Ireland was governed by the ordinary law of the land; but, on the fall of the Whigs, the Duke of Richmond, a man of unswerving Orange sympathies, became Lord-Lieutenant; and Lord Masson, an equally strong anti-Catholic, began his twenty years' stewardship. Saurin, an able lawyer of high character but narrow views, became Attorney-General, and virtually governed Ireland till the arrival of Peel.

The Catholic Committee gave scarcely a sign of life for some years after the Union; but in 1806 an energetic protest against its lethargy was made by a lawyer well known in the Courts though as yet unknown beyond them. Born in 1776, and educated in France, Daniel O'Connell

had derived from the horrors of the Revolution an abiding attachment to monarchy and a hatred of violence. He was one of the few Catholics who openly denounced the Union, but he did not speak again on political matters till 1839, when he persuaded the Committee to petition. He continued to urge greater activity, and in 1818 he was unanimously elected chairman. Henceforward the history of the Catholic movement in Ireland, to be described in a subsequent volume, is the history of O'Connell.

O'Connell had never concealed his opinion that the repeal of the Union was essential to the restoration of the national life. Fanning, Keane, Blake, and other opponents of the Union had never to accept it. Gladstone announced in 1830 that he would only work for repeal if the country unanimously desired it; and he afterwards declared that, as the marriage had taken place, it was his duty to make it fruitful. But in 1838 there had been symptoms of discontent among the merchants of Dublin, and in 1839 a meeting was held in the Exchange, at which resolutions in favour of repeal were passed. O'Connell declared that Ireland was governed by foreigners; but the Catholics had nothing to hope from repeal, and their attitude was one of indifference. In Ulster anti-Catholic sentiment had almost disappeared by 1834. The *Anglo-Irish* had been increased; Orange lodges had multiplied; anti-Catholic sentiment had revived. The linen trade, almost alone among the industries of Ireland, improved, and Belfast was growing into a prosperous port. On the other hand, the economic condition of the Catholic peasantry was not improved by the Union. The Irish Corn Laws of 1784 had led to a great increase of tillage; and incentives on the export of corn and the growing English demand led to extensive subdivision of farms. Farms now with the competition for land, and wages fell. Discontent spread, and Threshers and Hibernians appeared in protest against tillage and high rents. Taxation was nearly doubled, and Ireland was compelled to borrow. By the end of the war her debt had risen from £10,000,000 to £115,000,000, and the treaty contemplated by Pitt and Castlereagh when the debts and contributions of the two countries should be in the same ratio had arrived. In 1835 a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider the financial relations, and reported in favour of the consolidation of the Exchequers.

Though the closing years of the great struggle with France were not marked by the terrible distress which threw a dark shadow over England, the outlook for Catholic Ireland was exceedingly gloomy. In England it was possible, beneath the thick crust of Tory rule, to detect the germs of a new life. In Ireland it seemed as if the soul of the people was dead. There have been periods of far greater conscious suffering and material hardship; but at no time since the Union has there been witnessed such apathy, such hopelessness, such spiritual degradation.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

## I.—INDIA AND Ceylon (1782-1805).

When Warren Hastings sailed from Calcutta on February 8, 1785, he left behind him established authority and blocks of government and policy such as no British representative before him had set forth in India. He had made it impossible for England to be content with a trading interest, to hold herself apart from the intrigues and passions of native politics, or to disdain a knowledge of Oriental literature and philosophy, and the geographical and historical conditions of Eastern life. For good or ill, England, in the guise of the East India Company, had become a partner in the development of the vast Indian peninsula. Would she remain content with a merely boundary concern in the struggle of dynasties and absolutism, and in the welfare or distress of millions of real cultivators; or would her agents, by ambition or by the sheer force of circumstances, be led to fight for supremacy, diplomatic, political, and eventually territorial? The next twenty years were to give a final answer to this question.

A year of latitude succeeded in the British administration the vigorous rule of Hastings. John Macpherson, an uncle in the Council, succeeded to the post of Governor-General. Though he had only since 1780 been prominent in Calcutta, he had long been concerned in Indian affairs. But his connection with the financial transactions of the Nawab of Arcot (or the Council) had not been free from suspicion; and there was little confidence in his capacity as a statesman. In the hope of holding his high position for a term of years, he began by an attempt at moderate reform; but as this his conscience could not feel that he had achieved any success. Macpherson's government, wrote Lord Cornwallis in the next year, for the private information of Dundas and Pitt, "had no authority, and the greatest frauds were daily committed before their faces; their whole conduct, and all their pretensions to economy, except in the reflection of salaries, were a scene of delusion."

In the familiar business of the Nawab of Arcot's debts, Macpherson



subverted the difficulties of Hastings and the troublesome assistance of Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras. This vigorous and independent official had pursued a policy of his own at Madras, which was, perhaps too hastily, terminated by his resignation, on the news of the appointment of John Halliday as his successor; but he visited Calcutta in the summer of 1788 in order to impress his views on Marpherson, and he was not without hope of returning to India as Governor-General.

It was a period when popular interest in Indian affairs had for the first time been aroused, when the excitement caused by the India Bill had not yet subsided, and when Great Britain first showed a sense of her growing responsibilities in the East. But there was no agreement among official statesmen at home, or those in India, as to the right course to be adopted in that country. The difficulties were appreciated by Pitt and Dundas, and they determined to inaugurate a new system by sending out to India a statesman of distinction, unbiassed by party experience or local ties. Lord Macartney seemed to them inadmissible, not only because of his close association with Anglo-Indian party feeling, but because he insisted upon receiving an English passport as a preliminary to his appointment as Governor-General. In 1784 Lord Shelburne had offered the post to Charles, Earl Cornwallis, to whom James had referred as a young man whose spikéd nostril might atone for the deficiencies of his understanding, but whose military abilities were somewhat discredited by his surrender at Yorktown in 1781. In 1788 the offer was repeated by Pitt; and, now that the East India Act had largely increased the power of the office, it was accepted. A Supplementary Act (1788) conferred still greater powers upon the Governor-General and the Governors of the different Presidencies; and in 1789 the Declaratory Act gave the Board of Control power to send troops to India without having regard to the wishes of the Directors.

Cornwallis sailed for India on May 5, 1789. He touched at Madras on August 26, and reached Calcutta on September 15. From the moment of his arrival he found himself beset with difficulties, which the supposing incompetence of Marpherson had rendered acute. The most serious of these was the entanglement proceeding from the war of 1782, waged by Tipu, the Sultan of Mysore, against the Marathas and the Nizam. Nizam Ferozshah, the grandson and minister of the sixth Maratha Peshwa, had applied to Bombay for assistance, and, referred to Calcutta, had been informed by Marpherson that the Treaty of Salbati (1782) stipulated, not that the friends and enemies of the two States should be equal, but that neither party should afford assistance to the enemies of the other, while the Treaty of Mangalore forbade the English to assist the enemies of Tipu. Nizam then applied to the Portuguese. Marpherson sensed a new danger, and sent Charles Warren Skelt as resident to Poona; and an offer of troops from Bombay was authorized. Cornwallis immediately repudiated the transaction as contrary

to treaty. But the difficulties were even more pressing in internal than in external affairs; and it was as a reformer of British administration that the new Governor-General was chiefly to be feared. A man of sensitive honour and devoted to duty, he had taken office only as the guest of full powers in both civil and military matters; and, empowered as he was by the Supplementary Act of 1793 to act on occasions even against the votes of the majority of his Council, he regarded the authority placed in his hands as the only chance of "saving this country." "Mr Pind's plan," said he, "would have ruined all." He proceeded to act with devoted vigour in regard to the scandals above which still clung to the British administration.

Maughams had spoken of "the relaxed habits" of the public service in India. This meant the system of small salaries and large perquisites, and the numerous number of half-occupied methods of obtaining money in which British officials had resorted—*monogolien*, office at native Courts, jobbing agencies, disclosure of many different kinds, to which must be added the abuse of the Directors' patronage, and of the influence of powerful persons at home, among whom the Prince of Wales was conspicuous. For three years Cornwallis devoted himself to the suppression of such abuses, and his determination, dignity, and unimpaired personal honour enabled him to succeed. He persuaded the Court of Directors to augment salaries, on the principle that good pay is the parent of good work; and he left behind him a purified and energetic public service.

No less vitally did his work affect the nature of British rule in India than he took to hand the reform of the police system and the revenue settlement of Bengal. Hitherto the Company's collection had enjoyed certain powers of civil jurisdiction, while the criminal law had been administered by the Nawab Nizam and his native amir-kutub, from whom there was appeal to the *Sade Dewani Adalat* (supreme civil Court) and the *Nizamat Adalat* (supreme criminal Court) respectively. The system resulted in both uncertainty of jurisdiction and diversity of practice; punishments were irrationally severe or abjectly len. Over all the districts of the Bengal territory Cornwallis placed British judges and magistrates; and above these he established Provincial Courts of Appeal at Calcutta, Patna, Dacca, and Murshidabad. Under the magistrates were placed *daroghas*, or heads of police, who had authority to arrest and to take bail. The Mohammedan Code was followed in criminal cases, the authority of its punishments being mitigated, and its rules of evidence revised, in accordance with English principles. In civil cases Hindu or Mohammedan customs guided the British magistrates to deal with the intricacies of religious and social custom. The changes introduced by Cornwallis marked an era in the British occupation; they defined jurisdiction and created procedure; and the Regulations of 1793 practically formed a new Code, which has been the basis of all subsequent legislation. They bear the marks of an anxious regard for civil and

religious feeling among different classes and creeds, and of a clear and orderly method, which replaced the inconsistent and arbitrary arrangement of the earlier days of British occupation. It was their great aim to replace the privilege of the conquerors by a full recognition of ground rights. Government, in its own words, "devoted itself of the power of interfering in its executive capacity on the rights and privileges" which it had conferred upon the landholders. The political reforms were, indeed, intimately connected with the central fact of Cornwallis' administration, the Permanent Settlement of Bengal (1793).

The difficulties connected with the land revenue demanded the attention of the Governor-General from the moment of his arrival in India. Hastings had dealt with them by way of enquiry and of tentative endeavour to reach a standard rate of assessment; but his determined rival, Philip Francis, had exposed the view that the *zamindars*, who were the farmers of the revenue and collected it from the *ryots*, had indefeasible, if restricted, proprietary rights; and the Directors had concluded that it was with them that a permanent settlement must be made. They condemned the frequent changes of system, the failure of all attempts to increase the revenue, and the accumulating arrears; and they had assumed that there was already sufficient information in the possession of the Government in India to justify a coherent and permanent reform. They requested the settlement of the revenue as part of the reorganisation of the Government at Calcutta, which they directed in a letter from the Court at the end of 1785. The Bengal Government was to consist of four branches—a Board of Council, a Military Board, a Board of Revenue, and a Board of Trade, each with definite duties. The Revenue Board was to order an assessment of the revenue, to last for ten years, and then, if satisfactory, to become permanent. The plan of the Directors was made; Cornwallis was to carry it out.

The Governor-General was thus in no sense the originator of the Permanent Settlement; nor was he personally responsible for any theory of Indian ownership which assimilated their position to that of English landlords. Though he came with instructions, he came with an open mind; and he was soon convinced that there was not as yet enough information to justify a permanent arrangement. He attributed to John Shore the preparation of an elaborate paper on the proposed settlement. The point of most critical importance was the position of the Bengal *zamindars*—were they merely the government agents for the collection of taxes, or were they the hereditary owners of the land, subject only to the tax due to the Government? Shore held that the proprietary right belonged to the *zamindars*: the position of the *holders*, or *intermediate owners*, was left more vague; and there were many other classes whom it was difficult to bring into a consistent scheme. Shore's view, however, was clear; he summed it up in an

ancient saying, that "the land belonged to the *zamindar* and the rent to the King"; and this view was on the whole accepted.

At the end of 1789 plans were ordered for the settlement of the revenue, and these plans involved the abolition of uniform statutory titles among the *landholders* for *imposition* and fluctuating customary rights. While these legal rights were given to a large class of *landlords*, the position of the *cultivators* was to be secured by a universal system of declaratory leases. Hence, as it proved, by the weak point of the settlement. The settlement with the *zamindars* was unavoidable, but the rights of the *cultivators* were not sufficiently secured. The *zamindars* were recognised as the owners of the soil on the payment of a fixed *land-tax*, which was not to be increased; the rents of the independent *cultivator* were not to be raised; *regulations of tenures* were to be kept; and the *cultivators* were to receive *leases (pottas)*, and to have the remedy of *eviction* if these were infringed.

Was this settlement, which was designed at first to be for ten years, to be made permanent? Cornwallis wished this; but others, with fuller knowledge of local conditions, deprecated it. The Directors at home deliberated for ten years, having before them elaborate arguments on both sides, but at last they accepted the view of Cornwallis. On March 22, 1792, the Governor-General declared the settlement to be permanent. This act, the most important that had affected native society under British government, had undoubtedly the effect of creating a feeling of security in the native mind with regard to British rule. It showed that the Company intended to be honest, and to be just. But it caused very grave evils. Defective statistics of area and value led to uniform hardships. It was impossible to create a uniform system by a stroke of the pen; and an agrarian and social revolution was the result, in which the old landed class of Bengal was broken up. A strain of partiality, legality, exactness, was placed upon the ancient *ethos*, which they were unable to bear; and a large part of Bengal changed hands. Millions ousted the old families and appeared for the *cultivators*. A new class of *zamindars* was soon called into existence, who managed their estates on purely business principles. The *cultivators* were the sufferers, the legal protections proved nugatory, and twenty years later a Governor-General found their position "desperate." It was not till 1829 that they were legally secured in the right of which it had never been intended to deprive them.

Though Cornwallis was not the originator of the Permanent Settlement, it is with his name that the act is indelibly associated. He was the statesman who carried it through; he brought together divergent opinions, worked out a coherent policy, and embodied it in a permanent memorial. British authority showed itself earnest with much less than the ancient *zamindars* had expected, willing to make sacrifices for the benefit of its subjects, and desirous of building a fabric

of good government on the security and happiness of the people. It may be that the results were not equal to the expectations, but the principles embodied in the Settlement were of the first importance in the history of a great experiment—that of governing a vast Eastern territory by the methods and models of the West.

In the external relations of the East India Company within the Indian peninsula Cornwallis did important work, but nothing which takes rank with the peace or the revenue reforms. He was decided, but not bigoted, in his view of the wisdom of non-intervention; but events were too strong for him. His action may be briefly summarised. The long-standing difficulty with Ouda became for a moment acute. The maintenance of two brigades of British trained troops caused a heavy drain; and the other pecuniary burdens were no less oppressive. Discontent grew dangerous. Cornwallis believed Ouda to be in need of military defence. British arms at the moment, he thought, did not stand high; Colonel Baulch's defeat at Poonahpore (1780) was leaves all over India; Sindia and the Sidas were growing in power, the British troops could not be reduced. But Cornwallis dismissed the demand on the treasure of the North West from 50 to 25 lacs, and he drove from the oppressed country as many of the pillaging European adventurers, agents, and jobbers, as he could. In southern India the British position was hampered by the projects, fanned often without reason, of the French. Before the Revolution, isolated adventures were believed to receive support from Versailles; a little later the East became prominent in the vast schemes of Bonaparte. In 1788 Pondicherry and all the French settlements were easily taken; but the danger came from Europe.

In 1788 British relations with the Nizam reached one of the critical crises which disturbed the politics of the Madras Presidency. The Nizam, placed between the Peshwa of Poona, and Tipu Sultan of Mysore, intrigued and shuffled, only on the proposal of a matrimonial alliance from the latter did he turn towards the English. Cornwallis found himself in a difficulty which the framers of the Regulating Act (1773) ought to have foreseen. Danger from Tipu was evidently growing; alliance with native Poona without leave from home was forbidden; but time pressed. The Governor-General kept the Act in letter but broke it in spirit by writing a letter to the Nizam, which he declared to be of force as binding as a treaty. He promised to supply the troops which the Nizam declared to be essential to his safety; he stipulated that they were not to be used against the allies of the British; and, when he encountered those allies, he omitted the name of Tipu. A mass of recommitment cluttered in the documents of the day round this somewhat shifty action of a high-principled man. Tipu intended war, and it is doubtful whether Cornwallis anticipated it.

On December 23, 1788, Tipu attacked Yerramang. Cornwallis,

who had previously instructed Holland, the Governor of Madras, to prevent assistance—an instruction which had not been strictly followed—determined to defend the Rîj. He made a trêve league with the Marathas (June 1) and the Nizam (June 4, 1780), and three campaigns against Mysore followed. Into the details of these campaigns it is unnecessary to enter, but they presented features which gave them special importance. The Government-General himself took command in 1781; there was a pomp and magnificence in the proceedings which impressed on the people the fact that British rule was imposed, like the rule of the Moghuls before it. But, on the other hand, the inadequacy of British preparations was soon evident. Supplies were insufficient; the country was almost unknown; native allies proved of little assistance. British officers themselves were forced to admit the failure of their operations; and Cornwallis' first campaign ended in retreat. At the end of February, 1782, however, peace was won at the gates of Seringapatam. One-third of Tipu's dominions was surrendered to the allies, and an indemnity of 400,000,000 was exacted. The gulfest little State of Coorg, long oppressed by Tipu, was freed from his grasp, and so despatched it was plainly intimated that, if the Maheswara Prince proved refractory, the old Hindu dynasty might be restored in Mysore itself.

Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of Cornwallis' action as regards Mysore, it can hardly be doubted that in the Carnatic his action was disastrous. He undertook the management of the country for a time in such a way as to destroy all chance of an efficient native administration. The treaties of 1782 and 1783, the latter of which placed the Carnatic under the administration of Madras, were ineffective and inadequate solutions of a difficulty which demanded a decisive solution. In October, 1783, Cornwallis called for England. He left behind him the reputation of a just and honorable administrator, and his creative work was the most enduring that Englishmen had, so far, accomplished in India.

Still greater interest was aroused by the impeachment of Warren Hastings. While orators were representing the Governor-on his return as welcomed to St. James' for his ill-earned wealth, Burke was denouncing him as the plunderer of Bengal and the murderer of Marcomar. On April 23, 1786, the charges were preferred; on February 13, 1788, the trial began in Westminster Hall. As a ceremonial display, it was equal to anything that London had seen in the century; and its eloquence Sheridan and Burke had never been surpassed. Court interest and party passion were alike aroused; politics and fashion combined to make the trial of the great man who had saved the British possessions in India a scene of excitement and emotion unsurpassed even in that historic place. Of the charges it is here enough to say that hardly a single act of Hastings' administration was left untouched, but, while they dealt with details, it soon became plain enough that the true reason for the

impeachment were, first, the private animosity of Philip Francis, and, secondly, the public policy of the party of Fox. These were blinded by the fiery genius of Burke, who took up the cause as for the prosecution of a great minister, when unprejudiced study might have led him rather to champion a great ruler who was the victim of ignorance and passion. The charges, in the end, centred round the execution of *Nizam*, the treatment of *Chut Singh*, and the pecuniary transactions from the *Regent of Oude*; to Burke there was "the *damned and detestable proceedings of a judge in bed*; and such a judge was *Warren Hastings*." But within two years, while the slow course of the trial dragged on, illustrated only by the flashes of Burke's gorgeous invective, the public interest in the whole question declined. That *Hastings* was not selfish, cruel, or unprincipled, was becoming apparent to all who could judge; and, what was more important, the policy of Fox's party in regard to Bengal was losing interest as compared with their attitude towards the French Revolution. Tragic events in France, in England the *King's Speech*, the *Regency Bill*, and the *Reflections of Burke*, absorbed public attention. Days and weeks passed into years; yet the trial seemed no nearer a conclusion. If a temporary excitement was aroused when *Cornwallis* came forward to give evidence on behalf of his great predecessor, the proceedings were for the most part marred on both sides by partiality and followed with unbecomingly vicious. Before the trial was over, of the hundred and seventy peers who had sat on the opening day sixty were no longer living; and, when at last the decision was called for, only twenty-nine recorded a vote. On April 23, 1785, the judgment was delivered; and by a large majority *Hastings* was honorably acquitted.

The trial of *Hastings* belongs chiefly to the history of English politics. In India few knew or much cared about it; the magnificent services of the great ruler were fully recognised in the lands he had governed, and it was regarded as inconceivable that his merits should not be known in his own country. But the trial, and the mass of literature and caricature which gathered about it, afforded decisive evidence that the affairs of the East India Company had become a national concern. From time to time the public interest subsided, but hitherto it was never doubtful that the British Government and the British people regarded the settlements in India as a national possession in which the honour as well as the profit of the nation was involved. The East India Company was no longer a semi-independent association of commercial gentlemen, but a vigorous adjunct of the British power. Dundas, who was President of the Board of Control, became, largely through his Indian connection, a personage of great political importance; and it was a significant mark of the progress of public opinion that in February, 1791, he moved, in the House of Commons, without a division, resolutions asserting that *Tippu* had broken

his treaty with the English by the attack on Tipuanna, and that Cornwallis deserved appreciation for his action in meeting it.

When the privileges of the Company expired in 1783, British interest was too deeply concerned in European affairs to enter fully into the important economic questions involved. Questions of free trade, restriction, monopoly, were argued passionately; but it was something that they were raised. Dundas, however, was practically omnipotent; and petitions from many important trading centres were disregarded. For once, the Company did not appear before Parliament in formal pomp: Cornwallis' severe reforms had made financial matters, for the moment, smooth. The Act of 1784 was therefore renewed, practically without alteration, and the Company's privileges were continued for twenty years. One slight concession to free trade was made—the Company were to sell annually not less than three hundred tons of shipping for the trade of private persons.

In September, 1783, Pitt and Dundas pressed upon Sir John Shore, who had become a baronet in that year, and was now residing in England in rural privacy, the nomination to the Governor-Generalship of India. He accepted it with great reluctance: that it was offered him was largely due to the influence of the noble character and wide Indian experience of his friend, Charles Grant, who for thirty years resided in England as an influence on Indian affairs as beneficial as it was powerful. Dundas pointed out that he was suggested in the circles of Hastings, but the Court of Directors replied that their inclination for selecting him was that he had proved one of their ablest and most upright servants in India.

Sir John Shore held the post of Governor-General till the beginning of 1793, when he received an Irish peerage as Lord Teignmouth and returned to England. The five years of his rule were not, as regards action on the part of the British power, eventful: but the development of native politics during the period brought affairs to a crisis, which became acute immediately after he left the country. The chief factors in Indian politics, whose action extended over a vast area, were the Great Mogul himself, Shah Alam, who had been nominally restored by the Marathas in 1773 and had since then been in the power of British; the Nizam of Hyderabad, whose power, between the Marathas and Tipu, was becoming almost a negligible quantity, but who possessed a French-trained force which might prove dangerous to the British; the Marathas, that is the Peshwa regency, Scindia, Holkar, and Bhonsle; and Tipu, the crumbling Mahomedan Sultan of Mysore. The French in the peninsula were rendered practically impotent by the Revolution at home; the Dutch were almost equally affected by domestic politics, and their hold on Ceylon was far from secure. The Portuguese at Goa had endeavoured to keep out of native politics, for fear of antagonising the traditional British alliance. They had been aided in



1786 to join the Marathas in military action, but had refused. Against Tipu they showed a strong sentiment, due to his terrible destruction of thirty thousand native Catholics, of whom they were the natural protectors. In 1781 they had renounced all their own territories by the capture of Raichod and Pune, after an arrangement with the Rajs of Banda, by which he had given them all his rights in the territories of Pandh, Sawadga, and Pandhmag. With these several Powers, during the administration of Sir John Shore, British interests were in the main concerned. It may be added, as evidence of the existence of official relations, that in 1788-9 Lord Macartney undertook a special embassy to China, which was productive only of a somewhat better acquaintance between the two Powers, and an increased knowledge on the part of British sailors of the navigation of Chinese waters; that a commercial treaty was made in 1791 with the Gaudhas, the Shins race which had ruled Nepal for some fifteen years; and that, on their request for aid against the Chinese, Colonel Kalkperich was sent on a special mission to Nepal.

The domestic politics of India during the essential period which synchronised with the administration of Cornwallis and Shore may best be grouped round the remarkable personality of Madhaji Shih Shinde. In 1785 this able and adventurous chieftain was the most important personage in central India. He had seized Agra, secured the person of the Mughal, and forced him to declare the Peshwa, the nominal ruler of the Marathas (though strictly he too was but a deputy of the Rajs of Satara), his viceroy for his whole empire. But it was Shinde who ruled the viceroy himself, the Poona regent, and Nana Phurnak, the guardian and minister of the Peshwa, whose authority was now practically confined to the district immediately round Poona. Then it came about that, in the words of a contemporary observer, all the legal sovereignty of India was consolidated in the hands of the Marathas. Shinde's military power was built up by Dault de Bugeas, a clever French officer, who had served also in the British and the Russian armies, and a Scotsman named Bengerie. By their assistance a powerful army was organised, drilled, and armed on European models. A large train of artillery was provided; and regular infantry, unknown before to the Maratha system, was introduced. Of the immediate causes of these changes there could be no question; but it was doubted, even at the time, whether the accompanying neglect of cavalry was not a fatal error. The Maratha was, above all, a predatory horseman, *rahitman* was his strength: "his fortune was on the saddle of his horse." When the other Maratha States followed the example of Shinde, and developed the artillery and infantry arms at the expense of the horseman, the decay of their military power began. They could not stand against European force, and they threw away the advantages which celebrity and knowledge of the country

contained. The greatest British general of the age, after full experience of Indian warfare, expressed his view that the dangers introduced by Sindhiya were a great mistake, and that the Marathas would have "been more formidable if they had never had a European as an infantry soldier in their service." The opinion has been criticised, but the facts of the next few years prove its truth.

At the end of 1761 Sindhiya was supreme in Hindustan. Not only were the Peshwa and his adviser impotent, and the demands of Nizam ineffective, but Talaq Haidar, the military commander of Nadirji Sindhiya, was content to follow his progress to power with acquiescence. But within a year his authority was greatly threatened. The Mohammedan lords of the Moghul, which had been under Sindhiya's control, refused to submit: they were joined by the Rajpûth chieftains, Râja Parthab Singh of Jaipur, the Râja of Udaipur, and Maharaja Rupa Singh of Jodhpur; and in May, 1762, Sindhiya was defeated at Lalaut, about forty miles south of Jaipur. In vain did he appeal for aid to Nizam Feroz. Ghulam Kadir, an hereditary ally of Delhi, overruled the Moghul, and joined the forces which were endeavouring to wrest Agra from Sindhiya. But the forces of Mohammedan and Hindu opposition were decimated; they pursued their own interests; and Sindhiya, with unbroken spirit, preserved his position in spite of constant defeat.

On June 18, 1762, he suspended the Mohammedan leader, Inayat Beg, on the site of the famous city of Agra, Fatehpur-Sikri, already deserted and now a magnificent ruin. But the victory was not followed up. The defeated Mohammedans marched to Delhi; Ghulam Kadir and Inayat Beg made themselves masters of the city, plundered the palace, and blinded the Moghul Emperor, Shah Alam. The horrors of this Peshwa conquest, in which no indignity was spared the imperial family, and dire privation was experienced by the whole city, brought inevitable retaliation. Inayat Beg joined the Rajpûts, and both determined to ruin the Moghul; the Poona regency gave the command of its troops to Talaq Haidar. Ghulam Kadir was captured at Meerut and put to death; and Sindhiya entered Delhi in triumph as the avenger of the rightful sovereign.

In 1760 the authority of Sindhiya, as effective ruler of the strongest native power in India, seemed consolidated. He was still in theory only the deputy of a deputy's deputy; but the Peshwa, with whom, as the head of the Marathas, the English always negotiated, was far inferior to him in power. Assured hardly only ruled Sindhiya's coalition. In 1760 and 1761 he crushed the Rajpûts of Jaipur and Jodhpur and the confeder Inayat Beg, who were hoping for help from the Afghans of Kabul. In June, 1762, he marched to Poona, and paid a ceremonial visit to the Peshwa, setting with an exaggerated affectation of subservience which derived no aim. This was the culmination of his career. Sir John Malcolm records it as a common saying in India that "Madhraj

Shahu made himself the sovereign of an empire by calling himself the headman of a village." In spite of resistance from Haidar and Nana Farnavis, there can be little doubt that Shahu, had he lived, would have established his power over the Marathas and throughout Hindustan, and either by alliance with Tipu or after his fall, would have become the most formidable rival of the English in the new movement of advance at the end of the eighteenth century. But on February 14, 1764, he died at Poona, not without suspicion of foul play. The city was famous for its intrigues, and this was not the last, though it may have been, but the tragedy of inopportune confusion. Dadasaheb Shinde, a boy of fifteen, could not maintain the great position of his dead uncle, and, after a few years of strangely confused intrigues, the English found that they had no more serious rival in all India than the Mohammedan ruler of Mysore.

The death of Madhaji Rao left the Marathas with no authoritative authority to maintain their faith or their interests. Yet it seemed for the moment as if union had come. A war with the Nizam, on the pending subject of dakh (tribute of one-fourth), found all their forces fighting together under the leadership of the Peshwa. But it was in the last time. From that war, which began in 1763, the English, under the cautious direction of Sir John Shore, held aloof. The Governor-General obeyed the Act of Parliament so scrupulously as to refuse assistance to the Nizam when he was attacked by the Marathas last, and left it to the French corps of Raymond to oppose the only solid resistance to the allied armies, among whom the corps of Poona, lieutenant and commander to de Bugey, was conspicuous. On March 22, 1765, the Nizam's army they were still fondly called—were routed at Karle by the Marathas. The treaty which followed marked the highest point of the power of the Brahmin oligarchy at Poona directed by Nana Farnavis. Within a few months it proved intolerable to the rashness young Peshwa. He committed suicide on October 27, 1765, and Maratha affairs were again thrown into confusion. Intrigues and complications ensued; and it was long doubted whether any coherent power would emerge. Dadasaheb Shahu and the Nana played fast and loose with each other. The Nana at last recovered control by an arrangement with the Nizam (Treaty of Mada, October, 1766), and at the end of the year, by the influence of Shahu's, Baji Rao, son of the quiescent Haidar candidate Raghoba, was accepted as Peshwa. But a little later the Nana was reduced to impotence; and at the same time Tukaji Holkar died. Baji was practically the successor of Shahu; and, if Madhaji had been still alive, the State of Guelder might have again ruled the Marathas.

From all these conflicts Sir John Shore had stood apart. The Company's interests seemed to be again restricted to commercial concerns, justly and humanely administered. While Tipu's power remained

entrusted, that of the Nizam, under his private and unscrupulous minister the Asim ul-Uloom, and with a French factor established under British aid at Hyderabad, seemed to be re-established on a firm base. In Delhi Sir John Shore established a new *Tarika*, *Board of Arts*, and bound him, under dread of revulsion from Afghanistan, to pay seventy-two lakhs of rupees a year for the support of 10,000 British troops—an act of enormous national expense on the part of the Governor-General, for which he was threatened with impeachment. In the Coromandel, affairs were going from bad to worse. The growth of the Nizam's debts placed him and his country in the hands of unprincipled European money-lenders. Lord Mordaunt, Governor of Madras, proposed to interfere by assuming control of the administration; but little came of the proposal beyond disagreement with the Governor-General. After the utmost allowance has been made for the difficulties of Sir John Shore's position, crowded as he was by Acts of Parliament, a Board of Control, and a Court of Directors, no very great praise can be bestowed upon his conduct of affairs. When his term of office came to an end, the East India Company occupied in India a position hardly higher than when the Regulating Act first manifested England's supreme concern in her Eastern settlements.

On April 28, 1786, Shore was succeeded by a man of very different temper, the vigorous, dignified, energetic, and determined Earl of Mordaunt, an Irish peer, the friend of Pitt and Wilkes, of Grafton and Canning. Richard Colley Wellesley, before whom lay a great career, but one not so great as his brilliant qualities seemed to promise, was a figure of more commanding and picturesque in the society of the day. He was a distinguished classical scholar, a writer of impressive if somewhat magnificent English, a singularly keen judge of political tendencies, a statesman untroubled by partisan or family prejudices. No man of equal ability, except Hastings, had upheld British rule in India; and Pitt, like his father, had a genius for the choice of great men to fill great posts. Before Wellesley arrived in India, he had shown how deeply he had studied the problems with which he would be confronted, and how trenchantly he was prepared to deal with them. Speaker Addington had said to him some while before, "You must a visitor upon; you are dying of the camp." The sphere was now open; and Wellesley determined that his power should be camped no more.

A paper written by the Duke of Wellington some years afterwards explains the situation with which his brother had to deal on his arrival in India. The French interest seemed to be paramount at the Courts of Tipu and the Nizam. A body of Frenchmen had already landed at Mangalore. Tipu was engaged in negotiations with France, had sent emissaries to the Mauritius, and was said to have indirectly offered Republicanism and called himself "Citizen Tipu." Now his more ambitious designs were ripe for execution. A strong French

dom was established at Hyderabad. The civil administration of the Carnatic had collapsed; and the revenue, even in times of peace, was inadequate to the demands upon it. The Raga of Mysore was hostile; Poona was at the mercy of British; and Delhi was agitated and insecure. Cornwallis had aimed at securing a balance of power in the Deccan; and his method had consisted chiefly in doing nothing. The policy had been continued by Sir John Shore, with the result of reducing the power of the Peshwa almost to vanishing point. There was pressing danger from Mysore; and hardly less serious was that from Hyderabad.

Lord Mornington dealt first with the Nizam. "A French force in the peninsula," to use Wellington's phrase, was growing up in the territory of Hyderabad; and it was the Governor-General's first aim to destroy it. The Nizam's minister, the Asim-ul-Umrah, was favourable to a British alliance, as a counterpoise to the Maratha power. In September, 1798, a treaty was drawn up, largely through his influence, by which the Nizam was to receive a British-offered force of 8000 men and to disarm his French allies, disbanding their troops. Further, the British Government was to mediate between the Nizam and the Peshwa, that is practically to protect the latter against the Marathas. Mornington had able agents. One was a very clever young officer, John Malcolm; another was the British resident, Major James Achilles Kirkpatrick; a third was Colonel Roberts, who led the British troops to Hyderabad. Raymond was dead; his successor, General Fergus, was unable to resist; and the disarmament of the French troops took place without a blow. Well might Dundas write that the policy and its execution were alike masterly and effected. In October, 1800, a defensive alliance guaranteed the territories of the Nizam, and gave him the support of 10,000 of the Company's troops. The alliance with the Nizam marked an important stage in the settlement of southern India. Lord Mornington had no idea of leaving the direction of policy to the local authorities; he made it clear that the direction of policy in Madras and Bombay, as well as in Bengal, was his peculiar province; and he refused the Presidency of the west and south to whomsoever he willed. But the most important step in the settlement of the south was the conquest of Mysore.

In Tipu Mornington saw the chief danger to the peace of India. Mysore seemed a centre of anti-British intrigue which might culminate in alliance from Cape Corrient to Afghanistan. The public assurance given of Tipu's conformity to the French in Mauritius and the alliance offered by General Mahan to the Governor-General to act at once. He sketched with masterly precision a course of action which should reduce the ruler of Mysore to impotence; and, when he heard of Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition, he prepared for immediate war. The British alliance with the Sultan of Turkey did not affect this alleged Mohammedan; he courted on the French, and left himself open to attack. On February 23, 1799, Mornington, who had himself come to Madras to direct operations, issued a declaration setting forth the necessity of

the war, and the troops, under General Harris, were apt in action. The discipline, however, was very different from those of Cornwallis' campaigns. British officers, now leave the ground, the command was absolutely assigned; the alliance of the Nizam and the Peshwa was secured, and the object of the war was "single, distinct, and definite."

On March 2 the British troops entered Mysore; and after a series of defeats, Tipu was unable to prevent the achievement of his object. On April 5 the town was carried by assault, and Tipu fell in the midst of the fight. When the Sultan was killed, the French troops fired a few volleys but made no further resistance. The British victory was complete, and the subsequent settlement of the country was just and effective. By the Muslim Tipu was regarded as a hero and a martyr. It had been his delight to enforce on his subjects and his conquered foes "the honour of Islam"; and he had at first appealed to Sultan III, as the head of the Muslim world, to protect him. But he was a stern and brave ruler; and the subject Hindu rejected at their deliverance from Mohammedan tyranny. No action of Mordaunt's was more politic than the restoration of the race of the Hindu Rijas from whom Harris had withdrawn even the appearance of power. The State was restricted but compact; and prosperity rapidly returned. "The country is bearing a garden," said Arthur Wellesley in 1801; and the Government, now which the British retained a light but effective control, remained a firm ally of the East India Company. Part of the territory previously ruled by Tipu was offered to the Marathas; on their refusal, the scattered provinces were divided between the English and the Nizam. The Company secured an uninterrupted frontier from the east to the west of the peninsula, as well as the command and the force commanding the passes over the hills into the Mysore kingdom. As a military, financial, and pacificatory settlement, the conquest of Mysore was the most brilliant success of the British power since the days of Clive. It left no serious opponent of British influence in the whole peninsula save the scattered and divided confederacy of the Marathas.

The Government at home recognized the greatness of the achievement. Honours were distributed with unusual liberality; but Lord Mordaunt was not pleased to find that he was himself only to be a conqueror in the province of Ireland as Marquess Wellesley, he called the distinction a "double-gilt potato." But his misapprehension led to no relaxation of his vigorous activity. He turned at once to review the whole course of Indian politics. The States already tributary were first dealt with, then the external powers. The most pressing question was those connected with the Carnatic. The system established there, to adopt the language of Wellington in 1806, "not only tended to the oppression of the inhabitants of the country, to the impoverishment of the Nizam, and to the destruction of the revenues of the Carnatic, but was carried into execution by the Company's civil and military servants,

and by British subjects." By a series of treaties, the Nawab, while left free in his internal government, had been placed under control in his external relations; he was shackled by guaranteed debts to the Company and overweighed loans from private persons; his whole position was insecure, disavowable, and dishonest. At Seringapatam were discovered letters to Haider Ali and Tipu, which proved that the Nawab had been eager to strengthen their hostility by joining with Mysore in shaking off the British yoke; and a careful enquiry established the fact of this connexion. The death of the Nawab, Mohammed Ali, proved convenient for a new settlement. On July 31, 1802, Asim-ud-daulah was set up as Nawab with an income of one-fifth of the net revenues; the debts were provided for; and the administration, civil and military, was handed over to the Company's officers.

Similar arrangements were made in Surat and Tadjore. Surat was at the time one of the greatest ports in India, exceeding Bombay in importance. The British community in Surat was struggling, as usual, for privileges or rights; and the native officials strove to retain the power of unlimited taxation. Wellesley stepped in as a viceroy in the sovereign power, and executed with the new ruler an arrangement like that with the Carnatic. British interests were then secured from Gujarat to Goa. In the south, the State of Tadjore came into a similar connexion with the Company. Its Raja, Sarboji, who had been educated by the famous Danish missionary, Schwartz, was glad to yield, in accordance and honour, the entire civil and military administration of his country to the Company's officers.

In Oudh a similar arrangement put an end to other difficulties. There was the perpetual danger of the Dutch frontier, of Rohilkhand, of overrunning Marathas, Sikhs, and Afghans. Even while he was planning the war against Tipu, Wellesley was dealing with Oudh. On the occasion he received support from home. Dundas was alarmed by the prospect of an invasion by the Afghan leader, Zaman Shah, and urged alliance with Sikhs and Rajputs, and even with Marathas, in order to protect Oudh and Bengal. Wellesley saw that Oudh, in its present state, was indefensible. The Nawab Wazir's troops were no better than an armed rabble, and the administration, infected by corrupt officials and European money-lenders, was hopelessly inept. Wellesley determined to exclude every European except the Company's officials, and to defend the native form. The Nawab threatened to resign; he was advised to surrender the administration to the Company, but refused. In 1801 the Governor-General sent his brother, Henry Wellesley (afterwards Lord Cowley) to Lucknow, and was prepared to follow himself, when the Nawab ceded, in perpetuity and in full sovereignty, a large frontier district, sufficient to protect his territory and to defray the expense of maintaining a guard of British troops. The treaty of 1801 was warmly criticised at home as unauthorised and unjust; and the

appointment of Henry Wellesley to provide *not* a provisional government of the ceded district was attacked as a flagrant "job." The Directors were offended from their Governor-General by this apparent infringement of their right of patronage as well as by his "forward policy." To later students the wonder is that, when Wellesley assumed part of Oudh, he did not seize the whole.

The policy of "subsidiary" alliances (that is, alliances involving the support of British troops paid for by the receiver of such support), elaborated in Wellesley's dealings with the Marthas. The decision of that disorderly confederacy offered an opportunity and a justification for intervention. He determined to act boldly and decisively. The action was bold, but it was not decisive. Perhaps he placed the fruit too soon: more probably it was the heavy authority who promoted the satisfactory completion of a policy which could only succeed if pressed to a conclusion. The factors in the problem were the Peshwa, the aged Nizam Ferozshah, now again chief minister at Poona, the families of Sindhiya, Bhonsla, and Holkar. Among these constantly changing relations Wellesley moved with confidence if not with certainty. He turned first to the Peshwa, Rājī Rao; and, as he turned, the Nizam, who had ever regarded the English with jealousy and alarm, expired. An opponent was gone; but the Maratha Government was left without a ruler. "With him," wrote the British resident, "has departed all the wisdom and moderation of their Government."

Rājī now became a mere shuttlecock between the two great houses of Sindhiya and Holkar. Bhaṣat Rāo Sindhiya was busy fighting with his father's widow; Jangwant Rao Holkar, with his brothers. At last, on October 25, 1803, Holkar defeated the Peshwa and Sindhiya under the walls of Poona, and set up a pretender in the Peshwa's place. In December, Rājī, in safety at Banars, close to Benhap, agreed to make no treaties save with British powers, and to receive a large British force, for which he assigned districts to provide the payment. The Treaty of Banars made the Peshwa, hitherto regarded by the Company as the head of the Maratha confederacy, little better than a vassal in their hands. The arrangement was warmly criticized at home. Gough, now President of the Board of Control, thought it was certain to involve us in further complications; the Directors deprecated all action which could lead to war. Wellesley, in defending his policy, strayed the whole of the Company's relations. The first danger he foresaw was from France. France had, with Sindhiya's aid, established a great territorial dominion, embracing the Panjab, Agra, Delhi, and a large portion of the Deccan, nearly from the left bank of the Indus to the Sonna and the Ganges. It was the most vulnerable part of our north-west frontier; and the name of the unhappy Mahad, Shah Alau, could always be used to rally forces against us. So long as the Peshwa was bound to make war and peace



only by the Company's advice, there was some security for peace in India—such was the view of Arthur Wellesley, the able soldier who had already distinguished himself in Mysore. But the real question was of the existence of the "subsidiary" system itself; in truth it could not be permanent, and must end in withdrawal or annihilation.

On May 12, 1803, Rājā Rāo re-entered Poona as Peshwā, with General Arthur Wellesley as his guard. On August 5 war broke out with Sindhiā; he had not been long in seeing that his independence would be threatened next. The contest of Lord Wellesley's struggles began. He planned at once to destroy the French force, to occupy the whole of the land between the Ganges and the Jumna, to win Delhi and Agra, and to extend his control from Katak to Deewarh. At the outset, British arms were successful over a large part of the field. In 1798 Rājā had given a lease of all the Peshwā's rights in Gujarat to General Rāo; but Kāthōji Gokhale, supported by his Arab guard, had held the capital, Basoda. Wellesley saw the importance of securing this commercial and military post; and the British troops took it by storm. In April, 1803, a treaty established a satisfactory settlement: Katak was still more nearly secured. In Hindustān and the Deccan the work was much more arduous.

In the Deccan Arthur Wellesley was in command. He had to meet both Sindhiā and Shinde. He took Ahmednagar and Aurangzād, and on September 23, 1803, fought the famous battle of Assaye. An infantry attack was followed by a cavalry charge; and Sindhiā's French troops, as well as his own newly-raised infantry, were put to flight. Two months later Shinde was defeated at Arjūn; and on December 14 the capture of Gwalghar practically ended the war with the Rājā of Berar. Shinde on December 17, 1803, signed the Treaty of Daulat, agreeing to discuss all sovereigns whose countries were at war with England, to receive a resident, and to give up Katak. In Hindustān General Lake gained more brilliant success. Purnā gave up his post with Sindhiā; Bourpūr was defeated outside Delhi, and the aged Shah Alam was forced again to semi-independent power. Agra was taken; and Sindhiā's army, after hard fighting, was scattered to the winds at Laswā. The Treaty of Surji Arjūnghar took from Sindhiā all the land between the Jumna and the Ganges, and all north of Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Gohād.

A difficult point was the rock fortress of Gwalior, which Hastings had long ago called the key of Hindustān, and which had been seized by Sindhiā from the Rājā of Gohād. Sindhiā was anxious to retain it; but Lord Wellesley demanded its surrender, in order that the Company might restore it to their faithful ally, the Rājā of Gohād. Arthur Wellesley said he would sacrifice it and every other frontier town to them over "to preserve our credit for our common good Rājā"; and Jyāo Shinde supported him strongly. But Lord Wellesley replied,

"Major Malabadi's business is to obey my orders, and enforce my instructions; I will look after the public interest"; and Gwalior was surrendered. Soon afterwards Scindia accepted a modified "subsidiary" treaty; but in 1803 he regained the territory of Gwalior and the fort of Gwalior. Three out of the four chief Maratha States were now subdued, and there was no French center of influence left in India. But there was still a power to reckon with, more dangerous and acute than any other.

Jeswant Rao Holkar had emerged from a confused series of battles and intrigues as the strongest member of the family of Talpuri, of whom he was an illegitimate son; and he was made himself the ruler of the territory which had been so wisely administered by his father and by the great Ahajya Bha. He and Scindia in turn seized each other's capitals; and it was the capture of Poona by his troops in 1802 which led to the epoch-making Treaty of Poona. During the recent war he had stood aloof; now he seemed suddenly to perceive his danger, and prepared for war. Heavy negotiations were for a time carried on; but on April 16, 1818, the Governor-General gave orders to Lake, the commander-in-chief, and to Major-General Arthur Wellesley, to commence hostile operations. Lake was to move from Delhi; Colonel Murray, starting from Gwalior, was to relieve Holkar's possessions in Malwa. Raipur was taken on May 16; but an advance by Colonel Memon into Malwa met with other disaster. He had hoped to meet Memon, but the latter had turned back; and, when Memon, aided by the treacherous advice of Scindia's general, nominally his ally, moved down the Malabarwara pass into the open country towards the Chambal river, he found that Murray could not join him. He therefore determined to retreat, leaving Loana with the cavalry to protect his rear. Loana was surprised, and his force cut to pieces, by Holkar, who thereupon pursued Memon, and attacked him on all sides. The retreat became a disorderly flight, and Ethar Singh, Ragent of Kato, refused to allow the British forces to find shelter within his city. A demoralized rabble, the only remains of the five battalions of infantry, 6000 horse, and artillery, which had formed the force at the outset, eventually found refuge within the fort of Agra.

The defeat of Memon was a blow to northern India which recalled the disasters of Beller and Brighthelm in the south. Native halahangars made the most of it; and native Powers again took courage to resist the mighty foreigners. Holkar gathered a large army, and entered Bhaktalpur as a conqueror; but he remained there only seven months. Murray seized his capital, Indore. Laying siege to Delhi, Holkar was kept at bay by a mere handful of men, and eventually withdrew southward, contenting himself with ravaging the Doab. Of the horrors of native raids contemporary observers have left vivid pictures. One is that of Colonel James Tod, British representative among the Rajpoots, who says, "wherever the Marathas encamped, civilization was crushed, and twenty-four hours sufficed to give to the most flourishing spot the

aspect of a *doer*." He spoke from his own observation; and Haller was the most average *book-keeper* of his time. But his career was not short by General Fraser, who won a brilliant victory at Dig on Nov. 24, 1804; and Haller's study was cut up three days later by Lake at Ferozshah. On December 24 Dig, in the Bhawalpur country, fell before the British army; and the Rija of Bhawalpur, after leaving Lake at bay for many months, at last consented to a treaty.

It was at this point, when war was within his grasp, that Wellesley's government came to an end. For this abrupt conclusion there were other causes besides Marassa's defeat. The Directors had started with increasing alarm the expansion of their territory under the forward policy of their brilliant Governor-General. They were quite unprepared to undertake Imperial responsibilities. Lord Wellesley saw that even one government must weld the different nations and races of the vast peninsula into a single whole; the Directors, of whom Charles Grant was an able spokesman, regarded the idea as a scheme of ambition and aggrandizement, contrary to the Act of 1794, and in principle wholly unjustifiable. But it was not only the rapid advance of empire, involving vast armed like an attempt to rival in India the aggressions of Napoleon in Europe, against which the Directors protested. At every point of administration Wellesley had natural plans for improvement. Some of these he had carried into effect; others waited for sanction, and the sanction was refused. He reconstituted the civil and criminal Courts, the *Sade Dastak Adalat* and the *Munsif Adalat*, no longer retaining for the Governor-General in Council those judicial duties which it was impossible for him, in the pressure of other business, adequately to perform. He planned a reorganization of the whole system of government. The scheme exists in manuscript, but it never approached acceptance. The Governor-General proposed that there should at future be only two divisions of British India—Bengal, and Madras with Bombay and Ceylon. The Governor-General was to be over both, with a Council and a Vice-President for each. In view of the Company's growing responsibilities, it was not surprising that such a scheme failed to obtain consideration.

Close to the Governor-General's heart was the training of the Company's civil servants. The ignorance of the local officials led too often, said Wellesley, to sloth, indolence, and low debauchery. The young men who were sent out had no previous training, and the training they received in India was inadequate to enable them successfully to act as judges, themselves, administrators, and rulers. Wellesley determined to supply the training by a college to be erected at Fort William, for which he planned the government, discipline, and course of study. His foundation received the warm approval of Warren Hastings, who had had a similar scheme in mind thirty-five years before; but the Directors took alarm, and the college speedily disappeared.

In future Wellbelly made great addresses, the commercial classes acquired new confidence from his fine rules; and public credit became much more secure. In regard to the inevitable breakdown of the Company's monopoly, Wellbelly was prepared to make concessions towards free trade, and Dundas at home was ready to support his action; but the Directors relied still on a storm. Not only would their trade be destroyed, but England would be depopulated. "Free trade," they asserted, "cannot be permitted without being followed by a general intercourse, nor that without issuing in our political power in the East." Wellbelly, like his friend Pitt, knew *The Wealth of Nations* too well to take such a view. He suggested the employment of ships built in India, and a considerable increase of freedom for private trade. In a letter to the Court of Directors, dated September 20, 1803, he foretold a vast expansion of trade. This trade (he said) must, if possible, be kept in British hands; and this could best be done by giving liberty to British merchants to provide their own tonnage as they needed it, lifting ships under regulations framed by the Company. In this attempt to introduce free trade, Wellbelly was warmly supported not only by the mercantile interest in England, but by Calcutta and Dundas; the Company's opposition was, however, determined. Charles Grant observed that the Governor-General's letter, advocating the enlargement of private trade, arrived when his educational scheme was being considered; and this coincidence weakened them both. "It would lead," said Grant, "to the supersession of the Company, the opening of trade, and ultimately the endangering of our Indian Empire." Grant's opposition was particularly unfortunate for Lord Wellbelly, as in May, 1804, he was made Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, and next year Chairman; he became, and those who knew, not merely a Director but the Director.

There was, unfortunately, another bone of contention between the Governor-General and his masters. As Sir John Macpherson admitted, "zeal and capacity to serve" were the only qualifications which he considered in the appointments he made, but the Directors wished to have more than a finger in the pie, and cancelled the appointments of eminent men with something like personal resentment. The records of the India Office are full of denunciations and criticisms. Wellbelly had long felt the inconvenience of his position; and it was only by repeated requests from the Government that he was induced to remain. When, early in 1808, the Court renewed his appointments, his expenditure, his discharges to their orders, he refused to abandon his post; and on August 15 he sailed for England, with his work still incomplete, but having accomplished more than any of his predecessors, and established throughout India the supremacy of the British power.

The one superior power left in India was such only in name; but it had been an important part of Wellbelly's policy to preserve and utilize the nominal superiority. The Mahad, Shik Alias, by an agreement

made early in 1805, was established at Delhi under British protection, with a considerable payment and pensions for his dignity. The object of this was as little understood in England as Wellesley's general policy of "ambulatory" alliances. Even Pitt is reported by Castlereagh to have said that the Governor-General had acted most imprudently and illegally; and it was on this understanding, and with the object of reversing all that could be reversed, that Lord Cornwallis again accepted the Governor-Generalship. He entered on his duties on July 30, 1805. He immediately began negotiations with Halker with the view of concluding peace. His view was first the line of the Jumna should be taken as a military frontier, that all the country west of that line should be given up; and that the territories north and west of Delhi should be granted to the smaller Rajas, who were to be pledged to relinquish all claims to British aid. Either they would move against Sindia, or he would have enough to do to reduce them. The British rule was to depend, not on its own power, but on the intermediate scale of its rivals. So much was clearly sketched; and something, in spite of the bitter opposition of Lord Lake, was accomplished, when Cornwallis died on October 5, having held office little more than two months.

Sir George Halker Barlow, a civil servant of the Company, senior member of the Council, succeeded previously to the post, and was immediately confirmed in it by the Court of Directors. A conscientious and strong-minded man, Sir George Barlow felt himself bound to carry out the known wishes of the Directors, and to endure the obloquy which was sure to fall upon him for repudiation of honourable obligations. The treaty made with Sindia meant the abandonment of every claim, and the practical renunciation of the Rajput chieftains to his attacks. Halker was pursued by Lord Lake across the Satlej into the territory of the great Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh. The attitude of the Sikhs was long undecided; but early in 1806 Ranjit Singh came over decidedly to the British side. A series of treaties left a number of minor chieftains to the vengeance of Halker, and allowed him to recover the greater part of his lost dominions. Motivated perhaps by the fears disconcerted by returned civil and military servants, who told them that he was now the only strong power in India, and that they must court his friendship, the Board of Control sanctioned a treaty by which Halker, who had taken refuge in the Panjab in his desperate flight before the British army, was permitted to return to his dominions, and was established in a greater position than he had ever held before. Moreover, in April, 1809, a treaty was made with Ranjit Singh by which the Sikh power was restricted to the north of the Satlej. But Jaipur was abandoned, and the Sikhs were left free to subdue the districts of Malwa, Kathiawar, Peshawar, and the Desert.

The administration of Sir George Barlow marked the practical abandonment of central India to rapine and anarchy. Udaipur was

the plea of average pretension to the hand of its Raj's daughter, who was at last chosen to marry her father from entire subjugation. The power which it was hoped the British power could uphold was lost; and the influence of the Company was maintained only at the Courts of Madras and Poona. Anxious to please the Directors, Sir George Barlow failed to satisfy the British Government. Conspicuously, although he had been practically promised the Governor-Generalship, he was superseded by the Crown under the power given by the Act of 1784; and Lord Minto, who had for some time held office at the Board of Control, was appointed in his place. Lord Minto assumed the government at Calcutta on July 2, 1807. The disagreement between the Company and public feeling was evident also in the fact that, while the Court of Proprietors in 1806 strongly condemned Lord Wellesley's policy, the attempts to impeach or to censure him in Parliament were decisively rejected.

The condition of India when Lord Minto arrived was highly deteriorated, not only through the disastrous policy of leaving the native States to devour one another, and the disorder in Madrasland, but also by a new and most alarming symptom of the weakness of the British power. This was the mutiny of the Madras regiments at Follere, in which a large number of British officers and men were slain. The cause was mainly national, or racial; and the sons of Tipu Sultan were at least nominally its leaders. Recent military regulations, utterly unsuited to native troops, had caused bitter resentment among the soldiers; and by some it was supposed that there was an intention to convert them to Christianity, a suspicion which the attentions directed at that religion by the officials at Madras might have served to discredit. Lord William Bentinck, the Governor, who was in no way to blame, was removed from his office, and was replaced by Sir George Barlow, one of whose first duties was to deal with a serious mutiny among the European officers in the Madras army. Efforts to reduce expenditure had led to the cutting off of several unsatisfactory methods of raising money; and investigations, quasi-martial, orders of compulsion and dismissal, led to an open outbreak against the Government, which descended civil war. In these difficult circumstances, Sir George Barlow showed that he possessed distinguished courage and determination. Aware that a large proportion of the Company's troops in the south were banded together to avenge the wrongs of grievance, he suppressed the mutiny by calling the regiments to the aid of the Government. At Seringapatam this actually led to a conflict between the King's troops and the Company's, but eventually peace was secured by concessions which accompanied the restoration of authority.

Lord Minto's term of office was marked by the temporary occupation of Goa, by an abortive expedition to Madras in 1809—a consequence of Napoleon's invasion of Portugal—by the capture in 1810 of the Il-

de Bonaparte and the Île de France (Mauritius), and by the acquisition of Java in 1811, by which time every position held by France as her dependencies in the East, had passed into English hands. During this period we should also note the beginning, or at least the entrance, of a policy, of which slight indications had been given both by Warren Hastings and by Wellesley, of entering into friendly relations with the great States outside the limits of direct British influence. Mountstuart Elphinstone led a mission to the Amir of Afghanistan, who promised to prevent any attack on India through his territory: but the Amir, Shah Dost, was himself deposed immediately afterwards, so that nothing came of the mission. Sir John Malcolm, who as early as 1800 had been called "Lord Wellesley's favourite and the greatest man in Calcutta," and whom Wellesley had sent in 1799 to Teheran, went in 1807 on a mission to the Persian Gulf, and in 1810 again visited the Persian sovereign and obtained an assurance of friendship. In 1809 Charles Metcalfe negotiated an alliance with Berh't Singh, which brought British power to the banks of the Satlej. Each of these three distinguished public servants had been trained in the school of Wellesley, and, if the results of their embassies were not great, they served at least to emphasize the wide interests of the British power. The treaty with Persia, which was not definitely completed till 1814, is notable as showing that the British Government was already apprehensive of Russian influence in the East, the security of Persia being guaranteed against any attack from that quarter.

The Governors-General who succeeded Wellesley possessed none of his fire, even if they had his opportunities; and the work of Lord Minto was rather one of consolidation than of fresh advance. Legal changes, some attempts to reform the courts of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, and to reform the rural system of the Madras Presidency (a great public service for ever associated with the name of Sir Thomas Munro), and a vigorous effort to organize a police force and local criminal jurisdiction, marked the period which ended in 1813. In 1804 a new advance was made by the Earl of Minto (afterwards Marquis of Hastings), whom the Prince Regent, his personal friend, sent out to replace Lord Minto. The most important work of Hastings and his successor belongs to a later time; it was concerned mainly with the destruction of the Pindaris, the armed freebooters of central India, and with the final suppression of the Maratha power at Poona. Of earlier date, and equivalent in marking the direction in which British enterprise was advancing, was the war against the Gurkhas of Nepal (1804-6). This expedition was at first unsuccessful, largely through the unpopularity and rigour of the officers, whom the troops refused to follow. Things went better when the command was taken over by Ochterlony, who captured many hill forts, advanced into the valley of Kathmandu, and from Mahadwar might have pressed on to

the capital staff. But Hastings was content with a treaty, which restricted the Gorkhas in their power over Thibet, and, after a renewal of the war in 1806, compelled them to cede a large tract of territory along the outer ranges of the Himalayas.

In 1813, after prolonged debate, the Charter of the Company was passed for twenty years. Castlereagh, who introduced the bill into the Commons, proposed to establish free trade, both import and export, for all British ships not above four hundred tons. This liberal approach towards complete freedom was hotly contested. The Company brought up some of its most distinguished servants to plead for its privileges. Warren Hastings, the Marquess Wellesley, Lord Teignmouth (Shore), Sir John Malcolm, Charles Grant, spoke, but spoke in vain. The renewal of the Charter in 1813 was, in fact, a decisive mark of the extended interest which England as a whole was beginning to meet in Indian affairs. A vast number of pamphlets, papers, reports, protestations of every kind, manifested the public concern. The settlement of the trade question was complicated by a passionate religious controversy. A number of liberal leaders, and at least as many persons of narrow political views, displayed great alarm as to the prospects of Christian missions in India. Wilberforce, who powerfully supported the attempt to win freedom for Englishmen to teach their own religion, declared definitely "that the missionaries should be clearly understood to be armed with no authority, furnished with no commission, from the governing power of the country." The distinction was explained by Lord Wellesley, who had definitely asserted the Christianity of the Government when he was in India, and strongly favoured the increase of the Church establishment; while able civil servants like Malcolm warmly urged a considerable extension of the educational work of the Company. Several missions had already been started; some progress had been made, and further advance was retarded only by the hesitation of the Government to permit the appointment of a bishop.

Somewhat apart from the general progress of the British power during the period under survey stands the history of Ceylon. At the beginning of 1795 the island, long held by the Dutch, was seized by an expedition from Madras, and on February 16 the Dutch Government surrendered its authority to Colonel Stuart and Captain Gordon, R.N. The end of the severe and unpopulous Dutch rule was universally welcomed in Ceylon. In spite of the most careful regulations for preserving the rights of the Dutch religious establishment, it soon disappeared; and no other influence, except in the region of law, remained to testify to their long occupation. During 1797 there were proposals for the retrocession of Ceylon to the Batavian Republic; and some injudicious action on the part of the representative of the Madras Presidency, under which the island was placed, led to a revolt, which caused Pitt to see the wisdom of placing it directly under the



Crown. In October, 1780, Frederick North became Brit Governor. Lord Wellesley regarded Ceylon as an important part of the Indian Empire, essential to its defence, and he proposed that it should be definitely placed under the control of the Governor-General. While the English held the coast, the mountain kingdom of Kandy remained independent; and with its ruler North engaged in negotiations which bore the appearance of a discreditable intrigue. In 1800 British troops took possession of Kandy, but the bulk of the force was soon withdrawn, whereas the remainder were massacred by the natives. It was not till 1815 that satisfaction for this act was obtained. The King of Kandy for twelve years ruled without interference as a sovereign and average tyrant. At length an outrage committed on British subjects led to a declaration of war on January 16, 1815. The Governor, General D'Almeida, acted against the advice of his Council, but was completely successful; and on March 5, 1816, the treaty was signed. In 1817 an insurrection broke out, but it was speedily suppressed; and the island has since then remained tranquil under the British Crown.

The echoes of the great European conflict were heard in India only like the sound of distant thunder. But there was one occasion on which the East sent its aid to naval in a far distant land the encroachments of the West. At the end of December, 1800, an expedition started from Bombay to intervene in the Egyptian campaign. It consisted of 6000 British and native troops, commanded by Sir David Baird. The fleet landed at Kouss on June 5, 1801, whence, after a march of 140 miles across the desert, it reached Cairo on August 10. From Cairo it marched with the rest of the British army to Alexandria; and three weeks later the French capitulated.

This expedition, insignificant as were its immediate results, is remarkable as illustrating the position which British rule in India had, through the struggle of the years 1785-1818, definitely attained. The innumerable despatches, memoranda, letters of travellers, and state papers, in which the inner social history of this period may laboriously be read, leave an impression of narrow commercial views, of personal interests selfishly pursued, of a lack of sympathy with other races, of difficulties of education and environment awkwardly enumerated, of petty aims and trivial methods. But to conclude that this was all would be to take a very superficial view. The Governors who from time to time guided the policy of the Company in India, much though they differed in width of view, in knowledge, in statesmanship, were yet, every one of them, inspired with an earnest desire for righteousness and justice in their rule. The experiment of governing millions of Asiatics in accordance with the dictates of Western ideas was being tried, amid many difficulties, but with unflinching determination. The greatest of the Governors felt the stupendous nature of their task. They did not undertake it lightly, whether it was Cornwallis in his reserve and polite

reform, or Wellesley in his advances and his wars. It was an ideal sort of eloquent but of empire which they set forth; and from that ideal the deep thought of moral responsibility was never absent. They laid their reward in the permanence of their work. It is this that marks the growth of British power in the East during the thirty years that followed the rule of Warren Hastings: a unique phenomenon in the history of the Napoleonic age.

## II.—THE COMPANIES (1792-1815).

Although the French War, which closed with the Battle of Waterloo, was the last episode in the long contest for colonial and commercial pre-eminence, its colonial character was less apparent than in the case of earlier wars. The British colonial empire of the time was of a regularly, uncomplex structure—in the East, vast and wealthy territories under the ill-defined authority of a trading company, moving, under irresistible impulses, in a direction from which its natural instincts recoiled; in the West, a conquered French possession, some island colonies hitherto unprogressive, and a wilderness sparsely peopled by "United Empire Loyalists." A covert colony in the southern zone could not arouse enthusiasm; and the West Indian Islands alone seemed to realize the idea of the old colonial system. But, such as they were, the colonies and the ancient Indian Empire were alike protected by the dominant sea-power of Great Britain. Thus it came about that, though the French Revolution and the personality of Napoleon dominated the general history of the period, there were distant regions, of great future importance, which scarcely felt their influence.

In Australia and in Canada the seed, sown in *dispossession* or in *unrestlessness*, of a self-governing colonial empire was struggling into life. That this empire was due to no conscious aims of British statesmen is manifest. The declaration of American independence cast its shadow over the years which followed. When, in 1793, Great Britain was involved in war with France, colonies became parties to the game, but even then there was no deliberate aim to secure colonial concordance by means of sea-power. The conquered West Indian Islands were, with the exception of Trinidad, readily restored at the Peace of Amiens. The ultimate decision to retain Cape Colony and Mauritius was based on military, not colonial, considerations. At the final peace British statesmen fell on their knees in gratitude to Holland that "other India," Java, and, in justifying the action of the Government with regard to the French colonies, Lord Castlereagh deliberately maintained that it was not the interest of England to make France a more military, instead of a commercial, nation. The final outcome of the great war

was the colonial necessity of Great Britain, but such was not the conscious aim of those who carried through the struggle.

It could be easy to imagine that the foundation of New South Wales, almost immediately after the loss of the American colonies, was intended to call a new colonial empire into existence to take the place of the old, but, in point of fact, the first movers in the matter were careful to explain that they intended no repetition of the past. In view of the general disapproval of emigration, they laboured to refute the notion that their project would in any way depopulate the parent State. The settlers of New South Wales (they asserted) would principally be collected from the Friendly Islands and China, and only a few skilled workmen, with the ships' crews, would be required from England. James Maitland, who was, next to Sir Joseph Banks, chief author of the proposal, while advocating the colony as an asylum for the American loyalists, still held that the bulk of the immigrants might come from China. Part of New South Wales lay in the same latitude as the Spice Islands, and spices and other tropical or semi-tropical products would be the main wealth of the colony. The whole expense to the British Government need not exceed £75,000. Lord Sydney, the Home Secretary, whose department had at the time the control of colonial affairs, was no rider of a Greater Britain in the southern seas; but he was intensely excited over the question how to dispose of the convicts who were crowding the English prisons, and he recognised in the proposal a way of escape. From the time of George I. a regular system of transportation to the American colonies had been in force, and it was necessary to find a substitute for this outlet. In 1764 an Act of Parliament was therefore passed enabling the Government, by an Order in Council, to select places to which convicts might be transported; and in 1788 "the eastern coast of New South Wales" was declared to be such a place.

The new colony extended, on paper, from Cape York, 10° 57' north latitude, to South Cape, 48° 58' south latitude, and inland as far as 125° east longitude. It included all the islands adjacent to the Pacific Ocean within the above-mentioned latitudes. These spacious limits were doubtless fixed to forestall competition by other Powers. The Governor's commission might follow the wonted precedents of more hopeful times; but there is no reason to suppose that the Government had in view more than a mere convict colony. Even so, it was started with amazing weaknesses. The coast of New South Wales was practically unknown. The projectors were ignorant of the physical conditions, which subsequently proved so great a hindrance to agriculture. The system under which transportation to the American colonies had taken place had secured the efficiency of convict labour; but it was a wholly different matter in Australia, where no attempt was made to select those convicts who were most suitable for agriculture, and skilled workmen were

as provided. The wonder is, not that the colonists suffered hardships and wait for several years, but that New South Wales ever successfully emerged from its period of beggary.

For this result the credit is mainly due to the first governor, Captain Phillip. His appointment evoked surprise from Lord Howe, First Lord of the Admiralty; but he proved himself eminently the right man for the place. The arrangements made for the voyage were by no means adequate, but they would have been far more defective without Phillip's masterly direction. The first fleet, with 136 convicts on board, started on May 18, 1787, and arrived at Botany Bay on January 18, 1788. Finding Botany Bay unsuitable for settlement, Phillip proceeded to examine Port Jackson, where he found "the finest harbour in the world"; and he selected Sydney as the site of the new colony. Owing to the size of the fleet, the labour of clearing the ground proved almost too much for undisciplined convict labour. In this state of things, Phillip recognized the necessity of a regular supply of provisions for four or five years. The home authorities took little interest in the emigrants, and, when to this difficulty was added the loss of ships with stores, famine threatened seriously soon. Other troubles beset the newly-tried Governor. Major Ross, who commanded the Marines, was a reckless man in his role. The dignity of the service forbade that officers should hold any intercourse with the convicts when not directly compelled. A further cause of anxiety arose from the disproportion of the sexes in the colony. The first intention had been that the convicts should number women from the South Sea Islands; and, even when this idea was abandoned, the proportion of women to men was not out in the years during which the system of transportation prevailed was seldom higher than one to three, and often much lower. The first settlement might well have consisted only of able-bodied men who might have received wives after arriving at the preliminary work; in the course actually adopted there was neither method nor convenience.

Nevertheless, through all his trials, Phillip maintained his faith in the future of the country. He never wavered in the belief that the colony would "prove the most valuable acquisition Great Britain ever made," although he recognized that no country offered less assistance to the first settlers, as "could be more disadvantageously placed with respect to support from the mother-country, on which for a few years we must entirely depend." Before starting he had written: "as I could not wish convicts to lay the foundation of an Empire, I think they should ever remain separated from the garrison and other settlers that may come from Europe." Experience now proved that fifty families set out with their families would do more in one year to render the colony self-dependant than a thousand convicts. The "emigrant" system, under which alone convict labour could be made economically profitable, was suggested by Phillip. Free emigrants should have the

where of a certain number of convicts for two or three years, after which they should be able to support themselves, and pay, in return for convict labour, the cost of the passage out of such convicts. The first five settlers arrived in New South Wales in 1788, after Philip had left the colony; but their arrival was due to his despatch. The work committed to Philip was in some ways unequal; nevertheless, he has rightly taken rank among "the builders of Greater Britain."

The success or failure of one-man government will always depend upon the efficiency of the directing mind. So regarded, however, was the home authorities of the elementary truth, that a considerable interval took place between the departure of Philip and the arrival of his successor. Philip left Sydney in December, 1792; Hunter did not reach that place till September, 1793. The interregnum proved salutary to the colony. The military Acting-Governor suspended the civil Courts, the restrictions against the supply of spirits to convicts were relaxed; and, when Hunter at last arrived, he proved unable to shake the evil which had arisen. In 1799 he was recalled. While the colony was suffering evil days, a discovery was made, which, more than anything else, rendered possible a different and happier Australia. Philip had reported that sheep would not thrive in New South Wales, but in 1794 Captain Macartney, who had gone out as an officer in the New South Wales Corps, began his efforts in the direction of producing fine wool, and two years later he obtained some sheep of the pure merino breed from the Cape. It was from these beginnings that the great pastoral industry of Australia took its rise.

The appointment of Hunter's successor, King, was made, though late, on the advice of Philip, who had recommended him for the post. The task which awaited the new Governor was very difficult. The unrestricted importation of spirits had proved the curse of the colony, and to check this evil was to come in conflict with vested interests and to incur unpopularity. Nevertheless, the landing of spirits without a written permit for the specific quantity was forbidden; and in no circumstances was drink recognised as an object of traffic. We are told that nearly 70,000 gallons of spirits and over 35,000 gallons of wine were refused a landing during King's government. Moreover, the fixing of reasonable prices made the trade less tempting. The improvement in the morals of the colony during King's period of government was attested by those best able to pronounce an opinion.

In 1800 a considerable further was added in the little community by the appearance of two French vessels under Captain Baudin. The avowed object of the expedition was scientific; and it received a friendly welcome, even before the announcement of the Peace of Amiens. It was rumoured, however, that the real object was to foment French colonies in the southern sea. In any case, without the command of the sea, such colonies must have succumbed to the English. After the death of the gallant

Boulton, the French authorities at Mauritius, having captured and imprisoned the explorer Flinders on his passage to England, attempted, by the use of his papers, to appropriate for their ships the credit of his discoveries along the south coast of Australia.

King's successor, Bligh, arrived in Sydney in August, 1806; and a change of once took place in the aspect of affairs. In putting down the liquor-traffic, he acted with such violence and dogmatism that Major Johnston, who commanded the forces at Sydney, took the strong step of deposing and imprisoning the Governor. That such an event could occur, shows a startling state of things; but it is doubtful whether, in the circumstances, the action of Major Johnston and his associates was not justified. The important conclusion of Johnston's court-martial in England, which, while finding him guilty, contended itself with exonerating him, virtually admitted the provocation under which the colony laboured. "My will is the law" was Bligh's motto; and it is easy to see how, on such principles, the Governor's power might be abused.

Of the form of government which prevailed throughout this period it is difficult to form a clear notion. The first three Governors were soldiers, accustomed to the discipline of a man-of-war. So well, King explained, was located without the written order of the Governor. The soldiers and free labourers were compelled to attend at stated meetings. Strict regulations enforced the observance of Sunday; and all persons found meddling about the towers of Sydney and Parramatta during the time of divine service were summarily locked up. A paternal government fixed the rate at which all articles could be sold. Written promissory notes were forbidden. The quality of flour was rigidly prescribed. No cow, ewe, or breeding sow might be killed, and weekly returns had to be furnished of all slaughtered stock. Meanwhile the colony was slowly developing. Eighteen years after its foundation there were between six and seven hundred householders, of whom about four hundred were ex-convicts. About 20,000 acres were under cultivation, and over 164,000 under pasture.

The military situation seemed to demand a military Governor as Bligh's successor; and Major-General Nightingale was intended for the post. The 13th Regiment under Colonel Macquarie was detached for service in the colony, and Macquarie was to act as Lieutenant-Governor during the absence of the Governor. Nightingale, however, never took up the appointment; and Macquarie was made Governor. The brief period of his government, which lasted till 1821, embodied in crude suggestion the theory which was to yield to new influences. Macquarie believed in Australia as a country for convicts and emigrants, and resented the presence in their midst of free settlers. Thus, he thought, as unredemptive intruders, had no cause for complaint if he refused to treat them as servants. Macquarie placed on record his deliberate opinion that he was justified in flagging "profligate men, though at

the time first, without any trial or examination before a Court." The logging occurred in 1816, and the justification was written four years afterwards. How from such beginnings Australia gradually developed, and how it is perhaps the most democratic community upon the face of the earth, will be told later.

In spite of the wide terms of his commission, New South Wales, as known to Phillip, included only the present county of Cumberland; it stretched from Broken Bay in the north to Botany Bay in the south. The exploration of the Macintyre and Nipper rivers in 1789 opened up a large stretch of fertile country on their banks; and the crossing of the Blue Mountains in 1815 opened the rich district of Portent to be thrown open to settlement. In 1797 the mouth of the Hunter river was discovered; and a branch depot for convicts was afterwards started there. So little was known of the coast of Australia that it was not till 1796 that Bass, sailing in an open boat, proved Van Diemen's Land to be a separate island. In 1801-2 Flinders first made a survey of the coast of southern Australia. Port Phillip was discovered in January, 1801; and it was decided to form a settlement there as well as in Van Diemen's Land. But the Lieutenant-Governor, Collins, who arrived in October, 1800, formed a most unfavourable opinion of the site, and he was allowed to remove to Van Diemen's Land, where he founded the settlement of Hobart. A settlement was also started at Port Dalrymple on the north coast of the island.

If the early history of New South Wales credibly illustrates the temper of the times with regard to colonization, in Canada a very different problem was exercising the minds of British statesmen and Governors. The history of Canada down to the British conquest has been described in a previous volume. At first the new province was placed under military rule; but the disposition of the British Government, both at home and in Canada, was very considerate, and the system was well adapted to the simple character of the population. There was distress, owing to the delay of the French Government in admitting liability on the paper-money, but, upon the whole, the people seemed fairly content with their new rulers. The problem how to recognize the position of the Roman Catholic Church, while preventing it from becoming a nucleus for French intrigues, was solved by tacitly allowing claims which could not be openly admitted.

It was the singular good fortune of Great Britain that, when war broke out with France in 1793, it came in such a fashion as to allay the natural sympathies of the Canadian people. The British Governors were under no illusion as to their temper; there was acquiescence in British rule, but the patriotism and prejudices of generations could not be uprooted in a day. The British officers, to whom the care of the new colony was entrusted, regarded with special favour the simple and

plain mischiefs, and drew comparisons between them and the war-torn and wretched "settlers and traders," as they called the New England colonial immigrants. Nevertheless the British rulers, in their efforts to civilize their new subjects, had no easy task. The deep-rooted British prejudice against Roman Catholicism provided serious hindrance. The royal instructions, which forbade holy orders being conferred "without a license first had and obtained from the Crown," were, however, quietly ignored; and, in spite of occasional friction, the relations between the authorities and the Roman Catholic hierarchy were on the whole friendly. The feudal system, which had survived in Canada, was a very different thing from that swept away by the Revolution in France. "By degrees," the Lieutenant-Governor, Milius, wrote in 1806, "the Canadian gentry have become nearly extinct and few of them, in their own territory, have the means of living in a more affluent and imposing style than the simple habitants, who feel themselves in every respect as independent as the sovereign himself, with whom they have no further connexion than the obligation of having their corn ground at his mill, paying their toll of a fourteenth bushel, which they consider more as a burdensome tax than as a return to him for the land conceded by his family to their ancestors for ever, upon no harder condition than the obligation above mentioned, a trifling rent, and that of paying a twelfth to the seigneur upon any transfer of the land."

In this state of things it was obvious that the seed of social revolution would fall on stony ground, though reports of French republican designs on Canada fill a large part of the state-papers of the time. The habitants, it is true, displayed great reluctance to serve in the militia, and, on the first day they were called out, "broke into a mob and refused to be rallied for." But this was attributed to long disease of military service rather than to active disloyalty. Here and there a French patriot might lament that Canada had not been "re-demanded" at the Peace of Amiens; but, on the other hand, French Canadians, especially the religious institutions and the clergy, contributed no small sums to the cost of the war. In any case, the risk of attack from France was never serious. Napoleon, who, conscious of his lack of resources, abandoned Louisiana to the United States, was never in a position to invade Canada with success.

If political conditions thus favoured the beginnings of British Canada, she was also fortunate in her early rulers. Compared with the average of mediocre place-hunters who had provided over the destinies of the American colonies, the first Governors of Canada stand out conspicuously. Murray (1763-4) was an upright soldier, and a person grate to the Canadian population; Haldimand (1778-83) was a hard-working and conscientious sailor, whose reputation has been vindicated from the aspersions of earlier writers by the publication of the records in



the Canadian archives. But above all, one name must always be associated with the making of British Canada—that of Sir Guy Carleton. As Lieutenant-Governor or Governor of Quebec from 1782 to 1791 and again, from 1793 to 1796, as Governor of Quebec and subsequent Governor-General of the British North American possessions after the passing of the Constitutional Act, he had unparalleled means of judging of the character of the new colony; and no one could have used that knowledge to better purpose.

Even Carleton, however, was unable to check one of the worst ideas of the old British colonial system. In indignant language he called attention to the abuse of the system of fees and perquisites to judges, officials, and others. He denounced a system "which constantly extricated the Crown from whoever administered the King's government. This policy I consider as cruel to His Majesty's governments in New Anzures, and the cause of their destruction. As its object was a public but private advantage, as this principle has been pursued with diligence, extending itself unceasing, till all authority and influence of government on this continent was overborne, and the Governor reduced almost to a mere corresponding agent, unable to resist the private speculations of gentlemen in office, or to consist their conduct as associates of any economy whatever. It was not therefore surprising that this phantom of an executive power should be swept away at the first onset of a political storm....Whatever tends to subvert the executive power on this continent tends to sever it for ever from the Crown - Great Britain." It was in fact the weakness rather than the tyranny - the executive which was the chief evil of the old system of government; and it is this weakness for which responsible government has provided the remedy. But in Carleton's time responsible government was distant; and a decay must first be passed, wherein the weakness - the executive, the private interests of the Council, and the irreproachable clamour of the Assembly were destined gradually to bring about a final rupture, which from which was issued as a peaceful revolution.

Under the proclamation of October 7, 1793, regular Courts to a number English law were to be erected; and the presence of a Queen's Assembly was held out. The situation had been complicated by the arrival of some two hundred immigrants from the American colonies. These regarded with dislike and contempt the ignorant population which surrounded them, and resented strongly the delay in granting popular Assembly, in which they alone, as Protestants, would have taken part. To such the rule of a Protestant minority over Roman Catholics seemed in the nature of things. The English settlers were mostly traders or disbanded soldiers; and the *Frontiers of the Peace* were largely recruited from the ranks of those who had failed in business. So men "sought to repair their broken fortunes at the expense of the people." Given scandals occurred in the administration of the law. I

consequence, no settlement was passed in 1779 limiting the power of the *Jurats*. At the same time more drastic measures were recognized to be necessary. In the special circumstances of the colony, a popular Assembly seemed impossible, but there was no reason why a French people should not enjoy the benefit of French customs and laws.

These views were embodied in the Quebec Act, 1774. Under it, a *Conseil*, to consist of not more than twenty-five nor less than seventeen members, was created. The power conferred on it to pass ordinances did not include the right to levy general taxes or duties. The French Canadian law was to prevail in questions "relative to property and civil rights", but the English criminal law was to remain in force on the ground of its "certainty and purity." The wisdom of the Quebec Act was within a short time justified, when the Canadians, generally speaking, declined to join the rebellious American colonies; but there was no good reason for retaining within the limits of the Roman Catholics along the territory to the west of the Alleghany Mountains, which was the natural heritage of the American provinces. While, however, the policy of conciliation towards the inhabitants of French extraction was as it is day—and it is idle to imagine that the French nationality could have been peacefully destroyed—the consequences of the American War of Independence greatly altered the situation.

Many American soldiers, refusing to make terms with the new Republic, sought a new home in Nova Scotia and the western districts of Quebec, where they became known as "United Empire Loyalists." The presence of this new element rendered necessary some modification of the Quebec Act. That the Constitutional Act of 1791 was not proposed without serious forethought is clear to every student of the records. Sir Guy Carleton, while at home or here, had assisted in framing the Quebec Act. In 1786 he became Governor-General, with the title of Lord Dorchester. The following year we find him confiding himself to "a law for a plan." He recognized the objection to separate assemblies, and he based after a "more general government" than was provided by the mere existence of a "Governor-General." In the same spirit, Chief Justice Smith, an American loyalist, speaking with the bitterness of past experience, protested against the establishment of democracy implied by the creation of separate petty legislatures. There was, however, much force in Grenville's objection that the presence in the same assembly of representatives of rival nations, with rival interests, who had served no apprenticeship in the give and take of political life, would be a dangerous experiment. Dorchester deprecated haste. He considered that economic reforms were more urgent than political, that wage tenure should be introduced in new grants of land, and that the amount of a single grant should be limited to 1000 acres. Still it was clearly desirable that English farmers should enjoy popular government, and loyalty to their pledged word forbade that the British Government

should refuse to the French of Lower Canada what they were granting to the English in Upper Canada.

Under the Constitutional Act, 1791, the province was divided, and separate legislatures were established in the two new provinces. French law and customs could thus be retained in Lower Canada, while the English population of Upper Canada obtained the benefit of English law. The English inhabitants of Quebec were the chief sufferers under the Act. Under the electoral arrangements made by the acting-governor, Sir Alured Clarke, the proportion of representatives in the Assembly was fixed according to the existing population of the different districts. At this time, the agricultural population was almost entirely comprised in the French *seigneuries*; and, the number of members of the Assembly, considering the mass, the English townships, as they developed, did not receive adequate representation. Looking back, we may regret that no attempt was made to strengthen the government by adding to the efficiency of the Executive Council. There was in it no division into departments, no individual responsibility, and no individual superintendence. The duty of *Directeurs* to select councillors to form an inner cabinet was not approved by the home authorities; and the Executive Council was a mere *Privy Council*, wherein men of wholly different views might sit side by side. Bouchester's successor, Prescott, who arrived at Quebec in 1796, became involved, from the outset, in a hopeless struggle with his Council over the question of land grants, and, while continuing to receive his salary as Governor, spent most of his term of office in England. His successor in the government, Milnes, also found himself thwarted and opposed by Chief Justice Osgoode. It need not have passed the wit of man to find a remedy for this unfortunate state of things.

With regard to the Legislative Council, one provision of the Act has excited much derision. Pitt proposed that power should be given to the Crown to give hereditary titles to the members of the Canadian Upper House. Colonial conditions were hardly such as to render suitable the creation of such titles; nevertheless, the object of the Government in proposing it was undoubtedly wise. In Grenville's words it was, "To give to the upper branch of the Legislature a greater degree of weight and consequence than was possessed by the councils in the old colonial governments, and to establish in the province a body of men having that motive of attachment to the existing form of government which arises from the possession of personal or hereditary distinction." In Canada, no less than in the old American colonies, the root of political difficulties lay in the fact that a democratic Legislature was confronted with a Governor autocratic in theory, aristocratic by traditions and associations. We are familiar with the various forms of "influence" which, in England, bridged the gulf between the old system of government and the new. The want of a genuine aristocracy had

been the cause of the American Revolution, and British statements were certainly not wrong in stating as supplementing the defect in Canada. It was, however, easier to will than to accomplish. Derivation, from the text, advised that the measures should be introduced in every possible way, to the British Government. Unfortunately they were, for the most part, poor; and the feudal system of tenure, without the military obligations connected with it, afforded few points of contact between the lords and the vassals, who to all intents and purposes resembled English copyhold tenants. A real source of grievance to the Canadians was the purchase of those estates by Englishmen, and the more rigid enforcement of legal rights. The Indian debasement of the Canadian regiment, made for the Indian war in 1759, left behind it a feeling of bitterness, which the well-meant efforts of the British Government were not able altogether to remove. Moreover, considerable grants of land to the impoverished settlers would have been necessary to make them any real check to the progress of democracy.

In the state of things the Assembly fell more and more under the domination of professional men, who had sprung from the class of debaters. Although the general level of elementary education was lamentably low, opportunities were not wanting for the more clever members of a family to receive an advanced education. Such an one inspired a kind belief in his friends and neighbours, who themselves might not be able to read or write. The qualification of electors had been left to the Canadian authorities; and, though the suffrage might appear extensive according to English standards, any restriction of it would probably have kept out the Indians, whom it was the object of the Act to enfranchise. But, though the result may have been inevitable, it was none the less unpleasant to the British Government. One after another, they record the same experience. So early as 1800, some years before the publication of a French newspaper (which is continuous spoken of as the data from which troubles began for the British Government), we find the Lieutenant-Governor, Milnes, writing "Very few of the settlers have sufficient interest to secure their own election or the election of anyone to whom they give their support....and the uneducated Indians have even a better chance of being nominated than the first officer under the Crown." On the whole, however, the relations between the Governor and the Assembly were satisfactory until the time of Craig. In 1818, according to that official, the Assembly consisted of six petty shopkeepers, a blacksmith, a miller, fifteen ignorant peasants, a doctor or apothecary, and twelve Canadian priests and notaries, besides "four or five respectable people that at least they do not keep shops." Ten Englishmen completed the list. "There is not one person coming under the description of a Canadian gentleman among them."

Not was it only in Lower Canada that indignant Governors replied the

downsides of democracy. Upper Canada had been peopled by British soldiers and American legislators, a mass that might have been expected to clasp by the mixed system of government to which they were accustomed. Yet from Upper Canada the active Lieutenant-Governor, Simcoe, reported that the general spirit of the country was against the election to the Assembly of half-pay officers, and in favour of men who dealt in commerce with their servants. The rulers of the Assembly were active and zealous for particular measures which were soon shown to be "improper or futile."

Dorchester resigned in 1798 on the ground that he did not agree with the policy of the Government "to divide and subdivide and to form independent governments instead of consolidating, as is done in the United States." Separate governments had been carved out of Nova Scotia for New Brunswick and for Cape Breton in 1784; and Prince Edward Island also had a separate Lieutenant-Governor. Dorchester resented the practice of the home authorities in holding direct communications with Simcoe. No subsequent Governor could speak with the authority of Dorchester, and henceforth the affairs of the two provinces ran on independent separate channels. In Lower Canada the difficulties in the way of government came to a head during Sir James Craig's term of office, which lasted from 1805 to 1811. Craig was an honest but obstinate soldier, slowly sinking under an insupportable misdeed. No man was less fitted to the role of constitutional governor. He sought to cut the knot which he was powerless to untie. George Ryland was sent on a secret mission to England to obtain, if possible, the abolition of the Assembly. Ryland not unreasonably found the English ministers, Liverpool and Peel, "weak, very weak," and failed in his main object, though he obtained more sympathy for his proposal to curb the independence of the Roman Catholic Church. To long-suffering English politicians Craig's demand for a definite renunciation of the principle that Canada was not to be governed by the House of Assembly seemed very indecent. Moreover, the imminence at this time of war with the United States dictated a policy of conciliation with regard to the Canadians. The new Governor (1811), Sir George Prevost, was in every way the opposite of Craig; and the manner in which the Canadians contributed their share to the defence of the Empire in the American War caused a temporary improvement in the relations between the Government and the people. One cause of future friction between the Assembly and the British Government was fortunately as yet lacking. It was not until 1818 that the offer of the Canadian Assembly to undertake the full discharge of the civil service was accepted. Down to that time, the revenues from the land customs duties and the sale of the public lands had been largely supplemented by grants from the Imperial exchequer. This dependence on the mother-country was no doubt a source of anxiety to the British

authorities. It was clear that the right of regulation and control would necessarily follow upon adequate self-taxation.

Throughout this period a continual cause of evil was the not less and unaided alienation of the public lands. Land speculation obtained vast tracts, but made no attempt to promote settlement. Well-meant efforts to benefit individuals, such as the grants made to the children of United Empire Loyalists, failed in their object, through the land being, in most cases, resold for a trifling price, and the rule, framed against the massive use of land grants, was in practice successfully evaded. The existence of great blocks of "dead reserves" was a further hindrance to cultivation.

Nevertheless, in spite of economic failure and the wangling of selfishness, the material development of both provinces went slowly on. The population of Lower Canada, about 68,000 at the date of the conquest, had increased to about 124,000 in 1818, of whom some 25,000 to 30,000 were British or American. This British population was, for the most part, confined to the towns of Quebec and Montreal, and even in these remained a minority of about one to three. Upper Canada, which was generally considered by Europeans before the American War, had in 1800 a population of about 70,000. The need for extensive immigration from England had not yet arisen; but in 1805 some Roman Catholics from the Scottish Highlands emigrated to Upper Canada. The attempt of Lord Selkirk, in 1811, to establish settlements in the Red River valley should be noted as the first invasion of the closed reserves of the great trading companies. The Hudson Bay Company and the North-West Company were actively carrying on the fur trade, but they only held isolated posts. In Lower Canada, Governor Haldimand started the modest beginnings of the system of roads which was to play a great part in Canadian development.

The period was, however, emphatically the age of small things. Throughout we observe the note of dependency. Carleton saw that North America required a population fifty times as large as it then possessed, but that he expected little development seems clear from the view he expressed in 1767 with regard to Quebec. The severe climate (he wrote) and the poverty of the country discouraged all but the natives; and any new stock transplanted would be totally hid and imperceptible amongst them except in the towns of Quebec and Montreal. The view current in England is probably expressed in a paper written some years after the close of this period by "A Military Man." "The possession of this desery corner of the world is productive of nothing to Great Britain but expense. . . . Nevertheless, it pleases the people of England to keep it, much for the same reason that it pleases a mastiff or a bull-dog to keep possession of a lane and macadam lane, towards which he sees the eye of another dog directed. And a fearful hour of contention has it proved and will it prove between Great Britain and

the United States before Canada is merged in one of the designs of that Empire—an event, however, which will not happen until blood and treasure have been profusely lavished in the attempt to defend what is indefensible and to retain what is not worth having." The officers of Canada were to pass through many and evil days before a forced political union under responsible government and economic safety in the development of its enormous natural resources.

Throughout the whole period in question, Canada was, for practical purposes, confined to what was now its eastern portions. The task of providing a population for Ontario and adding to that of the eastern provinces was enough, without attempting the untrodden regions of the west. Great Britain, however, maintained a lien upon the promise of the future; and when, in 1763, Spain claimed, by right of previous discovery, the northern Pacific coast up to the Russian possessions, and seized British ships trading on this coast, the demand was promptly repudiated. Happily, the action of the French Assembly in refusing to support Spanish pretensions averted war; and the voyage of Vancouver (1791-4) served to call further attention to future possibilities. In 1802 Sir Alexander Mackenzie, who had crossed the continent from the east in 1793, proposed, on behalf of the North-West Company (founded in 1784), to form a supreme civil and military establishment on the island of Nootka at King George's Sound, with two subordinate posts on the river Columbia and in San Oficio Harbour. A trading settlement had been founded at Nootka Sound in 1780; and there were scattered settlements north of the Columbia belonging to the Hudson Bay Company; but the time for regular colonization was not yet. Mackenzie might reasonably protest against the claim of the Hudson Bay Company to bar the way to the opening of the West; but it was not till much later that the grievance became serious.

While continents in the west and in the southern seas were reluctantly travelling with the birth-throes of new English nations, the page of history was occupied by events of a more stormy character. On February 1, 1793, the French Republic declared war against Great Britain; and thenceforth the colonial possessions of the rival Powers became the prize of whoever should obtain the mastery at sea. The West Indian Islands have always possessed strategic importance; but at this time the sugar colonies were valued mainly for their commerce, and as being among the chief sources of maritime power and national wealth within the Empire. The old historian of the West Indies compared with pride the extent of the West Indian and the East Indian trade, and showed that the capital employed in the former exceeded by almost four to one the capital employed in the latter, and that the duties paid to the Government stood in the proportion of one two to one. Tobago, which the peace of 1763 had restored to France, was captured

in 1793, as well as the French islands of St Pierre and Miquelon off Newfoundland. In the following year Martinique was taken without the loss of a single life. The possession of the best harbour in the western Caribbean Sea rendered this island a position of special importance. St Lucia and Guadeloupe also surrendered in 1794. The attempt, however, to combine with these undertakings the complete occupation of Hayti led to the loss of both the former islands. A French expedition under Victor Hugues recaptured Guadeloupe at the close of 1794, and St Lucia in the following June. Instructions were at the same time stirred up in the British islands of Dominica, St Vincent, and Grenada, which, in the case of the two latter, were not quelled till the arrival of a British force under Sir Ralph Abercromby. St Lucia surrendered on May 26, 1796, after hard fighting, the result being mainly due to the energy and capacity of Brigadier-General Moore.

Meanwhile the absorption of Holland by the French Republic had given new bearings to fortune and the British fleet. The Batavian Republic, established in 1795, was in fact a mere appendage of France, and the Dutch colonial empire became open to English attack. Cape Colony was of importance as the halfway house to the East Indies, and an expedition was despatched under Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig "to protect the colony against an invasion of the French." The Dutch Governor was in a difficult position. The Prince of Orange, the hereditary Stadtholder, wrote from England bidding him to submit to the English; but there were no signs of a French invasion, and he professed to remain faithful to the *de facto* government in Holland. Nevertheless, the resistance was not very formidable; and, on the arrival of British reinforcements under Sir Alfred Charles, terms of capitulation were arranged on September 16, 1795. At the time of this conquest, there were already in existence the outlying districts of Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet. These districts had been occupied in spite of the general policy of the Dutch East India Company; and their existence rendered more difficult the task of the British authorities. At first they seemed inclined not to acquiesce in the surrender; but Stellenbosch and Swellendam soon accepted the British terms, and the Boers of Graaff-Reinet submitted after an abortive attempt at resistance.

At first great stress was laid on the temporary nature of the occupation; but, whatever the ultimate designs of the British Government, the appointment of Lord Macartney, who arrived at the Cape as Governor in 1797, and the system of government introduced, suggested a permanent retention of the colony. Lord Macartney's rule, though according to later notions despotic, was just and honest. The economic condition of the people was improved by the English occupation, and the "free trade" promised to the colonists, though very different from free trade as we now understand it, was certainly an improvement upon the rigid monopoly of the Dutch East India Company. The main difficulty in



the way of the British authorities was the same as Cape Colony as in America. An intensely aristocratic social system found itself confronted with a community which, whatever had been its political condition, was intensely democratic. Englishmen of the type of the governing classes of the eighteenth century found it difficult to associate with the Indians and farmers of Cape Colony, although similar tact might sometimes bridge the chasm. Macartney's stay in the colony was brief, and unhappily for George Young, who succeeded him at the end of 1781, after General Dundas had acted as Lieutenant-Governor for about a year, laid himself open to grave charges of corruption. Upon investigation at home, he was acquitted of personal blemish; but the state of things revealed at the enquiry was discreditably to his government.

The story of the reduction of the Dutch possessions in India and of Ceylon is dealt with elsewhere. In the further East, Malacca was taken in 1795, and Amboyna and the Banda Islands in the following year. The year 1796 also witnessed the reduction in South America of Guayana, Essequibo, and Barbice; Surinam and the island of Curaçoa were not taken till three or four years later. The alliance of Spain with France cost the former country in 1797 the island of Trinidad, the accidental burning of the Spanish fleet preventing any resistance. In Hayti alone the British attempts met with failure; and they were abandoned in 1798. Subsequent events in the island, and the fate of its able negro ruler, Toussaint L'Ouverture, have been described in a previous chapter. Sweden and Denmark lost their West Indian Islands in 1801. The French alliance proved a costly acquisition for countries with over-sea possessions.

In the West Indies throughout this period there existed a variety of forms of government. So long as the negro was deemed a mere chattel, so-called popular government was possible in those islands in a degree which has become impossible in later times. Thus we find Lord Castlereagh writing in 1809 of Jamaica, "The pretension of the Assembly to all the rights and privileges of the House of Commons is quite absurd; they have no other privileges than those naturally arising out of and connected with the relaxed and limited purposes for which, by the act of the Crown, they have been created. The control of the army does not belong to them." Side by side with the constitutional systems of Jamaica and Barbados were the purely military governments of the islands conquered during the war. Thomas Murre was the governor of St. Lucia before its restoration to the French, and Thomas Picton of Trinidad. The case of Picton in Trinidad is especially noteworthy. His instructions were, for the present, to administer Spanish law in both civil and criminal cases. Under the Spanish law torture was permissible; and it was proved that in the case of a Spanish girl a slight form of torture had been employed. Public opinion in England was kindled into a frenzy against the "blood-stained tyrant"; and Picton became the subject of a criminal indictment.

He was at first found guilty on the charge of applying torture flagitiously. On appeal the prosecution having misrepresented the Spanish law, but upon a new trial he was acquitted, while his character was at the same time vindicated by the result of a minute enquiry, before the Privy Council. There can be no question as to the honesty and uprightness of Paken, and he proved both an efficient and a popular governor, the fault really lay with the framers of his instructions.

Brief mention may be made of the colony established by the Sierra Leone Company in 1786, with the philanthropic object of introducing civilization into the West Coast of Africa, and thereby stopping a blow at the slave-trade. Negroes introduced from Nova Scotia proved a turbulent addition to the colony. It must be confessed that Sierra Leone failed to realize the hopes of its founders. "Many of the settlers," we are told, "and even some of those who went out in the Company's employment, embarked in the service of the slave factories or commenced the trade upon their own account." The new movement, which recognized the brotherhood of man, found more active expression than in the foundation of Sierra Leone. The Act for the Abolition of the Slave-trade, passed in 1807, should be noted as closely connected with colonial history. The slave-trade had been regarded as one of the legacies of the old colonial system, and many believed that its abolition would prove fatal to the colonial interests of Great Britain. This view was vigorously expressed by Lord St Vincent in the House of Lords, but, though the mistake was, from an economic point of view, "a leap in the dark," the conscience of the nation could no longer endure the existence of this plague-spot in its midst.

It was due to the weakness of Great Britain that Napoleon, who fully recognized the importance of colonial empire, found his best-laid plans working for the aggrandisement of his chief adversary. In 1798 it seemed as though the splendid vision of an Eastern Empire might be realized. The retirement of the British fleet from the Mediterranean left to the French its temporary control. Under the Treaty of Campo Formido (1797) the Ionian Islands had become a French possession, and Malta was seized by Napoleon in June, 1798, on his way to Egypt. Nelson's pursuit of the French fleet and its destruction in Aboukir Bay are described in a previous volume; but the Battle of the Nile marks a turning-point in colonial history, because among its results is to be placed the permanent British occupation of Malta, which, according to Moore, was in 1800, even after years of neglect, "the strongest place in Europe." The Maltese rose against the French in August, 1798, the garrison taking refuge in the fortress of La Valletta. After a two years' blockade by land and sea, they finally surrendered in September, 1800. Nevertheless, the Treaty of Amiens stipulated that Malta should be returned to the Knights of St John; and in the same yielding spirit

Great Britain restored to France and her allies all conquests except Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. The retention of Trinidad was perhaps due more to Napoleon's anger with Spain than to the persistence of English statesmen. It was absolutely certain that Great Britain had not waged war with the view of enlarging her colonial empire.

The Peace of Amiens was a mere truce; and, had not Napoleon's retention of Holland and the breakdown of the settlement with regard to Malta given cause, some other reason would have been found for a renewal of hostilities. The provisions with regard to Malta proved incapable of execution; and the publication of General Scherzer's report on his tour of observation in Egypt and the Levant justified the contention of those who recognized the importance of Malta as the key to Egypt and the East. In 1805 war was resumed. St. Lucia, Tobago, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice were quickly retaken, and in the following year Surinam surrendered. Curaçoa and the Danish islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix were taken in 1807. In 1808 Martinique was captured, and finally Guadeloupe in the following year became British, so that no European flag except the English and the Spanish waved in the West Indies.

Under the Peace of Amiens the Cape of Good Hope had been restored to the Batavian Republic; the right being reserved for British ships to use Cape Town for the purchase of supplies without the payment of duties beyond those payable by Dutch ships. The new system of government was very different from that of the East India Company. A council of four members was to assist the Governor. The judicial authority was made independent of the executive and the legislative. Moderate custom duties replaced the monopoly of the old Company. The Commissioners, de Mist, and the Governor, General Janssens, proved worthy exponents of the new system. Unhappily their ideas of compromise and toleration were beyond the understanding of the Dutch farmers with whom they were brought in contact. The Dutch government was lately established when Great Britain and France were again at war; and in 1805 an expedition was despatched under Admiral Popham and General Baird against Cape Colony. It arrived at Cape Town in January, 1806, and, after a gallant attempt at resistance, General Janssens was obliged to yield to superior numbers.

Before following the fortunes of Cape Colony, brief mention should be made of a somewhat shameful passage in British history. The home Government had for some time cherished vague schemes of obtaining in South America a position favourable to British trade, through cooperation with the Spanish colonial managers. These schemes had, however, been abandoned out of deference to Russia. Nevertheless, early in 1806, Sir Home Popham, without orders, and on the strength of exaggerated rumours of dissension in La Plata, left Cape Colony,

and acted against Buenos Ayres. That plan succeeded on June 27, 1806, to a small body of troops under General Boscawen. The capture, however, had been in the nature of a surprise; and in August the British garrison was in turn compelled to surrender to a joint force of Spanish troops from Montevideo and natives of Buenos Ayres. The British fleet blockaded the river, and reinforcements from the Cape were engaged on the sea-coast. Meanwhile the British Government had not the resolution to abandon a conquest of which it had disapproved. Before the news of the loss of Buenos Ayres had reached them, an expedition under Admiral Murray and General Crawford was arranged for the reduction of Chili. British rule was to be substituted for Spanish; but, on the second question whether Great Britain would stand by the interests of the inhabitants in the event of peace, all that the Ministry could express was "an intention with . . . to regulate the conditions of any future peace as to leave them no cause for apprehension." In this state of things it was perhaps fortunate that the loss of Buenos Ayres compelled the expedition to be diverted to its reduction. General Whitelocke was dispatched from England, with additional forces, to assume the supreme command. In spite of a partial success gained by Sir Samuel Auchmuty, the attack upon Buenos Ayres ended in failure, and in return for the liberation of English prisoners, General Whitelocke retired from La Platta. Tried by court-martial, he was found guilty and sentenced, but in fact other things, besides the reputation of an incompetent general, were on their trial in these proceedings.

After the second conquest of Cape Colony, British rule was restored on the old lines. Throughout the period the government was in form a despotism, though the Governors Lord Caledon (1807-11) and Sir John Craddock (1811-4) were well disposed towards the Dutch colonists, and the government was carried on, so far as possible, through Dutch instruments. A cloud, however, soon arose on the horizon, which was to cast a shadow over the future relations of the Dutch with the British authorities. The London Missionary Society was founded in 1794, and a few years later began its work in Cape Colony. It is impossible in a brief summary to enter into the disputes which arose between the missionaries and the Dutch colonists upon the question of the treatment of the natives. Doubtless there were faults on both sides. If the Dutch were often brutal in this respect, as men who live on the borders of civilisation are wont to be, the missionaries were not always gifted with common sense. The full results of these misunderstandings belong to a later date; but, as early as 1818, we find the interference of the home authorities at the bidding of the missionaries causing the so-called "black court," which, according to Dutch sympathisers, left behind it a rankling sense of wrong. At the close of the great war, Holland recognised the permanence of the British occupation of Cape Colony, as well as that of Demerara, Bechuanaland, and Basutoland, receiving

in secure various payments amounting to the sum of £6,000,000; but whether that occupation would in fact be permanent still remained in doubt. British emigration to Cape Colony did not begin till 1818, and for many years political squabbles perturbed affairs. But for the men of that generation the task of confronting Napoleon was a sufficient burden; the problem of combining authority with freedom in a colonial empire had to wait for its solution till a later day.

In the Far East, the removal of Napoleon's influence of aggression rendered necessary the reduction by the English of Sumatra, the *Île de France* (Mauritius), and Java. The two former were taken in 1810, and in Java the Dutch general Janssens surrendered on September 18 of the following year, after an ineffectual resistance. The British occupation, though it continued only five years, was memorable for the reforms initiated by the Governor, Stamford Raffles. The original intention of the East India Company had been that the island when taken should be handed over to its native inhabitants. The Governor-General of India, Lord Minto, who accompanied the expedition, at once saw the impossibility of this course; and an Indian British government was set on foot. That, in this provisional state of things and with so little time in which to work, much of Raffles' system of reform remained on paper, is not surprising; the wonder is that so much was carried out.

The Dutch East India Company had come to an end in 1795, but the substitution of the Batavian Republic for the Company led to no real change of system. The appointment of Daendels as Governor in 1807 was followed by a reorganisation of the system of government; but the lot of the natives, weighed down by the payment of "contingents" and by forced labour, was in no way improved. To them the substitution of a rigorous and militant central authority for the malversation of petty officials meant merely an increase of burden; and Daendels' estimate, Janssens, again and again reported the extreme unpopularity of the government. Raffles set himself to remove the causes of this unpopularity. It is true that the ideas to which he sought to give practical embodiment were not in themselves new. A Dutch ex-official, Dirk van Hogendorp, had some years earlier proposed the abolition of all forced services and the transference of the land to the common people, along with the introduction of a general tax in kind on the land, and a poll tax on persons. The difficulty lay in the application of these theories. In his own words Raffles proposed: "1st. The entire abolition of all forced delivery of produce at inadequate rates, and of all feudal services, with the establishment of a perfect freedom in cultivation and trade; 2nd. The assumption, on the part of the Government, of the immediate superintendence of the lands, with the revenues and rights thereof, without the intervention of the regents whose office shall in future be confined to public duties. 3rd. The raising out of the lands so assumed in large

or small estates, according to local circumstances, on lease for a moderate term."

After a tentative employment of the agency of intermediate buyers, it was finally decided that the Government should enter into direct contact with individual peasant proprietors. In the nature of things it was impossible that Raffles' system should at once come into full working order. It required, as a condition for success, a survey of the native lands and a body of trained European civil servants. Moreover, financial exigencies forbade the immediate abolition of all forced deliveries; and the same cause prevented the native agents from receiving such allowances as alone would have rendered possible a complete change of system. The truth with regard to Raffles' reforms is by no means easy to arrive at; for, while his sanguine temperament was apt to create illusions with accomplishment, the Dutch officials, after the restoration of the island, would naturally be inclined to depreciate the work of the daring English innovator. Considering that his work must be measured rather by its promise than by its actual fulfilment, we shall admit that enough was effected to establish Raffles' title to rank among the greatest of English colonial governors. In the prevailing temper of the time regarding colonies it was not without an ironic appropriateness that with a man's labours should have been expended on a colony destined not to remain British.

By the first Treaty of Paris (May, 1804) Malta was recognised as British; but all the French colonies conquered by England were restored, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucia, and Mauritius, with its dependencies Rodriguez and Seychelles. By the London Convention of August, 1804, Great Britain agreed to restore all the Dutch colonies except the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Surinam. The islands of Banda were given up to the Dutch in exchange for Ceylon and its dependencies on the coast of Malabar. The result of the great war was not so much to add to the size of the British Empire, though the gain of Cape Colony led in time to a great extension of territory, as, by the assertion of sea-power, to restore to the scattered portions of that Empire their peaceful development under British supremacy.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

## ST HELENA.

The abdication of Napoleon, his retirement from Paris to Malmaison, and his flight to Rochefort, have been related in a previous chapter. When Napoleon arrived at that port (July 8, 1815), he found the coast narrowly watched by British sail, and landed upon every side. For ten days he waited in hollow chambers, conscious of a certain loss of elasticity in himself, listening to the counsels of others, himself indifferent. A clandestine escape, an ignominious capture in the hall of a Dutch ship or in an open row-boat, would have been inconsistent with an impressive close; and, after some hesitation, he rejected all desperate expedients and determined to throw himself on the generosity of the English people. On July 15 he wrote to the Prince Regent that he had terminated his political career, and that he came, like Themistocles, to seek himself at the hearth of the British nation and to claim the protection of her laws. Two days later he gave himself into the charge of Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*. He knew well that he could expect little mercy from the restored Government of France, and that the Prussians would shoot him like a dog. But England was the refuge of the homeless and the asylum of the exile. She had sheltered Puck, the friend of his youth; she had sheltered the Boscawens, the rivals of his manhood. Out of magnanimity she might shelter him.

But the man whose ambition had wrought such disasters could not expect to be treated with leniency, and the British Government determined that Napoleon was no guest, but a prisoner of war. It was a case of policy, not of procedure; and, even if Lord Liverpool's Cabinet had been accessible to quixotic impulses, it would have been their plain duty to suppress them in the interests of European peace. The Congress of Vienna had declared Napoleon to be an outlaw, and, in virtue of a Convention struck on August 2, 1815, the four Great Powers agreed to regard him as their common prisoner. The turn of events had devolved upon Great Britain the ungracious office of the gaoler; but Austria, Russia, and Prussia were consenting parties; and all four Powers pledged to some commitment to secure themselves

of Napoleon's presence in the place of his captivity. Meanwhile, on July 18, the British Government had decided to send their captive to St Helena. In that lonely island of the Atlantic, with its prison-like coast, its scanty harbours, its sparse population, the great prisoner of state might be securely guarded, the more so as the East India Company, to whom the island belonged, had recently erected upon it a complete system of amphitheatres. The climate was reported to be salubrious, and in St Helena Napoleon might enjoy a larger measure of liberty than any government would then have been prepared to concede to him in Europe. It was a hard fate, but brighter than an Austrian fortress, and gentler than the doom of Mount St Niz.

On August 7 he was removed to H.M.S. *Northumberland*, which, under the command of Admiral Sir George Cockburn, was instructed to convey him to his destination. His suite consisted of twenty-five persons, including Count Montholon and General Gourgaud, who had served as assistants in the last campaign; General Bertrand, who had controlled his household in Elba; Count de Las Cases, once a royal *conseiller*, now one of the most ardent of his adherents; and Dr Barry O'Meara, the surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, who, at Napoleon's request and with the consent of the British Government, was allowed to act as his medical attendant. Montholon and Bertrand were accompanied by their wives, Las Cases by his son. On October 17, at the hour of eight in the evening, after a passage of sixty-five days, Napoleon landed at Jamestown. As the house destined for his reception was not yet ready, he took up his residence at the Briars, a villa belonging to a merchant named Balgobin, where he spent some weeks in pleasant and familiar intercourse with the family of his host. In December the suite moved into Longwood, a low wooden building on the wind-swept plateau, far above the prying curiosity of the port. It was here that the last scene in Napoleon's life drama was enacted.

For the general history of Europe the captivity at St Helena possesses a double interest. Not only did it invest the career of the fallen hero with an atmosphere of martyrdom and pathos which gave to it a new and distinct appeal, but it enabled him to arrange a page before the altar of history, to soften away all that had been ungracious and hard and violent, and to draw in firm and authoritative outline a picture of his splendid achievements and liberal designs. The Napoleonic legend has been a force in the politics of Europe; and the legend owes much to the sacrifice of the exile. The great captain, hero of adventures wonderful as the Arabian Nights, passes over the mysterious ocean to his lonely island and emerges transfigured as in some crumbling citadel. He shares the agonies of Prometheus, benefactor of humanity, chained to his solitary rock; his spirit is with *Marina Anselmi*, moving in the serene orbit of humane and beneficent wisdom. The road now from St Helena led upon fruitful soil and was treaded by devoted hearts.



Carrel, the great Liberal journalist of the July monarchy, claims Napoleon, on the ground of the Longwood conversations, as the friend of the Republic which he overturned. Quinet says of him as of some vague and romantic embodiment of the democratic spirit:

*"I'm convinced in people in France, in Alsace;  
 As I'm just questioning about you Charlemagne,  
 I'd doubt the stone it is, first, was not,  
 The nation's portrait full great is there!"*

The heir of the Napoleonic House, Louis Bonaparte, son of the ex-King of Holland, knew well how to exploit the democratic thoughts in his uncle's career. In 1831 he was secretly negotiating with Republican leaders in Paris; in 1834 he published a statement in his *Revue politique* that his principles were "entirely republican." In 1839 a slender volume came from the same pen, entitled *Adieu Napoléon*, which contained the whole course of the exile literature and the whole programme of the Liberal Empire. The *Stella*, a Bonapartist organ, spoke in 1840 of "the sublime agony of St Helena, longer than the agony of Christ, and no less resigned"; and in the face of evidence was lost sight of the elementary facts of Napoleon's career. "The thought of Napoleon at St Helena," say the editors of the official *Correspondence* (vol. xix), "is a thought of omnipotence for humanity, of democratic progress, of the application of the great principles of the Revolution"; and this was the pretext and apology for the Sacred Empire, the Government which, beginning with a massacre in the Doormarché, ended with the capitulation of Sedan and the loss of Alsace and Lorraine.

Exile is in itself a form of martyrdom; and the exiles of Longwood ate their bread in genuine sorrow. As Las Cases remarked, "The details of St Helena are unimportant; to be there at all is the great grievance." A little company of French gentlemen and ladies, accustomed to the stirring life of a brilliant capital, found itself pitched on a desolate island, far from friends and home and all the great movement of the world. The attendants of Napoleon were set out in the stoned mould; and, even if considerations of policy had not been involved, temperaments would have inclined them to exaggerate minor discomforts, to stoke against the restrictions of the governor, to shudder at the rocks and waves, to condemn the rain when it was rising, the sun when it was sunny, and the wind when it was wholy, to compare the sparse grass trees of the Longwood plateau with the ample shades of Marly and St Cloud, and the rough accommodation of the Longwood house with the comforts of a well-appointed Parisian hotel. To a man like Napoleon, whose whole soul was in politics, seclusion was a kind of torture. He had no administrative occupations to absorb his energies as had been the case in Elba; and "time," to quote his own bitter phrase, was now "his only

superficially." To quicken all the broken hours was a task too heavy even for his buoyant genius. He learnt a little English, he devoted moments, he played chess, he read books and newspapers, he set Geometrical mathematical problems, and in the later half of 1829 and the earlier half of 1830 he found some solace in gardening. In the first two years of his captivity his spirits were sometimes high and even exuberant, and in the exercise of his splendid intellect he must have found some genuine enjoyment. But at heart he was miserable, spitting himself like a cross shield, and allowing petty meekles to foster within him. Now he was calm, proud, and grand, now irritable and wayward. Even the approach of death could not purge his soul of its evil humours, and he left a legacy to Castillon as a reward for attempting to assassinate the Duke of Wellington.

The colony of Longwood had a political object in magnifying the hardships of its position, and it has left a large literature of complaint. "Our situation here," said Napoleon, as reported by Las Cases, "may even have its attractions. The universe is looking at us. We remain the martyrs of an immortal cause. Millions of men weep for us, our country sighs, and glory is ascending. Adversity was wanting in my career. If I had died on the thrones amid the clouds of my omnipotence I should have remained a problem to many men; to-day, thanks to my misfortune, they can judge of me naked as I am." Nor was this the only advantage that might be reaped from the palmy of complaint. Compassionate Whigs in England, hearing the tale of hardships, the bad food, the damp house, the interrupted letters, the ostentatious mockery of sentinels, would rise and denounce the Government in Parliament. At the voice of Lord Holland the heart of the country would be stirred; and Napoleon would be summoned back to Europe on the crest of the Whig reaction. Even if this hope failed, still it would be wise to disperse the good name of England. The Bourbons owed everything to Great Britain, but the rivalry between France and England was older than the Bourbons; and the story of petty indignities heaped upon her greatest captives by a British Government would be accepted in France as a token that he too had suffered for the old cause, and that his dynasty would never forget it.

Holding the general conviction that Napoleon was far too dangerous to be allowed abroad, and having some reason to believe that plots were on foot to effect his return, Lord Liverpool's Cabinet properly determined to keep a close watch on St Helena. Their precautions may have been excessive—and condemn the Duke of Wellington thought them—their suspicions over-done, their regulations too minute and harassing. Obtruse the Government undoubtedly was, but it was as humane and considerate as its sense of duty would permit. The prisoner received a yearly allowance of £10,000, subsequently raised to £12,000, inhabited the second-best house in the island, was permitted to retain a numerous suite and to move freely without an escort within a circuit of twelve miles. He might

guilty his taste for books and newspapers and music, and he might ride on mule outside the walls with a British officer in attendance.

There was not the prospect of an inhospitable Government; and the man who was sent out to administer there was not inhospitable. Sir Hudson Lowe, who assumed sole charge of the island on April 14, 1816, was an officer with a respectable record, though not one which would be likely to convince him to Napoleon. He had led a regiment of Cuirasse dragons, participated in the siege of Toulon, and brought the news of Napoleon's abdication to London. In five stormy interviews, all held within the first four months of Lowe's arrival, Napoleon poured out the rags of his wrath upon the hapless governor, whose chief errors consisted in his refusal to extend the twelve miles' limit or to forward a letter of complaint to the Prince Regent even through the ordinary ministerial channels. After this, Napoleon never suffered the "Göttinger Brief-tisch" to approach him, or attempted to revise his first and hasty estimate. It may be wondered that Lowe was a snailish, that he was deficient in professions and tact, and that he ultimately came to suffer from a morie of suspicion. To be a good regimental officer is one thing, to discharge a delicate political mission is another. Lowe was full of loyal parasite. The home Government, with almost incredible politeness, had insisted that Napoleon should be refused the Imperial title and known only by the designation of General Bonaparte. A wise governor would have taken good care to minimize the effect of so stupid a regulation as soon as he had ascertained that it was violently objected to. Lowe on the other hand administered the rule with military exactitude. He intercepted a book from Europe because it was directed to "the Emperor," and recommended the officers of the 50th regiment to decline a copy of *Capt. Light of Marlborough* presented to them by Napoleon during his last illness because it contained the Imperial name on the title-page. So wondrous an exhibition of obsequious flattery has rarely been afforded. But there was no inhumanity in Lowe. He was genuinely solicitous for the creature comforts of the exiles.

It was, however, part of the policy of Liverpool to exact martyrdom and to advertise war. When Napoleon failed to obtain a relaxation of the twelve miles' limit, he declared that he would not ride out at all; when he was reminded of the need of economy, he ordered his plate to be broken up, as if the wicked gauler had driven him to starvation's brink. On October 9, 1816, some new and more stringent regulations arrived from England, which had probably been suggested by intelligence received in London in the previous August, to the effect that three hundred men had set sail from Baltimore to attempt a rescue. The limit was extended to eight miles, and the sentinels were drawn as close to the house as usual, so that the exiles were deprived of the full enjoyment of the coolest and most delicious hours of the day. The new restrictions (which were subsequently relaxed) were certainly

expressions; and it is not surprising that they should have provoked a protest.

In 1817 a thin volume was published in London entitled *Letters from the Cape of Good Hope in reply to Mr. Warden*. The letters, which purported to be written by an Englishman, were in reality translated from the French; and the original draft was exactly dictated by Napoleon to Las Cases. They were designed to impress the British public with the sufferings of the exiles, and to furnish a defence for those episodes in Napoleon's career which had proved most repugnant to British opinion—the execution of the Duc d'Anguine, the death of Captain Wright, the treatment of the Spanish Bourbons, and the return from Elba. It was represented that the new code of rules was worthy of Botany Bay; that Napoleon could not go out into his garden without being eyed on by a regiment; that he was not allowed even to exchange a word with a native; that the climate of St Helena was fatal to health, and the food noxious; that for many months Napoleon had not left his four ill-built, unwholesome little rooms; and that the British Government was incurring a cost of £200,000 a year to keep a prisoner within four walls under a tropical sun. It was a skilled demonstration, but the Tory garrison showed no signs of distress, and the Quarterly blew its loudest note of defiance. At the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (November 25, 1818) the representatives of Russia, Austria, and Prussia formally testified their approval of the new regulations.

The Emperor's autobiography had been commenced at the Tuileries and St Cloud, where he had dictated accounts of several of his Italian battles to General Bertrand and given orders that plans and maps should be drawn to illustrate his Italian and Egyptian campaigns. The work was resumed at St Helena with such materials as the Emperor was able to gather round him; and the story of Brumaire and the Provisional Consulate, of the early exploits in Italy, Egypt, and Syria, of the return from Elba and the Hundred Days, was written in a connected form at Napoleon's dictation, together with a critical account of the Hohenlinden and Waterloo campaigns. Chapters were added upon the rights of neutrals, the battle of Copenhagen, and the coronation of Paul I. Four notes were dictated on Lucien's *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Saint Domingue*, and six notes on *le Prolit's Les Quatre Consules*; but, with the single exception of Waterloo, no military campaign was recorded, and the account of Waterloo was not a record but an apology. For a moment, in 1817, Napoleon seems to have contemplated a narrative of the Russian expedition; but the plan was soon dropped for lack of materials, and a projected history of the Revolutionary Consulate shared the same fate. The choice of episodes was not fortuitous. The *Mémoires* were designed to exhibit Napoleon as the saviour of the Republic, and to clear his military reputation from the stain of his last repounding defeat.

Sainte-Herme, the finest of styles, has acquired the literary quality of the St Helena writings, the prompt impetuous brevity, the exquisite diction, the occasional flashes of sentiment and eloquence. It is natural to compare the record of the Egyptian and Syrian campaigns, where Napoleon depicts himself all once as soldier, statesman, and diplomat, with another splendid fragment of military autobiography, the *Commentaries of the Gallic War*. The two stories have the same locality, the same gift of perspective, the same command of professional technique, the same wide scope of observation, the same close adherence to detail. Caesar has more formal eloquence; Napoleon has more romance, more passion, more vision. But, while each wrote to defend his policy and his military reputation, Caesar had no interest in concealing or confusing the truth.

Yet the formal accounts, however strongly conceived and carefully executed, are the least interesting portion of the St Helena retrospect. Napoleon was a notable talker, and, when the long tedium of his political career was relaxed, his restless mind poured itself out upon all the incidents of his wonderful life. It is true that he desired a certain ranking of his career to be accepted, and that he more than once prompted his faithful followers to record his remarks; but he was far too mobile to maintain a steady pose. He was not a chilly man sitting down to sketch a dull life, but a child of nature, fresh, passionate, impetuous, full of sudden turns and roses which carried him far beyond the boundaries of his set apology. The scholar's mind, constant to its old habit, schemes for the post, as it had formerly schemeed for the future; and we cannot tell whether the plans which he attributes to himself had actually been in his mind. A man of such a temperament could talk neither sober autobiography nor sustained oratory. And so, side by side with the official legend, the *Mémorial de exil*, deferential to a moral judgment whose power it usually approaches but never understands, we have the fragments of spontaneous talk, sometimes shared and lively, sometimes grand and eloquent, sometimes brutal, sometimes kindly, always and through every mood vivid and unmistakable.

Napoleon shrewdly saw that the forces of reaction were spreading over Europe, and that the yoke of the Bourbons would soon become intolerable to France. Some day the King of Rome would have his chance. In the sombre gloom of obscurism and privilege and military impotence, men would point back to the bright vision of a Liberal Empire, which had been based on social equality and religious tolerance, which had made France the arbitress of Europe, and Paris the centre of European civilization. Then France would turn to her great, able, and benevolent First Consul, would gather his lightest words and derive his true intention. She would learn that he alone had understood and adored her; that he loved peace, but was driven by wicked foreigners into endless war; that, although he had showered golden gifts upon her, his

corruption was still full of the manifold blessings of prosperity and constitutional rule which he intended to bestow upon Europe after the conclusion of a general peace. She would read his own authentic accounts of campaigns which he had fought as the soldier of the Republic, and, perusing his story of Waterloo, would receive faith in his supreme mastery of war.

"The system of government," said Napoleon once to O'Meara, "must be adapted to the national temperament and to circumstances. In the first place France required a strong government. While I was at the head of it, I may say that France was in the same condition as Rome when a dictator was declared necessary for the salvation of the Republic. A nation of conditions against her existence was formed by your gold amongst all the powerful nations of Europe. To resist successfully, it was necessary that all the energies of the country should be at the disposal of the chief. I never occupied unless in my own defence. Europe never ceased to make war upon France and her principles. We had to strike down others or to be ourselves struck down. Between the parties that so long agitated France I was like a rider seated on an unruly horse, who always wanted to swerve either to the right or to the left; and to make him keep a straight course I was obliged to let him feel the bridle occasionally. In quarter times my dictatorship would have expired, and I should have commenced my constitutional reign. Even as it was, with a coalition always opposing me, either secret or public, armed or disarmed, there was more equality in France than in any other country in Europe. One of my grand objects was to render education accessible to everybody. I caused every institution to be formed upon a plan which offered instruction to the public either gratis or at a rate so moderate as not to be beyond the means of the peasant. The museums were thrown open to the people. My schools would have become the best educated of the world. All my exertions were directed to eliminating the mass of the nation instead of brutalizing them by ignorance and superstition. . . . There never was a king who was more the sovereign of the people than I was. I always prided myself upon being the man of the people. . . . Those English who are lovers of liberty will one day lament with tears having gained the battle of Waterloo. It was as fatal to the liberties of Europe as that of Philippi was to those of Rome."

Such was the general scheme of apology. The conquests were forced upon him, but they made for the well-being of the conquered; and the whole foreign policy was part of the great battle for light against darkness, which had been waged by Voltaire and continued by the men of the Revolution. The "grand objects" were to re-establish the Kingdom of Poland as a barrier against "the barbarians of the north," and to render Spain with a constitution, which would have crushed privilege and superstition and opened a full career to talent. He admits that the Spanish War destroyed him; but the "Parasols could not have been left to the

machinations of the English, to the intrigues, the hopes, the protests of the Bourbons." The interview of Bayonne was not an ambush but "an immense trap of steel." He had never mingled in the intrigues of the Spanish Court, had never broken engagements with the Spanish prince, and had used no duplicity to draw them to Bayonne. "When I saw them at my feet and could judge by myself of their integrity, I pitied the lot of a great people, and seized the unique occasion which fortune presented me to regenerate Spain, to rescue her from England, and to unite her ardently to France." Again, if he had been successful in moving the Channel, he would have founded independent republics in England and Ireland. "I would have dethroned the House of Hanover, abolished the nobility, profounded liberty, fraternity, equality.... Your republics would have been on my side, knowing that I am a man of the people and that I spring from the people myself." His designs in Italy were equally liberal. "I purposed, when I had a second son, as I had reason to hope, to make him King of Italy, with Rome for his capital, uniting all Italy, Naples, and Sicily into one kingdom." The three great obstacles to Italian unity had been the foreign dynasties, the spirit of locality, and the residence of the Pope at Rome. In the short space of fifteen years all had been removed, "broken by the great movement of the French Empire." The Pope was at Fontainebleau; and, but for the Russian campaign, the head-quarters of the Catholic religion would have been permanently transferred to Paris. All had been prepared for the proclamation of Italian independence upon the birth of the second son. It was settled that Prince Eugene should act as Viceroy during the minority.

It was true that mistakes had been made in Germany. The King of Prussia should have been deprived of his kingdom after Jena. "After Friedland I should have taken Silesia and given it to Saxony. Had I done this, given a free constitution, and delivered the peasants from feudal slavery, they would have been contented." He thought that he should have declared Hungary independent, that he should have undivided Austria, that he should at least have "decoured" Prussia before starting on his Moscow campaign. Still, the Confederation of the Rhine and the kingdom of Westphalia, the grand duchy of Warsaw and the crippled state of the Hohenzollerns, were sufficient witnesses of French predominance beyond the Rhine.

The problems of the Italian Peninsula, of Asia, Africa, and America had not been solved; and here it was necessary to acknowledge some failures and errors of judgment. The idea of the policy, however, was large, magnificent, and liberal. Egypt was the key to the East; and France, once mistress of Egypt, would have been able to unlock the treasures of India. She would have played the influence of Persia, and, in alliance with Russia, Persia, and the Mahomedans, broken the British power in the East. "Egypt was in possession of the French General

*India to the English.*" The possession of Egypt was also designed to secure a further advantage. The Ottoman Empire was corrupt to the core, and though, on its inevitable dissolution, part of the spoil would go to Russia, the remainder would fall to France, the mistress of Egypt. During the negotiations subsequent to the Peace of Tilsit, the partition of Turkey had been frequently discussed between Napoleon and Alexander. But, though at first Napoleon was pleased with the Russian proposals because he thought "it would enlighten the world to drive these brutes the Turks out of Europe," mature reflection convinced him that the plan would endanger the equilibrium and the peace of Europe. "I considered that the barbarism of the North were already too strong, and probably in the course of time would overwhelm all Europe, as I now think they will." Accordingly it became his object to bridle the Moscovite barbarism in the interests of European civilization. On the one hand, he would lure them far into the East: on the other hand he would erect strong bulwarks in the west and north, a national kingdom of Poland, a group of German States under French suzerainty, a French Italy, a French Egypt, possibly also a French Constantinople. Thus he would have accomplished a work analogous to that of Leo I. and Charlemagne, who saved the empire of Constantinople and Otto I. who saved the empire of Greek and Latin civilization from destruction at barbarian hands.

The great design had failed, and Europe would have to regret it, but the failure had been the result of the incapacity of subordinates, of irreparable accident, of the perverse policy of England, and was in no way inherent in the design itself. An admiral's error had lost the battle of the Nile; the chance stroke of an assassin had destroyed the general who could have preserved Egypt for France. And what benefits might not fifty years of French rule have secured to Egypt! A thousand dykes would have distributed the waters of the Nile; sugar and cotton, rice and indigo, would have been cultivated; and the commerce of the Indies would have resumed its ancient route. "After fifty years of possession, civilization would have spread into the interior of Africa by the Senegal, Abyssinia, Darfour, and the Fouta; several great nations would be called to enjoy the benefits of the arts, the sciences, the religion of the true God; for it is from Egypt that the people of central Africa must receive light and happiness." An elaborate argument was designed to show that the French army could have maintained itself in the country without help from home.

In the West India Napoleon had to conform to the misarrange of his plans. He told O'Meara that he should have declared San Domingo free, and that he should have acknowledged the black government; for, if this had been done, England would have lost her West India colonies. However, in the notes appended to Lacretie's memoirs, he takes a precisely opposite line and defends the policy of the expedition, ascribing its failure to the mistakes of Le Clerc, the intrigues of the English, and the



revenge of yellow fever. He had found it necessary to permit the slave-trade and to maintain the institution of slavery in Martinique and the Ile de France, but these decisions had not disturbed the course of events in San Domingo. Slavery was founded upon antipathy of colour; and antipathy of colour could only be overcome by polygamy. He had therefore held several consultations with theologians with the view of preparing a measure to authorize polygamy in the French colonies, "restricting the number of wives to two, one white, one black." This was the solution which the legislator would be bound to adopt, whenever it should be thought desirable to enfranchise the blacks in the French colonies. The experiment was never made, for the naval war stopped France off her islands; yet in the Continental system a compensation was provided, which in time would have made Europe independent of colonial imports. In two or three years beetroot-sugar would have been sold as cheaply in the French market as the cane-sugar of the tropics.

Near was this the only compensation for the temporary hardships of war. Napoleon had made France the centre of a federal empire, and it was his intention that Paris should be the capital of Europe, "unique, incomparable," adorned with all the treasures of art and science, the seat of the Papacy and of the College of Cardinals, the centre of the foreign missions, the home of the University of France, the sanctuary of all the ideas and thoughts which were to steer the course of European civilization. In order "to facilitate the fusion and uniformity of the federal parts of the Empire" he had designed, in the Institute of Mankind, a school in which all the princes of the Imperial House would have received a common education. Each prince would bring with him "ten or twelve children more or less of his own age and belonging to the first families of his country," with results which might easily be predicted. French principles would take root in all the dependencies; Italy, Spain, Germany, and Holland would attach themselves more closely to the French connection; foreign overrings would clamour for the admission of their sons; and, looking back upon the friendships of early youth, the rulers of Europe would be more likely to keep the peace.

Great as had been his ambition, his course was untroubled by crime or corruption. Surveying the past from St Helena he declares that he is astonished at his moderation. After one or two preliminary volleys, he ordered the guns of Valmyville to be charged with black cartridge. Nothing would have been easier for him than to have procured the death of the French and Spanish monarchs; yet the temptation was rejected. He would probably have pardoned the Duc d'Anguine, if Talleyrand had not intercepted a letter in which the Duke offered his services to the new Government of France. "My next thought," he said on one occasion, "was to give him the Constable's sword so as to be quit of the dagger." He had never taken a bribe, he had never bought a vote or a party by

possessive of place or power; he had found great dissatisfactions, he had left administrative purity. Council of State, Tribunals, Senate, all were pure and impeccable. As for himself he had never cared to amass wealth. "*L'absence de goût de la fortune et son dédain de la propriété. Ses propensités à une âme dans la gloire et la gloire.*"

As to the solidity of his great social experiment, the creation of the nobility, he was under no illusion. In a singularly penetrating way he explained one day to Las Cases that the French Revolution had destroyed the social chain of the house, and the ease, luxury, and wealth which form the basis of cultivated enjoyment. In consequence of this, society took its pleasure in public entertainments. The throne had also ceased to be a lordship, a signorato, and had become an office; and the whole tone of a modern Court differed from that of the Courts of the ancien régime. The modern Court had less social influence, for the influence of Courts can only penetrate the nation through the medium of an aristocracy. He had to be cautious about introducing men of the nation *en masse* to the Court; "for every time I touched this cord there was a rattling of armor, as with a horse when the reins are pulled in too tight! I have made princes and dukes, but I could not make real nobles." In twenty years, however, all would have been well, for he had intended to intermarry the new blood with the old.

He repeated to his subject at St. Helena, saying that the creation of the nobility was one of his greatest, his most complete, his most happy ideas. He had three objects in view, all of which would in time have been attained—in renewing France with Europe, to amalgamate the new France with the old, and to annihilate the feudal nobility. He claimed that his national trial would have re-established that equality which the feudal nobility had prevented: "for parchment I substituted the nation;" describing apparently that fine nation as not transmitted from father to son. It was clear, however, that he had not succeeded in rousing the Pantheon St. Germain. "*J'ai fait trop, ou trop peu,*" he said one day to Las Cases—enough to denounce the democrats and not enough to attract the royalists. "If on the return of the *insurgés* I had attached them to myself, the monarchy would readily have adored me." He goes on to speculate upon all that he would have done to bind the numerous nation to his throne. His first thought, "his true intention," when seeking for a second wife, was to marry a daughter of one of the old French Houses. He would have adopted the daughters of the Black morennes, the Senegals, the Chouans, and married them to foreign sovereigns. "For the good and the magic of intermarry cannot be equality and in time, the sole things which I was unable to create." Talleyrand, his usual suspect, prevented alliances to the *insurgés*, and his cousinship persuaded him to the Austrian marriage, so the Pantheon St. Germain was never consolidated. We must remember that on this occasion he was talking to a royalist.

The Imperial system might be accused of having stifled liberty and injured education. To such allegations Napoleon replies that his work was a *task*, not a *status*. The extreme centralisation of the prefectoral system was essentially transitional, "a weapon of war," and would in time have given way to "our peace establishment, our local institutions"; and here he sketches out a system of local government by elected magistrates somewhat after the English plan. Again, the conscription, far from harming education, was designed to benefit it. "Conscription is the eternal root of a nation; it purifies morality and trains talents"; and the virtues engendered by the military life would in time have been fertilised by the instruction given in the regimental schools which the Emperor had planned in order that the conscripts might continue their studies. He had also devised a scheme for the improvement of clerical education. The elements of agriculture, medicine, and law were to be added to the theological course provided for those intending to take Orders. Dogma and controversy would inevitably have become rare in the pulpit; and, while the curé would preach "pure morality" in church, he would be in a position to give useful counsel to his parishioners in practical affairs.

He denied that the Senate was useless; he asserted that the Tribunate was useless and expensive, and that its suppression was sanctioned by the public voice. "*J'ai repoussé marche avec l'opinion dirigeant sur les vices du Sénat*," There could be no doubt as to the validity and confidence of his finance. "Never," he said to Gourgaud, "has anyone brought more order and more light into financial accounts than I. In part my good manners are due to my knowledge of mathematics, to my clear ideas on everything." At another time he spoke of his Code as the "ark of salvation," as his "title to the benedictions of posterity." These were legitimate boasts; and the noblest monument to his memory, as he once told Montholon, would not be a catalogue of the exploits of "the most valiant soldier in the history of war," but a collection of the thoughts which he uttered in the Council of State, and the instructions which he issued to his ministers, and a list of the public works which were undertaken during the period of his rule.

There were moments in which haughty and apology were cast aside, and he saw himself and the world truly. "None but myself ever did me any harm," he said once to O'Meara, "I was my only enemy"; and again to Montholon, "I stretched the cord too much. I could not wait to deny the Spanish business before I crossed the Niemen." But of mortification for bloodshed and treasure spent and lives broken there is no trace. He broods over his failure and tries to explain how he should have avoided it, now saying that he should have shot Fouquier after Waterloo and sent twenty deputies to the scaffold, now that with a man like Talleyrand to help him he would have made himself master of the world. In regarded words he shows how little he cared for the principles

of the Liberal Empire. Had he conquered at Waterloo, he would have sent the Chambers packing. If he were back again in France, he would close the University and restrict the education of the country to the priests. "I too have suffered from the means for propagating the sciences, but my experience has corrected it. The want cultivators, artisans, manufacturers, not philosophers."

But a reconciliation of his inconsistencies is not to be attempted. As the sword ceased him he could be brutal, cynical, obstinate, and who can keep the chart of his moods and thoughts? There is not a noble sentiment which he will not pitch overboard when the scolding storm is on him; there is hardly a proposition which stands unscathed to the confused effulgences of his contradictory apologies. At one moment he loudly proclaims his broadness, and then suddenly the notes of the sifting anathemas are stopped, and we hear the diagnosed cry of the baffled science laying the blame of failure on his confederates. On the whole he bore his hour of trial with a certain noble courage, clearing his dependent and inevitable complications, and himself setting an example of resolute work. But, as hope after hope went out and disease gained on his constitution, his great energy flagged. At the opening of 1811 it was clear that he had not long to live; and after the end of March he scarcely rose save to change his bed. The disease which slew him was the same which had slain his father, cancer in the stomach; but he bore the pain with patient fortitude and full knowledge. When Bertrand asked him what conduct his friends should pursue and what they should aim at, he answered with fine magnanimity, "The interests of France and the glory of the Fatherland. I can see no difficulty." The last faint words caught from his lips as he expired on May 5, 1821, are said to have been, "*France, amis, les amis, les amis*"; and as in the midst of the great hurricane he passed out of life, charging at the head of his ghastly legions. De Toqueville has written his epitaph—"He was as great as a man can be without virtue."

Men of a conservative temper who were spectators of the downfall of the Empire were apt to see little in Napoleon's career but a superb and malignant explosion of human energy, the devastation of which it would be the duty of subsequent generations to repair. To them he was merely the last and the greatest of the Jacobins, the upstart captain of the revolutionary and militant democracy which had overturned the settled institutions of France and thrown its maddest challenge at the old order of Europe. Others, taking longer views of history, have been principally concerned with the fact that Napoleon was a powerful discharger of medieval barbarism. They think of the war of the Empire, not merely as a great effort of Frankish divinity, inexhaustible, as the Crusades themselves, in valour and gallant intermingling, but also as one of the decisive episodes in the secular duel between the Latin and the

Turklike nations. For the conquests of France involved the acceptance of the political system which had been fashioned in the fire of revolution; the effacement of ancient boundaries, the destruction of the social groupings of the feudal age, noble caste, trade guild, religious order. An entrance of a system of private law, as hostile to the Teutonic principle of free association as it was favorable to the Roman principle of State omnipotence. To affirm, again, the true significance of Napoleon lies in the fact that he made possible the national movements of the nineteenth century. He is the herald of Italian unity; and, aside by means of the things which he destroyed and by reason of the efforts which he provided, he takes rank as one of the makers of Germany. For the old autocratic independence of the Dutch he substituted the principles which govern the modern kingdom of Holland. It was one of his many policies to excite the national and inextinguishable aspirations of the Poles; and quivers of hope spread even to Sicily, Roumania, and Greece, commensured by the mighty movements of so many men, and the sudden catastrophes of such ancient things. If South American democracies value their independent status of the men who destroyed the prestige of the Spanish and Portuguese monarchies might be raised, without an excessive strain on historical propriety, in the square of Valparaiso or Buenos Ayres.

This, however, is not the aspect which chiefly impressed Englishmen. That dastardly and degraded generation, who never cried *craven* and never drew breath, viewed Napoleon, not with complete justification, but also not without justification, as the tyrant who respected no pledge, stopped short of no ambition, and flinched before no crime. They thought of him not as the creator of nationalities (for he created none in his lifetime), but as the destroyer of peoples and the enemy of constitutional freedom all over the world. As the men of the fifth century regarded Attila the Hun, so, with few exceptions, did the contemporaries of Pitt and Liverpool regard Napoleon. The thunder of the storm here now long died away; and we see that some perilsous seeds were borne upon the hurricane. Nor did they fall upon the continent of Europe alone. The maritime and colonial power of England was fortified by a war which gave us Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope, promoted the occupation of Australia, and led to the destruction of the Mahometan power in India. The sea-power of France, broken by the disorders of the Revolution, was finally shattered by the wars of the Empire. So impressive was the apprehension of England beyond the war that some writers have regarded the supremacy of the British Empire as the most important result of Napoleon's career.

What was his legacy to France? To the extravagance of his later projects France owes the loss of the Rhine frontier, which had been the earliest conquest of the revolutionary arms, and the unexampled isolation of French diplomacy. That he terminated the progress of the Revolution, that he founded a government above party, that he ended the schism

the Church, and circumscribed the principles of social equality and political order—all this is acknowledged even by his enemies. To his resolute energy France owes the rapid completion and the wide reputation of her Code, nor has any great modern community of men reached so much from a single human mind. His economic legislation is open to criticism, even granting his own assumptions. Was it wise for a government resting upon the support of the peasantry to promote the growth of towns by giving high protection to manufactures? Was it statesman-like to exclude the manufactures of Italy and Germany from the French market? Was it not dangerous to suppose that Europe would be made independent of tropical produce? Socialism had been the pestil which, in the eyes of the middle classes, had justified the Consulate, and socialists can find little comfort in the Civil Code. Napoleon believed in the sacredness of private property, and it was left for the Second Empire to equalise trade duties. His religious policy had some widely different from those which he intended, for a Church, plucked, polished, and tamed by the State, was inevitably thrown back upon the support of the Papacy. If the Revolution, by confiscating the Church lands, destroyed the Gallicanism beloved by St Louis and Bonnet, Napoleon promoted that modern form of Ultramontanism which views a hierarchy as against the very foundations of the democratic State. The Revolution broke with religion and sowed the seeds of martyrdom. Napoleon exploited it, and presented it as a glorified opportunity and Ultramontanism used. The idea of a vast community, organised on a rigid plan and trained to a definite end, will always continue to fascinate whole generations of the free and wheelbarrow movements of human activity. In attempting to control all the sources of spiritual and intellectual influence in France, Napoleon issued a task beyond the compass of any man or any government. The freedom of liberty and authority must necessarily shift from age to age and from occasion to occasion. When Napoleon created the idea of State, France needed a spell of strong government. That he gave her, and more besides. He gave her a scheme of education framed to meet the needs of a military despotism. He renewed the administrative centralisation of the ancien régime, with those improvements which the Revolution had rendered possible—a centralisation scientific, military, administrative, Governmented by the spirit of localism, caste, or corporation, and now, belonging to the Napoleonic school have washed the nucleus of French government ever since.



## GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

A selected list of such works as will be found generally useful with regard to the subject-matter of two or more chapters in this volume.

## BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

- Bélieu, G., Guizot, F., and Mouton, H. *Edgar-Quinet bibliographique de l'histoire moderne et contemporaine de la France*. Paris. 1876. (not vol. ready.)  
*Catalogue de l'Histoire de France*. 18 vols. (Published catalogues of works on French History in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.)  
 Dehmann, E. C. and Wertz, G. *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte*. 6th ed., by E. Dehmann. Göttingen. 1884. (7th ed. in progress.)  
 Gifford, J. E., and Wallages, J. E. *Introduction to English History*. 3rd ed. London. 1884.  
 Krichauff, F. *Bibliography of Napoleon*. London. 1882.  
 Landon, A. *Suppl. à une Bibliographie exhaustive dell' Epoca Napoleonica*. Modena, Rome, and Paris. 1866-. (In progress.)  
*Subject-Index of the Modern Works added to the Library of the British Museum in the years 1861-1866*. Edited by G. E. Forsterman. 3 vols. London. 1868 (the vol. on under France: History: Napoleon.)  
 See also under Europe, General (Larson, Ross, Weber), Military History (Fisher, etc.); Napoleon (Pearson); Great Britain (Knox); Italy (Jenkins), Germany (Fisher), Sweden, etc. (Bass).

## EUROPE.

## GENERAL HISTORY.

- Adam, Sir A. *History of Europe, 1713-1814*. 10 vols. Edinburgh. 1812-15.  
 Baskin, H. B. *Chronik des 19<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderts*. 2 vols. Altona. 1871. Continued by C. Vossmer. 20 vols. Altona. 1880-88.  
 Capotegon, B. H. R. *L'Europe pendant le règne et l'empire de Napoléon*. 10 vols. Paris. 1820-43.  
 Fyfe, C. A. *A History of Modern Europe*. 4 vols. London. 1880. (Vol. 1, 1713-1814.)  
 Haase, A. H. L. *Handbuch der Geschichte des europäischen Völkersystems und seiner Colonien*. 3rd ed., Göttingen, 1876. English transl., London. 1878.  
 Lavisse, E., and Rambaud, A. *Histoire générale des 19<sup>me</sup> siècle et des 20<sup>me</sup> siècle*. 12 vols. Paris. 1875-1898. (Vol. 12, 1875-18. Bibliography.)  
 Mahan, A. T. *The influence of sea power upon the French Revolution and Empire*. 2 vols. London. 1890.  
 Nitzsch, H. G. *Geschichte des Schicksals der Revolution*. Rostock. 1845.  
 Oakes, W. *Die Entstehung der Revolution, des Kaiserreichs, und der Restauration 1789-1814*. Berlin. 1884-5.  
 Plag-Hartberg, J. von, edited by Napoleon I. *Napoleon und Kaiserreich*. Das Geschick der Völker. 2 vols. Berlin. 1808-9.  
 Pouch, E. L. *Europäische Annalen*. Tübingen. 1720-1878.



- Rees, J. H. *The Revolution and Napoleonic Era, 1793-1815*. 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 1965. Bibliography.)
- Reichow, R. C. *Geschichte des schweizerischen Judentums und der jüdischen Bevölkerung des Kantons des Graubünden Romanschen. 2 vols. Basel/Bern, 1934-35. English translation. 2 vols. London, 1945-52.*
- Rees, J. *L'Europe et la Revolution française (1793-1815)*. 2 vols. Paris, 1945-1950.
- Spence, H. M. *Europe, 1793-1815*. London, 1959.
- Wachsmuth, W. *Der Schicksal der Revolution*. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1848-7.
- Waller, G. *Allgemeine Geschichte*. 2nd edn. 14 vols. Leipzig, 1842-8. (Vol. iv, 1797-1800. Bibliography.)
- Waller, J. B. *rev.* *Waldenbüchle*. (Vols. iiii-viii, 1793-1803.) Leipzig, 1804-8.

#### REVOLUTION AND CONVENT

- Geary, H. B. *Genealogical Tables Illustrative of Modern History*. Oxford, 1875.
- Grove, H. *Manuscripts (Genealogies of reigning families)*. Leipzig, 1877.
- Marshall European Genealogy. 48 vols. 2nd edn. Paris, 1844-77.

#### CONVENTS OF THERIAE

- Martens, G. F. de. *Récueil de traités d'alliance, de trêve, de neutralité, de commerce, etc., depuis 1621 jusqu'à présent*. 7 vols. Göttingen, 1731-1804. (Vol. iv contains the period 1797-1800.)
- *Supplément au Récueil des principaux traités, etc., depuis 1793 jusqu'à présent*. 4 vols. Göttingen, 1802-3. (Vols. i-iv contain the period 1793-1807. Vol. iv contains a chronological and alphabetical Table of the Treaties etc. in this and the above work.)
- The second and more useful edition of the above (*Recueil and Supplément*) was issued by G. F. and C. de Martens as 8 vols., of which vols. 7-8 contain the period 1793-1800. Göttingen, 1807-08.
- and C. de Martens *Récueil de traités d'alliance, etc., depuis 1808 jusqu'à présent*. (Vols. i-iv, 1808-13; vol. v, 1809-15.) This collection was continued by Buchholz and Wehner, 10 vols. Göttingen, 1847-55.
- Martens, G. de, and Unger, F. de. *Récueil manuel des traités*. 7 vols. Leipzig, 1835-57.
- Neuhard, F. *Nouveau supplément au Récueil de traités depuis 1793 jusqu'à présent*. 3 vols. Göttingen, 1820-22. Table générale du Récueil, *Nouveau Récueil, et Nouveau Supplément*. Göttingen, 1825-27.

- Clancy, A. de, and J. de. *Récueil des traités de la France*. Paris, 1884. New edn. 1916. (On progress.) Vols. i, ii (1713-1815); vol. iii, *Supplément* (1815-1864); vol. iv, tables (1815-1865).
- Martens, T. T. *Récueil de traités et conventions conclues par la France avec les puissances étrangères*. 14 vols. St Petersburg, 1804-. (On progress.) Vol. iv (1802) contains 1802-26.
- Nauwacq, L. *Récueil des traités et conventions conclues par l'Autriche avec les puissances étrangères, depuis 1793 jusqu'à nos jours*. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1833-5.

#### DISSENTING HISTORY AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

- Dahlmann, H. *Skizzen des Recht der guerre et de paix (1793-1815)*. Paris, 1887.
- Guthrie, George G. de. *Historie générale des traités de paix depuis la paix de Westphalie (en 1713)*. 14 vols. Paris, 1868-95. Leipzig, 1849-51.
- Koch, C. W. de, and Schmitt, M. B. F. *Historisch-kritische des traités de paix*. 2nd edn. 12 vols. Paris, 1819-23. New edn., continuing to 1873. 4 vols. Brussels, 1875-8.

Laffrey, A. Histoire des cabinets de l'Europe pendant la monarchie et l'empire. 2 vols. Paris, 1845-2.

Maxwell Thomas.

Metzger, E. Geschichte und Geist der europäischen Kriege unter Friedrich dem Grossen und Napoleon. Leipzig, 1848.

Clarendon, E. von. Historisches Werk. (Vols. v, vi, campaigns of 1791 and 92, that of 1804-12, vol. viii, that of 1812.) 2nd edn. Berlin, 1820-42.

Quarré, M. Précis des événemens militaires de 1792 à 1814. 20 vols. and index. Paris, 1879-82.

Körner, F. von, and Wood, J. E. Die Kriege von 1792 bis 1814, mit 129 Karten und Plänen. Karlsruhe, 1842.

Schöps, F. W. von. Geschichte der Kriege in Europa seit 1792. 18 parts. Leipzig, 1827-32.

On military history consult also

Bibliothèque de l'école de la guerre. Catalogue. 2 vols. Paris, 1868-69.

Förster, J. Bibliotheca historico-militaris. Systematische Uebersicht, etc. von Kriegen von Jahren 1600. 2 vols. Gießen, 1827-29.

Repertoire des sources historiques. Orléans, 1872.

Hermann Goemaner van Roon.

Forster, G. Allgemeines historisches Handbuch. Heidelberg und Leipzig, 1808.

Freeman, E. A. The Historical Geography of Europe. 2nd edn. by J. B. Hays. 2 vols. London, 1900. (Vol. a contains maps.)

Forster, G. is, edited by Hermann Adler of Modern Europe. Oxford, 1908.

Goebler, E. Kasten und Säulen von der vaterländischen Geschichte der letzten 100 Jahre. 16 vols. Düsseldorf, s.d.

Schöps, F. Atlas de Géographie historique. Paris, 1808.

Sprengel, K. Hand-Atlas zur Geschichte der Mittelalter und der neueren Zeit. 2nd edn. by T. Müller. Götting, 1864.

Vital-Labrière, P. Atlas général. Part I (historical). Paris, 1902.

## NAPOLÉON.

Commissariat, etc.

Fouquier, A. Les Tentatives des Correspondans Napoléon I. (Cahier for letters. Quatre. Vol. 61.) Vienna.

Napoléon I. Correspondance de : avec les rois de W. à Schœnbrunn. 22 vols. 1818-29. Supplément, Edited by A. de Camille. Paris, 1827.

— Lettres inédites de (1795-1814). Edited by L. Gassner. 2 vols. Paris, 1877.

— Lettres inédites de. Edited by L. de Ségur. Paris, 1838.

— Correspondance inédite de. Edited by same. Paris, 1820.

— Correspondance inédite, officielle et confidentielle, avec les armées étrangères, les princes, les ministres et les généraux français et étrangers, etc. Edited by Guy de Camille. 7 vols. Paris, 1815-22.

— Correspondance militaire, extraite de la correspondance générale, et publiée par ordre du Ministre de la Guerre. 18 vols. Paris, 1875-7.

Correspondence, etc.

Bruckman, L. A. Précis de la Mission de Napoléon (1795-1814). Arranged by C. M. de Villeneuve. 10 vols. Paris, 1826-35. (Cf. Bailey de la Mouray Comte & J. C. R. Remoncourt et al. 2 vols. Paris, 1829.)

Bourgeois, M. de. Vie de Napoléon. 2 vols. Paris, 1848.

Chaptal, J.-A.-C. Mémoires sur Napoléon. Paris, 1849.

- Garraud (H. Comte) *Voy. del. L. Napoléon sur le riv. pruss. de Neapoléon, sa famille, et sa cour.* 4 vols. Paris, 1808-9. [The book with notes.]  
 [Mauv. A. H. de.] *Vie politique et militaire de Napoléon.* 4 vols. Paris, 1811.  
 [Cf. F. Aronson, *Le Général Aronson, sa vie et son œuvre.* Paris, 1881.]  
 Japroux, J. M. *de Saint-Amand de. Histoire de Napoléon.* 4 vols. Paris, 1812-6. 1814-6. Paris, 1866.  
 Jolly de la Londe, Baron, J. *Opinions de Napoléon I. en Conseil d'Etat.* Paris, 1868. English translation. London, 1869.

#### Lessee International Works.

- Croquis, P. *Napoléon et l'Angleterre, 1805-18.* Paris, 1894.  
 Fournet, A. *Napoléon I. avec Biographie.* 3 vols. Vienna, 1868-9. 3 vols. (in progress.) Vienna, 1869. (Bibliography.)  
 Landau, P. *Histoire de Napoléon I. (to 1805).* 4 vols. Paris, 1857-71.  
 Lory, A. *Napoléon intime.* Paris, 1895.  
 Maury, P. *Napoléon chez les.* Paris, 1876.  
 Napoléon, Louis Bonaparte, le Prince. *Des Mœurs Napoléoniennes.* London, 1822.  
 ——. *Napoléon et ses détracteurs.* Paris, 1897.  
 Payer, R. *Napoléon I. et son temps.* Paris, 1898. 2 vols. Paris, 1910.  
 Reich, G. *Napoléon I.* Berlin, 1895.  
 ——. *Die Kaiserpolitik Napoleons I.* Munich, 1899.  
 Ross, J. H. *Life of Napoleon I.* 2 vols. London, 1893.  
 ——. *Napoleons Britain.* London, 1894.  
 Soley, J. B. *A short history of Napoleon I.* London, 1905.  
 Stuart, W. M. *Life of Napoleon.* 4 vols. New York, 1898.  
 Tisserand, A. *Alexandre I. et Napoléon (1801-1812).* 4 vols. leur correspondance inédite. Paris, 1894.  
 Vissel, A. *Napoléon et Alexandre I.* 2 vols. Paris, 1891-2.  
 ——. *Unternehmen in Romagna.* Paris, 1905. (In progress.)  
 York von Wartenburg, Graf. *Napoléon als Feldherr.* 3 vols. Berlin, 1861-4. English translation. 2 vols. London, 1862.

#### Napoleon and his France.

- Bardoul, Eugène de. *Mémoires et correspondances politiques et militaires.* Edited by A. de Cam. 30 vols. Paris, 1848-65.  
 Bonaparte, Jérôme, et le Prince Jérôme. *Mémoires et correspondances de. Edited by A. de Cam.* 2 vols. Paris, 1855-6.  
 Bonaparte, Joseph. *Mémoires et correspondances politiques et militaires de. Edited by A. de Cam.* 10 vols. Paris, 1852-4.  
 Bonaparte, Louis. *Mémoires.* 3 vols. Paris, 1858. English translation. London, 1859.  
 Boringue, G. *The Emperor and Truth of Napoleon.* 1858.  
 De Cam, Baron A. *Les fils Napoléon de Napoléon.* Paris, 1892.  
 Jomard, P. *Napoléon I. et le roi de Hollande d'après des documents autographes et inédits.* The Hague and Paris, 1868.  
 Josephine, Empress. *Letters.* 2 vols. Paris, 1852. English translation. New York, 1855-66.  
 Jung, T. *Letter Bonaparte, et ses ministres.* 3 vols. Paris, 1892-3.  
 Maury, P. *Napoléon, impressions et notes.* 2 vols. Paris, 1895-1905.  
 ——. *Napoléon et sa famille.* 7 vols. Paris, 1897-9. (In progress.)  
 Mayoral, Baron G. F. de. *Napoléon et l'émigration.* 2nd edn. 2 vols. Paris, 1863-4.  
 Bonaparte, P. *Napoléon I. et le roi Louis, d'après les documents inédits, ses lettres inédites.* Paris, 1895.  
 Wertheimer, R. *Die Verfassung der neuen Kaiserreiche.* Leipzig, 1877.

## Napoleon's Letters and Correspondence.

Chénier, M. *Marcelline, Gerville, Soldates Napoléon I.* Paris. 1876.

Lacroix, D. *Les Marcellins de Napoléon.* Paris. 1876.

Bernheim, Eugene de. *Marcelline, under Napoleon and his Family*

— *Autobiographie, M. B. 4.* From Eugene, History von Landshut/berg, in den Forderungen eines Zeit. Buchstabs. [1871]

Bernheim, J. E. *Correspondence of Napoleon. Correspondence under Napoleon (1818-4).* Paris. 1878. (See also below, under *Letters*.)

Berthier, Marshal. *Life by Gen. Dumas.* (Part 1, to 1804.) Paris. 1864.

Berthier, Marshal. By A. Bata. Paris. 1890.

Berthier, Marshal. *Correspondence.* Edited by Marie-Anne de Montmollin-Geslin. Vol. III.

— *Life by P. Maronier.* Paris. 1896.

Devy, Marshal. *Correspondence. (1804-4.)* Edited by C. de Méville. 4 vol. Paris. 1871.

— *Correspondence inédite (1795-1814).* Edited by the Marquis de Montgolfier. Paris. 1867.

— *La Maréchal D. vu par ses amis et par lui-même.* By the Marquis de Montgolfier. 4 vol. Paris. 1878-80.

— *Life.* By Count Vigier. 5 vol. Paris. 1878.

Dumas, General. By J. Dumas and La Follette. Paris. 1878.

Dumas, General Louis M. *Memories (1800-1808).* Edited by his son. 3 vol. Paris. 1870.

Florian, Duc de. *Secrets militaires.* 1804-14. Paris. 1861.

Gerville de Cey, Marshal. *Mémoires.* 4 vol. Paris. 1870-1.

Gervilly, Marshal. *Mémoires.* Edited by the Marq. de Gervilly. 4 vol. Paris. 1872-4.

Gravel, Marshal. *Mémoires militaires.* 5 vol. Paris. 1860.

Haas, General. *See above, Dictionnaire de la Bibliographie de Chap. I, P.*

Lacroix, Marshal. By General Flourens. Paris. 1891.

Lacroix, le Général, d'après ses lettres et sa correspondance. By the Philibert. Paris. 1898.

Lefèvre, Marshal. By J. Wink. Paris. 1888.

Macdonald, Marshal. *Memories.* Edited by Roussin. Paris. 1866.

Marbot, General. *Mémoires.* 4 vol. Paris. 1861. English translation 5 vol. London. 1863-4. Cf. P. Cornet, Ess. d'hist. moderne, Jan. 14, 1865.

Massé, Marshal. *Life by A. A. Renaud.* Paris. 1875. (See also Bibliography in Chap. I, 2.)

Marmont, Marshal. *Mémoires.* 5 vol. Paris. 1858-9.

Mascha, Marshal. *Memories.* Edited by Gen. Koch. 7 vol. Paris. 1848-50. 7 vol. Paris. 1869-4.

Marmont, J. N. *Les politiques, militaires et privés du Général.* By A. de Bouchamp. Paris. 1864.

— *Le Général.* By A. Desmoullin. Paris. 1890.

Morier, Prince sur le Maréchal (dum.) London. 1808.

Morot, Joachim, Marshal, and King of Naples. *Correspondence.* Edited by A. Lacroix. Paris. 1865. (This volume only, for 1795-1804, has appeared. Much of the later correspondence is in the Archives Néapoléon, Paris.)

— *Life.* By L. de Collier. Paris. 1870.

— *Life.* By J. Chavannes and G. Saint-Yves. Paris. 1896.

Ney, Marshal. *Memories.* 5 vol. Paris. 1848.

— *Life.* By the Comte de la Follie. Paris. n.d.

*Précis-verbal des travaux du Corps législatif, de l'an v au 1<sup>er</sup> an ix.* 32 vols. Paris, 1804.

*Précis-verbal des séances du Tribunal, de l'an v au 1<sup>er</sup> an ix.* 32 vols. Paris. See also *Notes by M. Chénier, Sécrétaire* (Manuscript, Geneva) below.

*Mémoires, Lc.* (Official copies after 1795.) Paris. 1793-1803.

*Œuvres politiques* (Œuvres de Carnot de Laphé); after Oct. 1804 entitled *Jes Politiques*.

#### CONTEMPORARY HISTORY AND CONTEMPORARY

*Par mérites* (Œuvres etc., see above, under *Œuvres*); the *Mémoires* are divided, see *Bibliography* in *Chapters 4, 5*.

#### GENERAL WORKS

Joubert, F. A. *Éléments politiques de la Révolution française, 1793-1804.* 2 vols. 1803.

— *sur l'États et l'Église sur la Révolution française.* 2 vols. Paris. 1803-1804.

Barthélemy, B. de. *Les institutions civiles de la France.* Paris. 1804.

Riquet, L. P. R., Baron. *Histoire de France depuis le 10 brumaire.* 4 vols. 2 vols. 1810-20. Commenced in 1808. 2 vols. Paris. 1808-10.

Bertrand, E. *Œuvres historiques de politique étrangère.* Vol. 1 (1793-1803) Paris. 1800.

Cervin, E. *La France sous le Consulat.* Paris. 1800.

Darvillat de Magnan, F. *Histoire du gouvernement parlementaire en France.* 10 vols. Paris. 1807-78. (See vols. 4, 5.)

Hénot, E. *Histoire de France (1793-1800).* 4 vols. Paris. 1873-88.

Lacour, C. *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* 4 vols. Paris. 1844-5.

Lacroix, P. *Révolution, Consulat, et Empire.* Paris. 1850.

Martin, H. *Histoire de France depuis 1793 jusqu'à nos jours.* 2nd edn. 4 vols. Paris. 1878-82. (Vols. 1, 2, 3, 1878-1882.)

Michelet, J. *Histoire de son siècle.* Vol. 10 (1793-1804). Paris. 1870.

Talaz, H. A. *Les origines de la France contemporaine. Le régime napoléon.* 2 vols. Paris. 1891-4.

Talaz, A. C., Comte. *Le Consulat et l'Empire.* 10 vols. Paris. 1878.

Thiers, A. *Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire.* 36 vols. and atlas. 1818-78. Cf. Barin, J. *Napoléon et son histoire*, 10 Thiers. Paris, 11 Thiers, Comte de. *Les révolutions françaises: M. Thiers.* 2 vols. 1818-73.

See also under *Œuvres* (Œuvres etc.)

#### FRANCAISSE WORKS

Cantabro, J. J. B. de, Duc de Parma, *Life of*. By A. Alfréid. Paris. 16 Cassat, L. N. M., Comte, *Études sur les révolutions modernes etc.* By E. Bon Paris. 1800.

Chabouchard et son groupe littéraire sous l'Empire. By G. A. Solé-Bo. 2 vols. Paris. 1800.

Fouché, Cardinal. By A. Rouet. Paris. 1800.

Fouché, Jean, Duc d'Angoulême. By L. Madelin. 2 vols. Paris. 1804.

Fouquet, Frédéric de la Seine. *Histoire administrative (1793-1818).* By L. Fu Paris. 1807.

Louis XVIII, *Vie de*. By A. de Beauchamp. 2nd edn. 2 vols. Paris. 1801.

Naef, N<sup>o</sup> de. *A study of her life and times.* By A. Narvaez. 2 vols. Lond. 1801.

Tallemant-Forgues, C. M., duc de, *Œuvres littéraires etc.* By A. Follet. 1814.

## NINETEENTH HUNDREY.

[Ducrot, C. T.] *Victoires, conquêtes, déroutes, armées des Français de 1792 à 1815*. 17 vols. vol. 10. Paris. 1893-95.

*Bulletins officiels de la Grande Armée, dressés par l'Empereur Napoléon, et recueillies par A. Goussier*. [Composés of 1805-14.] 2 vols. Paris. 1875. [Several in vol. with others.]

Tallien, C. *Les campagnes des Armées françaises (1795-1814)*. Paris. 1869.

## NAPLES.

Barral, G. *Discours des ministres avec Sépimen*. L. Paris. 1818.

Chaptal de Chazoulay, J. A. C., Comte. *De l'industrie française*. 2 vols. Paris. 1810.

Chervin, E. *Ministère de la marine française avec le mandat et l'Empire*. Paris. 1844.

Goussier, M. G. *Nature historique sur les Armées de France, 1805-14*. Paris. 1818.

Marbot, G. *Traité de la littérature française, 1805-18*. 4 vols. Paris. 1811-14.

Quatier, E. *Histoire de l'administration provinciale, départementale, et communale en France*. Paris. 1855.

## RUSSIAN DOMINIONS.

Delplac, L. *La Belgique sous la domination française*. 2 vols. Louvain. 1868.

Lafitte de Labrie, L. de. *La domination française en Belgique*. 2 vols. Paris. 1865.

See also Bibliography in Chapter XXV.

## HOLLAND.

Bengard, Louis. *Documenta historica et officiosa rer. le gouvernement de la Hollande*. [Published under the name of Comte de St. Lou.] 2 vols. London. 1838.

Boerhaave, de. *Historische Geschiedenis van Nederland, 1710-1815*. Amsterdam. 1812.

*Quatre de l'april (see also, under France: Documents).*

Hagerty, G. K. van. *Rechts- und Geschiedenis*. 4 vols. The Hague. 1806-07.

Hagerty, Gerard D. van. *Memories*. The Hague. 1807.

Leyland, L. *La Révolution française en Hollande*. In *Revue des lettres*. Paris. 1804.

Nagert, J. *Geschiedenis van Nederland, 1710-1810*. Amsterdam. 1790-1811.

Wilde, G. W. *Geschiedenis der diplomatie van der Nederlanden*. 2 vols. Utrecht. 1855.

See also under Napoleon (Napoleon and his family) and Bibliography in Chapter XXV.

## SWITZERLAND.

## Documents.

*Aufgabe Sammlung der Acten aus der Zeit der helvetischen Republik*. Edited by J. Buzelin. 2 vols. Bern. 1804-1805.

*Offizielle Sammlung der aus schweizerischen Staatsrecht interessanten Actenstücke*. Zurich. 1802.

*Regierung des Abschieds der eidg. Tagsversammlungen aus dem Jahre 1802-18*.

## INTERNATIONAL WORKS.

- Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*. 46 vols. published. Leipzig. 1875-1909.  
*Mythen, was sie sind und wie sie leben*. By J. Scherer. 2 vols. Leipzig. 1892-3. 2nd edn. 1896.  
 ——— *Life*. By G. Knechtke. Berlin. 1897.  
*Gedanken, Leben des Feldmarschalls Gustav K. von*. By G. H. Pertz and H. Delbrück. 2 vols. Berlin. 1894-95. 2nd edn. 1896.  
*Hardenberg und die Geschichte des preussischen Staates, 1795-1805*. By L. von Ranke. 3 vols. Leipzig. 1899-5.  
 ——— *Life*. By C. L. Klein. Halle. 1904.  
*Leben, Thaten von Jomowen*. By the Graf von Bopp. Berlin. 1816.  
 ——— By F. Adams. 14th edn. Göttingen. 1899.  
 ——— *Life and Times of*. By E. H. Dodson. 2 vols. London. 1876.  
*Montenap, Graf von*. *Life*. By Count de Mont de Bismarck. Munich. 1894.  
*Schleswig, Leben des Generals G. F. B. von*. By G. M. Klippel. 2 vols. Leipzig. 1893-71.  
 ——— *Life*. By Max Lehmann. 2 vols. Leipzig. 1899-97.  
*Leben, Leben des Marschalls Friedrich von*. By G. H. Pertz. 2 vols. Berlin. 1893-5.  
 ——— *Life and Times of*. By J. E. Hering. 2 vols. Cambridge. 1879.  
 ——— *Life*. By M. Lehmann. Leipzig. 1890-3.  
*Vonk von Wartenburg, Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Gustav*. By J. G. Dreyer. 2 vols. Berlin. 1891-2. 2nd edn. 1894.

For other works (General, Biographical, etc.) on the French Revolution in Germany, see Bibliography in Chapter II, §111.

## AUSTRIA.

## GERMAN-SPoken MANUSCRIPTS, etc.

- Karl, *Erhebung von Österreich*. Ausgewählte Schriften. 4 vols. Vienna. 1860-4.  
*Mathematik Wissenschaft*. C. W. H. G., Vienna. Nachgelassene Papiere. Edited by his son. 8 vols. Vienna. 1868-8. Manuscript documents, in some degree. 4 vols. Paris. 1890-4. English translation. 3 vols. London. 1895-8 (Ed. F. Bellan, in Hist. Society. Vol. 40).  
*Schwarzenberg, Rückwärtigkeit von dem Leben des Feldmarschalls Florian K. von*. Edited by A. Felsch, Editor von Götting.

## GERMAN AND ROMAN-SPoken WORKS.

- Angely, W. Ritter von. *Erhebung Karl von Österreich als Feldherr und Heerführergeneral*. 1 vol. Vienna and Leipzig. 1899-7.  
 Baur, A. *Neun Jahre österreichischer Politik (1804-18)*. Leipzig. 1877.  
 ——— *Die österreichische Politik Österreichs seit 1794*. Prague and Leipzig. 1890.  
 Haider, M. von. *Flott Clausen Hattendorf und sein Zeitgenosse*. 2nd edn. 1891.  
 Frenzen, A. *Graf und General*. Geschichte der österreichischen Biographie. 1893-4. Vienna. 1899.  
 Kasser, P., Ritter von. *Der Geschichte Österreichs im Zeitalter des Kaiserthums*. Kassel. 1795-1800. Götting. 1890.  
 Wagner, M. Ritter Franz L. *Der Geschichte seiner Biographie und seiner Zeit*. 1 vol. Vienna. 1871.

- Quellen, M. Österreich und Preussen im Reformationskriege. Vienna. 1882. 2 vols. Berlin. 1890-2.
- Schisch-Makulski, V. First Montenegrin Constitution under Sava and Peter. 2 vols. Prague. 1900.
- Wierzbicki, E. Geschichte Österreichs und Ungarns im ersten Jahrzehnt des ersten Jahrhunderts. 2 vols. Leipzig. 1884-5.
- Wiesberg, M. Kaiser von Österreich. 2 parts. Vienna. 1871.
- See also under *Italy* (Bavaria), and *Bibliography* in Chap. VII.

## RUSSIA.

## RUSSIAN AND COUNTRYMEN.

- Alexander I et le règne d'Alexandre. Correspondance particulière et officielle, 1801-12. Edited by Pierre L. Guichard. Paris. 1904.
- Charters, Prince John. Memoirs et correspondances avec Alexandre I. Edited by C. Darnis. 2 vols. Paris. 1897. English transl. 2 vols. London. 1904.
- Novitskiy, R. R. Count de. Letters et Papiers (Autobiographie, etc.). Paris. 1894. Vol. I. Brief von. Deutschrussische. Edited by T. von Benckendorff. 2d vol. 4 vols. Leipzig. 1891-3.
- Wasson's Archives. 48 vols. St. Petersburg. 1874-84.

## GERMAN AND INTERNATIONAL WRITERS.

- Bismarck, T. von. Geschichte Bismarcks und der europäischen Politik im ersten Jahrzehnt. 4 vols. Leipzig. 1896-77.
- Eggenstein, W. History of the reign of Alexander I and of the House of Romanov. (In Russian.) 8 vols. St. Petersburg. 1861-71.
- Gebelin, A. Mémoires d'Alexandre I. Leipzig. 1899.
- Jayou, C. Life and Times of Alexander I. 3 vols. London. 1876.
- Kandau, A. Mémoires de la Russie. 10 vols. Paris. 1896. English translation. 2 vols. London. 1874.
- Schwarze, T. Geschichte Bismarcks unter Kaiser Nikolaus I. Vol. 1. Kaiser Alexander und die Ereignisse seiner Lebensjahre. Berlin. 1894.
- Schiller, S. K. The Emperor Alexander I, his Life and Reign. (In Russian.) 4 vols. St. Petersburg. 1907-8.
- Speranski, Count. Life, by Baron Koef. (In Russian.) 2 vols. St. Petersburg. 1901.
- Toutaevski, A. Diplomatic relations of Russia with France in the time of Napoleon I. (In Russian.) Archives of the Imp. Russian Hist. Society. St. Petersburg. 1899-5.

See also under *Napoleon* (Tatishchev, Vasiliev) for *Alexander I and Napoleon*.

## FRANCE.

- Leveillé, J. Mémoires de Polignac. 2 vols. Paris. 1848.
- Opasch, M. Mémoires sur la Pologne et les Polonais depuis 1795 jusqu'à la fin de 1812. 4 vols. Paris. 1834-5.

## SWEDEN, DENMARK AND NORWAY.

## DENMARK.

- Recueil des Lettres, Décrets, et Proclamations du Charles XIV Jean, Roi de Suède. Stockholm. 1808.



*GERMANY AND SCANDINAVIAN WARS.*

- Blau, E. H. *A Political History of Denmark, Norway and Sweden from 1502 to 1800* (Cambridge, 1905. (Bibliography.)
- Ingvald, H. H. *A History of Norway from the earliest Ages* (Story of the Nations.) London, 1900.
- Drachmann, S. A. *History of Sweden to 1718*. 3 vols. London, 1879-82.
- Fryxell, A. *History of Sweden*. English translation. 3 vols. London, 1864.
- Geyer, E. G. *Knowing Guide XIV Schwedens Historia*. Stockholm, 1914. German translation by U. W. Damm. Dsl. 1914.
- Holm, E. *Danmarks-Norges historiske Histoere under den danske Hærsledning af Napoleon Krigs*. 2 vols. Copenhagen, 1876.
- Pequet, L. *Danmarkens, Norges, et les Suédoises*. Paris, 1901.
- Thomsen, A. *Den danske-Svenskekrigs Historie (1800-64)*. Copenhagen, 1876.
- Touffain-Lafosse, G. *Éléments de l'histoire XIV Sué (Suédoise), les de Suède et de Norvège*. 3 vols. Paris, 1906.
- Wageland, E. *Norge Historie*. 3 vols. Christiania, 1904.

*TURKEY, GREECE, AND THE LEVANT.*

- Cressy, E. S. *History of the Ottoman Turks*. 3 vols. London, 1878.
- Delisle, E. *Le Question d'Orient*. Paris, 1890.
- Evans, J. [Sir J. Evans Transl.] *History of Modern Greece to the present time*. 3 vols. London, 1900.
- Fisher, G. *History of Greece under Ottoman and Venetian domination (1453-1821)*. London, 1914. Reprinted, by H. F. Toner. 7 vols. Oxford, 1917.
- Jacobson de St. Denys, Baron A. de. *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, 1714-1844*. 4 vols. Paris, 1844.
- Marx, O. A. von. *Das griechische Volk*. 3 vols. Heidelberg, 1901.
- Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, E. *Griechische Geschichte, (Staatsgeschichte des neueren Zeit)*. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1877-8.
- Stekelen, J. W. *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches in Europa*. (Europäische Staatsgeschichte.) 7 vols. Hamburg, 1840-60.

*See also Bibliography to Chapter XIII.*

# MANUSCRIPT SOURCES FOR THE HISTORY OF THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE, EXISTING AT PARIS.

By CHARLES SOMMER, Archivist at the Archives Nationales.

## (1) Archives Nationales.

The documents of most importance for the domestic history of the Consulate and the Empire are preserved at the Archives Nationales, where they may be inspected on request addressed to M. le Directeur des Archives Nationales, Paris, 22, 23 rue des Francs-Bourgeois.

This is not the place to indicate all the series in which documents bearing on the period may be found: one can only refer the student to the publications which, under each category, give sufficient information as to the documents it contains. The first place must be given to the *Manuscrits par séries des documents relatifs aux Archives Nationales* (Paris, Delagrave, 1928, 4 vol.). This especially the series D (questions and votes), C (Procès-verbaux of the Assemblée, and documents annexes), CC (des Conservateurs Nationaux and the Imperial Chambre des Pairs), F (général administrative), M (plans and maps), CP (Mémoires de l'Empereur), BA (published papers), AB (an important collection of printed matter), AP (des États Constitués). The *Manuscrits* should be supplemented by the *Liste des Manuscrits des Archives Nationales* (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1897; not published, but to be found in the *Imprimerie*), a work due to M. G. Serres, former Director of the Archives.

For the Consulate and the Empire, the most important series in that marked AP, in which are preserved the papers of the office of the Imperial Secretary of State. Here are to be found, in particular, the ministerial reports, and the ministerial orders (signed by Napoleon) of the period passed from the year VIII (1799) to 1815. The series AP, in which are also some important diplomatic documents, especially, in fact, what is essential in the administrative activity of the period: the Secretariat of State in the central organs in which depended and in which was completed all public business of that date importance.

The following publications, by M. Chas. Schmidt, may also be consulted: (1) *Le Musée des Archives Nationales* (published, Mar. 14, 1914, by *Les Archives Françaises*) describes the facilities offered to students visiting the Archives, and indicates the manuscripts open to them. (2) *Les Sources de l'Histoire d'un Régime: les Archives Nationales* (published, Mar. 14, 1925, by *Les Archives Françaises*) contains an inventory of the importance, for students of contemporary history, of the papers retained in series F (général administrative). (3) *Des sources de l'Histoire contemporaine: le fonds de la Police générale aux Archives Nationales* (published in the *Revue d'Hist. contemp.*, 1926-7) should be consulted for the purpose of research in the abundant papers of the Ministry of Police (series F, affaires politiques, étrangères, &c.).

### (2) *Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères*

Documents relative to 1870 are concentrated on application to M. le Ministre des Affaires étrangères, Paris. There are two principal series: (1) *Correspondance politique* (listings of ambassadors and correspondence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with embassies abroad, classified by countries, and in each country by chronological order); (2) *Discours et Documents* (divided into two groups, France and foreign countries): an *annuaire-annuaire* has been issued; since the publication of *Les Archives de l'Élysée de France*, by MM. Luchaire and Fourn, vol. 1 of the *Correspondance politique* (Germany, England, Argentine Republic, Austria) has appeared (Paris, 1932).

### (3) *Archives du Ministère de la Guerre*

Documents relative to 1870 are concentrated on application to M. le Ministre de la Guerre, Paris. There are two principal series, leading in reality two distinct collections of Archives: the series to each of which special authorization is required. These are: (1) *Les Archives militaires*, where one may consult, in particular, the *Correspondance des armées*, a primary source for military history; (2) *Les Archives administratives*, where are kept the personal records (diaries) of military officers.

### (4) *Archives du Ministère des Colonies*

In these archives, which, though of much importance, are still imperfectly known, the documents are arranged in three principal series: (1) *présent de la Colonie*; (2) *correspondance plurielle*; (3) *papiers particuliers*. They are open to inspection on application to M. le Ministre des Colonies, Paris.

### (5) *Archives du Ministère de la Marine*

Since 1870 the papers of this Ministry relative to the Republic, and a portion of those of later date, have been deposited in the Archives Nationales. For the period of the Consulate and the Empire, one should consult the Archives, the *correspondance générale* (classified under ports, the navy, the armaments, special authorizations from the Ministry of Marine is required in order to consult these documents).

### (6) *Livres*

The documents preserved in the great libraries are of so varied a character that it is impossible to give even a summary account of them. In the National Library open acquisitions of the *fonds français* are to be found interesting and a catalogue of which is in preparation. Others will be found in the Library of the Grand Library by M. Maugé, and in the Library of the Institute (catalogue by F. Guizot), and other libraries. But what is essential for the domestic history of France is to be found in the famous Archives.

For further details—except for such modifications as have been made since 1870—the student should consult the book by MM. Ch.-V. Luchaire and H. Fourn, entitled *Les Archives de l'Élysée de France* (Paris, Pion, 1931). He will find there, in particular, indications respecting Archives at present hardly explored, such as the Archives des Châtes, etc., also suggesting such as have been destroyed, e.g. those of the Grand d'Éclat and of the Ministère des Finances, which were burnt in 1873. Many private families have preserved documents relative to the Napoleonic period, but access to these is generally difficult.

## CHAPTERS I, V.

## FRANCE UNDER THE CONSULATE AND THE EMPIRE

## I. LAWS, REGULATIONS, ADMINISTRATIVE DOCUMENTS, ETC.

*Grandes lois nationales (great imperial), published by Teissie.* Paris. One vol. yearly.  
 Bachelin, P. J., R., and Rous, P. C. *Discours parlementaires de la Révolution française* (1789-1814). Vols. xxxviii-xx. Paris. 1932.

*Bulletin des lois.* Third series (as various acts, 9 vols., and supplement). Fourth series (as 1810-1814. 20 vols.). Index by Boncompagni (1793-1814). 4 vols. Paris. 1918.

Desvignes, J. B. *Collection complète des lois, décrets, règlements, etc. (from 1789)*. Vols. xxx-xxx (Consulat), xi-xx (Empire). Paris. 1493-7. Series (1789-1800). 8 vols. Paris. 1924-6.

*Correspondance au Ministère intérieur, "and journal officiel" (from 1789, as was, Dec. 28, 1794).* Paris. 2 vols. yearly. Index, 1794-1814. 2 vols. in 1 vol. Paris. 1926.

(Galland, H. N., de Metz.) *Charte de rapports, opinions, et discours* (1789-1814). Vols. xxi-xx. Paris. 1921-2. General index, 1923.

Maréchal, J. and Laveut, R. *Archives parlementaires. Second series.* Vols. i-xx (as 1810-1814). Paris. 1922-6.

Jaquet, P. A. *Rapports des délibérations du Consulat provinciaux.* Paris. 1924. (Recueil de l'histoire de la Révolution française.)

— *L'État de la France au 1<sup>er</sup> mai et au 1<sup>er</sup> jan.* Paris. 1919. (Recueil de l'histoire de la Révolution française.)

Chapuis, J. A. *Comité de Censure.* *Analyses des procès-verbaux des conseils généraux de département.* 2 vols. Paris. 1894-5.

Julien, H. A. *Études historiques sur la situation actuelle de la France et sur les plans de son avenir prochainement.* Paris. An xxi.

Mathérolle, J. P., Bachmann, Camille de. *Essai de la situation de l'Empire français au Corps législatif le 21 février 1812, avec 21 tableaux statistiques.* Paris. 1812.

Perrot, J. *Essai d'une statistique générale de la France.* Paris. 1892.

— *Statistique générale et particulière de la France.* 7 vols. and index. Paris. 1922.

— *Statistique (historique de la France).* Paris. 1895.

Riquet, E. *L'État de la France au 1<sup>er</sup> janvier.* Paris. 1824.

## II. GENERAL WORKS.

For works on the general history of France during this period (by Adolphe Courteault, Dominique de Raymondo, Lucien, Talon, Thébaudon, Thiers, etc.), and the works on Napoleon (by Fauriol, Luchet), *Pejoux, Rieu, Seigné, Tardieu, etc.* see General Bibliography.

## III. MEMOIRS AND CORRESPONDENCE.

1. *On French Officers.*(a) *Of primary authority.*

[No thoroughly critical study of Napoleon belongs to the history of this period but yet many works, and many of them mentioned in the present section, ought perhaps to find a place at the vital group.]

*Mémoires, Louis Juvet, vicaire à Paris, Trévoux de, Mémoires ou Souvenirs Mérovinges.* 18 vols. Paris. 1841-6. Engl. transl. 8 vols. London. 1848. 3 vols. London. 1855.

— *Mémoires des Rois de France.* 4 vols. Paris. 1857-8.

*André, L. M. & P., Comte de, Mémoires.* 3 vols. Paris. 1850-5.

*Artaud, A. Y., Souvenirs d'un voyageur.* Vols. over Paris. 1858.

*Bonaparte, A. G. P. Souvenirs, Souvenir de, Souvenirs.* Vols. 1, 2, Paris. 1848-1850.

*Barras, P. F. J. N., Vices de, Mémoires.* Arranged by *Alfred Assolant* *Château de Saint-Aldé.* 4 vols. Paris. 1854-6. Engl. transl. London. 1855.

*Bonaparte, L. F. J., Souvenir de, Mémoires autobiographiques.* 2 vols. Paris. 1837. 4 vols. Paris. 1858. Engl. transl. Philadelphia. 1848.

*Bonaparte, F. Y., Souvenirs d'un voyageur.* 2 vols. Paris and Lyons. 1850.

*Bonaparte, J. C., Comte, Mémoires.* 3 vols. Paris. 1855. 2 vols. 1 vol. 1858.

*Bonaparte de la Rochelle, A. & C. J., Comte, Thèses constitutionnelles de Napoléon, vices de, Mémoires.* Paris. 1838.

— *Mémoires.* Privately printed. Paris. 1848.

*Bouillon, A. L. Y., Duc de, Souvenirs (1795-1805).* 4 vols. Paris. 1848.

(*Courtesy, Madame.*) *Les Mémoires d'un témoin.* Paris. 1854.

*Chambray, J. B., Marquis de, Duc de Cadix, Souvenirs.* Paris. 1848.

*Chapuis, J. A., Comte de, Châtillon, Ses souvenirs sur Napoléon.* Paris. 1855.

*Chastoux, Madame de, Mémoires.* 3 vols. Paris. 1838.

*Chateaubriand, F. R., Vices de, Mémoires d'autobiographie.* 12 vols. (See vols. 1-5.) Paris. 1818-20. 3 vols. Edited by E. Rieu. Paris. 1865-1867.

*Dezobry, P. M. C., Voyageur historique, en Chine aux de haute police.* Paris. 1855. Edited by *Guizot and Thiers.* Paris. 1860.

*Duval, vices de, Comte, Ses souvenirs sur Napoléon.* 2 vols. Paris. 1819. New edition, entitled *Napoléon.* Paris. 1846. Engl. transl. London. 1826.

(*Fauriol, G. G.*) *Les décrets pour le Consulat.* Ed. L. Labrousse. Paris. 1848.

*Fabre, J., Correspondances et relations avec Bonaparte.* 3 vols. Paris. 1858.

*Fauriol, J., Duc d'Alençon, Mémoires.* 3 vols. Paris. 1854.

*Gauthier, M. M. C., Duc de Gaillon, Mémoires, souvenirs, opinions et vices.* 2 vols. Paris. 1858-60.

*Guizot, L. C. S. R., Comte de, Discours et opinions, journal et souvenirs.* 4 vols. Paris. 1858.

*Hugot, Marquis Armand d', Souvenirs sur la Révolution, l'Empire, et la Restauration.* Edited by *Comte Thiers.* Paris. 1844.

- [*Œuvre de Savary de Brèves*, *Œuvres*. Mémoires et voyages. Vol. 1. Paris. 16-1.
- Levesque, A. M. J. *Château, Comte de*. Mémoires et voyages. 2 vols. Paris. 1862. Engl. transl. 2 vols. London. 1862 and 1863.
- Maynard, C. F. *Comte de*. *Napoleon et Marie-Louise*. Souvenirs diplomatiques. 2 vols. Paris. 1832-3. New edition, entitled *Mémoires*. 2 vols. Paris. 1851. Engl. transl. 2 vols. London. 1851, 1852.
- [*Œuvre de Mollat, A. F.*, *Comte*. Mémoires. 2 vols. Paris. 1846. Engl. transl. New York. 1850.
- Mollat, F. N. *Comte*. Mémoires. 4 vols. Paris. 1811. 2 vols. Paris. 1828.
- Morand, J. *Marquis de*. *Montfortin*, Baron de. *Œuvres*, 2e édition. Vol. 1, 2. Paris. 1686-7.
- Ourand, G. J. *Mémoires*. 4 vols. Paris. 1824.
- Raynaud, E. D. *Des*. *Histoire de nos temps*. Mémoires (édité) by J. de la Motte. Paris. 1836-4. Engl. transl. London. 1836-4.
- [*Œuvre de la Lettre, J.*, *Baron*] *Œuvres de Napoléon*. Paris. 1847. Engl. transl. Edinburgh. 1847-5.
- Planch, A. G. *Comte d'Arques*, *Comte de*. *Œuvres*. Paris. 1855.
- Fourcade, L. G. *Le Duc de*, *Comte de*. *Œuvres*. Vol. 1. Paris. 1821.
- Bartholomew, C. F. *Bartholomew*, *Comte de*. *Œuvres*. Paris. 1825.
- Edouard, Mathieu. *Souvenirs et correspondances*. 2 vols. Paris. 1838.
- Œuvres inédites des agents de Louis XVIII à Paris sous le Consulat*. Edited by Comte Bernadotte. Paris. 1835.
- Alphonse, C. E. J. *Œuvres de Napoléon*, *Comte de*. Mémoires. 2 vols. Paris. 1875-80. Engl. transl. London. 1876.
- *Œuvres*. 2 vols. Paris. 1881.
- Bonaparte, F. L. *Comte*. *Œuvres*. 8 vols. Paris. 1855-6. (See especially vol. vi.) Cf. *Napoleon-Bonaparte*. *Œuvres de Louis*, vol. viii.
- Bonaparte, *Mémoires de l'Empereur*. Mémoires. *Œuvres diplomatiques*. Paris. 1858.
- Bonaparte, A. M. E. *Des*. *Œuvres*. Mémoires. (Arranged by A. Bonaparte, A. Bonaparte, etc.) 8 vols. Paris. 1858. Engl. transl. 4 vols. London. 1858.
- Bonaparte, F. P. *Comte de*. *Histoire et Mémoires*. 4 vols. Paris. 1875-7. Arranged edition, by L. de Bonaparte. 2 vols. Paris. 1878-8. Engl. transl. London. 1884, 1886.
- Bonaparte, *Œuvres de*. *Œuvres diplomatiques*. 3 vols. Paris. 1823. Engl. transl. 2 vols. London. 1844. Cf. *Bonaparte, A. G.* *Œuvres diplomatiques des Bonapartes*. 3 vols. Paris. 1838.
- *Des*. *Œuvres*. Paris. 1823. Edited by F. Guizot. Paris. 1856. Engl. transl. London. 1857.
- Talleyrand-Périgord, C. M. de, *Prince de*. *Œuvres*. Mémoires. Edited, with preface, by the Duc de Angoulême. (Arranged by M. de Bonaparte.) 8 vols. Paris. 1814-18. Engl. transl. 1 vol. London. 1861-2. *Correspondance diplomatique*. Ed. G. Palissot. 1 vol. Paris. 1869-71.
- *Œuvres inédites à Napoléon* (1800-5). Ed. F. Bertrand. Paris. 1829.
- [*Œuvres*, A. G., *Comte*] *Mémoires sur le Consulat*. 2 vols. Paris. 1828.
- Talleyrand, F. G., *Baron*. Mémoires. 4 vols. Ed. F. Colson. Paris. 1842-3. Versaillais Edition, J. de Bonaparte. *Mémoires*. Paris. 1825.
- Villeneuve, P. A. *Œuvres*. Vol. 1. Paris. 1825.
- Viviani, E. F. A. d'Arnaud, *Baron de*. Mémoires et relations politiques. Vol. 1. Paris. 1874.

For the *Mémoires de Napoléon* (by Bonaparte), the *Mémoires et Correspondance de Bonaparte*, *Œuvres*, and *Œuvres diplomatiques*, the *Œuvres de l'Empereur Napoléon*, and *Mémoires de Napoléon's Mémoires et Œuvres*, see *General Bibliography*.

### 34. *Of superior authority.*

[Among them, as called before, there are not by the authors to whom they are attributed, or because their authors were ill-informed or highly biased, many, or, at least, the following may be mentioned.]

Coello, Melanconello. *Mémoires sur Josephine*. (By C. M. de Villeneuve.) 2 vols. Paris. 1803.

Crépinet, A. A. L. *Marquis de, Duc de Vienne*. *Baron*. Ed. Charles de la, Comte de Bille, aux Deuxmains. 2 vols. Paris. 1803. Engl. transl. 2 vols. London. 1804.

Crozier, Melanconello. *Mémoires sur la reine Hortense et la famille impériale*. (Attributed to F. Savois.) 4 vols. Paris. 1804-6.

Crozier, G. G. Vdy, 423. *Mémoires*. Edited by C. M. de Villeneuve and others. 2 vols. Paris. 1804-5.

Dau, C. *Mémoires secrets*. 2 vols. Paris. 1804. Engl. transl. London. 1812. Various pamphlets by the same.

Dauvergne, L. *Mémoires*. Arranged by A. de Beauchamp. 2 vols. Paris. 1804. Josephine, Empress. *Mémoires et Correspondances*. Ed. Bagnault-Péris. Paris. 1812.

— *Mémoires littéraires*. Ed. Melanconello Et. A. Lacroix. 2 vols. Paris. 1806. Engl. transl. Philadelphia. 1806. London. 1812.

Dau, R. E. *Duc de Nemours, Souverain prince*. Ed. Charles de la, Comte de Bille, aux Deuxmains. 2 vols. Paris. 1804. GE. Marie A. d. Royal. Paris. 1804.

Dau, J. *Œuvres*. *Mémoires*. Arranged by A. Buis. Paris. 1812.

Dauvergne (P. Ernest, 42). *Mémoires*. Edited by F. Harcourt de Harcourt. Paris. 1807.

Dauvergne, M. *Mémoires d'une contemporaine*. Arranged by A. Melanconello, Ch. Nelly, A. Buis, and C. M. de Villeneuve. 2 vols. Paris. 1805-6.

Dauvergne, R. *Mémoires secrets*, etc. &c. *Mémoires d'un page de la cour impériale*. 2 vols. Paris. 1806. Various works by the same.

### 2. *French Manuscripts.*

Adams, Sir Archibald, and Tytler, F. P. *Travels in France during the years 1804-6*. 2 vols. London. 1812.

Berry, Miss Mary. *Journals and Correspondence*. 3 vols. London. 1803.

Burke, M. *Notes on a Journey through France*. London. 1812.

Clayton, F. W. *Paris as it was and as it is*. 2 vols. London. 1806.

Clayton, Major-General, Lieut. *Memoirs of a forced Journey through France*. 2 vols. London. 1804-5.

Cott, Sir John. *The Stranger in France*. London. 1803.

Crozier, C. *Œuvres de, Mémoires de*. *Journal* (1805). Paris. 1806. (Revised & various correspondences.)

Dau, R. J. *Œuvres complètes* made at Paris. Paris. 1806.

Dau, Th. J. *Notions sur l'histoire de la France*. St. Petersburg. 1807. (Also in: *Œuvres de Bonaparte par ses Biographes*. London. 1807.)

Dau, J. *Letters from France* (1803-4). 2 vols. London. 1807.

Dauvergne, L. *Secret History of the Cabinet of Bonaparte*. London. 1812.

Dau, C. D. *Books*. Leipzig. 1804.

Dauvergne, L. *Œuvres de, Lettres and Éclaircissements*. 2 vols. Nuremberg. 1806-7.

Dauvergne, J. C. *The influence of some letters*. 2 vols. London. 1812.

Dauvergne, M. *Travels*. 2 vols. London. 1806.

- Labrousse, V. von. *Erinnerungen aus Paris im Jahre 1804*. Berlin. 1894.
- Labrousse, V. *Memories of a captivity in France from 1800 to 1804*. 2 vols. London. 1895.
- Labrousse, Jerome. *Margen de Diphées*. Edited by E. B. Fournier and J. Labrousse. Vol. II. Leipzig. 1895. (Publicationen aus den germanischen Sprachschulen.)
- Madison, G. *An evening in France*. London. 1898.
- Mayer, F. & E. Brühl. 2 vols. Tübingen. 1897.
- Motley, R. *A view of modern France*. London. 1895.
- Narayan, A. H. *Reisebeschreibungen* (1897). Halle. 1904.
- Paris zur Zeit der Kaiserkrönung*. Leipzig. 1894.
- Palmer, A. G. *Paris pendant les années 1804 & 1805*. London. 1898 see *Journal*; 21 vols.
- Parkman, J. *Recollections* (1897-9). 2 vols. London. 1899.
- Petrie, Lieut.-Col. *Travels*. London. 1898.
- Pringle, Anne. *A narrative*. 2 vols. London. 1808.
- Reichardt, L. F. *Vermischte Reise*. Hamburg. 1807. French translation by Lagrange. Paris. 1806. Cf. von, L. Beschreibung der vornehmsten Reise. Berlin. 1804.
- Reichardt, Madame. *Lettres*. Paris. 1805. (*Œuvres d'auteurs contemporains*.)
- (Schönbauer?) *Napoleon Bonaparte und die französische Volksgesinnung* [Hamburg? 1814].
- Scott, J. *A year in Paris in 1814*. London. 1814.
- Shepherd, W. *Paris in 1802 and 1814*. London. 1814.
- Sturgeson. *The Belgian Traveller*. 4 vols. London. 1800.
- *Short History of the Court and Cabinet of Robespierre*. 2 vols. London. 1804.
- Thompson, Col. T. *A Sporting Tour*. 2 vols. London. 1806.
- Tracy, J. B. *Memories of the later years of C. J. Fox*. London. 1811.
- (Unpublished, T. B.) *A narrative: being extracts from the Journal of a Officer*. London. 1804, 1806.
- Williams, T. *State of France (1800-6)*. 3 vols. London. 1807.
- Wooler, J. *Aspects of the State of France*. London. 1806.
- Yates, H. B. *Lettres from France* (1805). 2 vols. London. 1804.

- Alger, J. G. *Napoleon's British Victims and Captives*. London. 1894.
- Balcan, A. *Les Anglais en France après la paix d'Amiens*. Paris. 1898.
- Balderson, P. *The early Royal Bonaparte and some derivative Bonapartes*. Bonn. 1899.

## IV. SPECIAL WORKS.

1. *Napoleon's Flight and Capture, French Sources.*

- Aragon, G. de. *Historique de Bonaparte, Madame Lucie Bonaparte*. 2 vols. Paris. 1897-1899.
- Aragon, J. A. *Historique de l'Empereur Josephine*. 2 vols. Paris. 1898-9.
- Bayly, D. A. *The Mystique of the Bonapartes*. 2 vols. London. 1911.
- Brilliant, P. F. L. *Description des cérémonies pour le mariage de N. S. Napoléon I. l'Emp.* 1810.
- Galland, A. *Napoleon, l'Empereur, le général, le vainqueur*. 2 vols. Paris. 1849.
- Hubert de Lagardelle, A. L., Baron. *Les femmes des Bonaparte*. 21 vols. Paris. 1898-99.





- Boussier, C. Histoire générale de l'armée nationale. Paris and Nancy. 1895.  
 1 vol., 1 fig. — Topographie de l'armée nationale de la République et de l'Empire.  
 Paris. 1901.  
 Tisserand, General G. Les grands combats de l'armée Empire. 2 vol. Paris  
 and Nancy. 1898-9.

4. Enseignement, Université, Lycées, etc. — *See* 1.

- Beauchamp, A. de. Essai sur les lois et règlements sur l'enseignement supérieur  
 T. 1 (1809-1845). Paris. 1899. T. II, Index. 1901.  
 Buisson, E. La liberté d'enseignement. Histoire et doctrine. Paris. 1902.  
 Claret, M., and Charley, S. Histoire de l'enseignement secondaire sous la Resta-  
 (1815-1830). Paris and Lyons. 1901.  
 Clément, A. Les Fêtes des Grands séminaires et l'enseignement primaire (1775-  
 1830). Paris. 1902.  
 Fabry, J. B. G. Le grade de la Faculté supérieure dans l'éducation. 2 vol.  
 Paris. 1891-2.  
 Girard, O. La législation de l'enseignement primaire, 1875. Second édition. Vol. 1  
 (1875-1889). Paris. 1901. Vol. II, General Index. 1902.  
 Guich, F. Essai sur l'histoire et l'état actuel de l'Instruction publique. Paris.  
 1819.  
 Izard, L. L'enseignement supérieur en France. 2 vol. Paris. 1898-99.  
 Kappeler, A. Code universitaire. Paris. 1891.  
 — Essai sur l'Instruction publique et particulièrement sur l'Instruction primaire.  
 2 vol. Paris. 1849. Cf. E. Buisson; M. A. Buisson et l'Université de France.  
 Paris. 1901.  
 (Kappeler, A.) Observations sur l'Instruction publique et l'éducation. Paris. 1819.  
 Four suppléments. 1819.  
 Kappeler, B. de. Histoire critique et législative de l'Instruction publique et de la  
 liberté de l'enseignement. 2 vol. Paris. 1864.  
 Schmidt, C. La réforme de l'Université impériale en 1811. Paris. 1901.  
 Villermé, F. A. Rapport au roi sur l'Instruction secondaire. Paris. 1802.

- Arno, L. L'Institut de France (1803-1809). Paris. 1899.  
 Fagnard, Louis de. Le premier siècle de l'Institut de France (1794-1804).  
 2 vol. Paris. 1895-6.

- Guérard de Lavigne, A. Les parlements de la fin de l'Empire. Paris. 1879.  
 Huet, E. Questions politiques et littéraires de la presse en France. Vol. VI. Paris.  
 1901.  
 Le Polain de Launay, G. La liberté de la presse depuis la Révolution (1793-1848). Paris.  
 1864.  
 Loyat, T. G. Discours sur la liberté de la presse la nation (1800-11). Paris.  
 1818.  
 Robey, C. sur. La presse sous le Consulat et l'Empire. Besançon. 1872.  
 Wolkenhagen, R. Les journaux sous le Premier Empire. Paris. 1897.

- Rapports sur les progrès des sciences mathématiques depuis 1789, by J. B. J.  
 Delambre; des sciences physiques et naturelles, by G. L. G. F. B. Cauchy;  
 des lettres françaises, by M. J. de Chénier; de l'histoire et de la littérature  
 modernes, by B. J. Dureau; des lettres arts, by J. Leconte. 3 vol. Paris.  
 1802, 1803.

# C. ARMED NEUTRALITY

## Documents.

Collection of Public Acts and Papers relating to the Principles of Armed Neutrality. London. 1800.

McKenstry, Lord. *Despatches and Correspondence of James Harris, First Earl of Malmesbury*. 4 vols. London. 1895.

## Contemporary Accounts.

Georg, Count de. *Mémoires sur l'événement qui se manifesta alors en son Océan*. Rouen. 1795.

## Later Works.

Neufeldt, G. *Die baltische Neutralität, 1793-5*. Berlin. 1854.

Meinen, Baron C. de. *Commentaires du Droit des Gens*. 2nd edn. 3 vols. Leipzig. 1810.

——. *Secondes Commentaires du Droit des Gens*. 1 vol. Leipzig. 1842.

For Collections of Treaties by Grotius and Martens, Koch and Schöff's *Selected History of Treaties*, and *Napoleon's Correspondence*, see *General Bibliography*.

# Part. II.—NAVAL OPERATIONS.

## Contemporary Documents.

Public Record Office, Admiralty, Secretary, "in Letters".

*Despatches and Correspondence of Admirals commanding the Baltic Fleet*. 1800.

*Despatches of Admirals commanding on Mediterranean stations*. 1800-4.

*Journal of Admiral Sir H. Parker*. 1801.

*Journal of Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson*. 1801.

## Documents.

Delecluse, B. *Précis de l'histoire de l'équipement sur les Bâtiments* (French Ship History). Vol. II. Paris. 1868.

Jackson, Rear-Admiral E. S. *Logs of the great Sea-Fights*. Vol. II. (Gray Rovers' Society). London. 1901. (Contains the important passages from the Journals of Nelson and Parker.)

Langford, J. E. *The Naval Armistice*. Vol. I. (Gray Rovers' Society). London. 1905.

## Contemporary Accounts.

(Nicht, B. G.) *Lebensgeschichte des B. G. Nicht, von Berlin beschrieben*. 3 vols. Berlin. 1818-21.

Ross, Sir J. *Memories and Correspondence of Admiral Lord Ross*. 1 vol. London. 1810.

Wain, J. F. *Disastering Battle: Gallies Redoubt for the 1797 to 1812*. 2 d.

## Later Works.

Lange, M. A. *Von Leipzig über die Geschichte des Nordischen Marinen Historie*. Christiania. 1879.

See also the general histories and works bearing on Nelson and Napoleon given in the Bibliography to Chapter VIII. For Danish "Friser" (history), the *Victories of Arnis* (Arnis), and *History of Denmark*, see *General Bibliography*. Most of the passages of the time work on the general project.





Dybb, J. *Marngo*. Paris. 1860.

Eschard, E. *Bonaparte et Marngo*. Paris. 1861.

Fénelon, F. *La bataille de Marngo*. 2 vols. Alexandria. 1861.

Richardson, A. *La bataille de Hohenlinden* (*Episodes militaires*). 1858.

Roberts, Mrs. L. M. *The negotiations preceding the Peace of Lunéville*. (*Transactions of the Royal Hist. Society*). Vol. ix. 1858.

Sargent, H. M. *Campaign of Marngo*. London. 1851.

Schöcher, A. *Die Schlacht bei Hohenlinden*. Erlang. 1855.

Tenny, J. *La bataille de Hohenlinden et les premiers rapports de Bonaparte au roi de Grand Otrante*. (*Revue historique*, &c.) Paris. 1875.

Tissot, A. *L'effet de Marngo*. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, June 1.) 1860.

On the battle of Hohenlinden, see especially the *Memoirs of Dumas* (185) in the *Bibliothèque de la ville, Gené*; on that of Marngo, those of Marmont, Massena, and Victor (*General Bibliography*) and *Les Colonies de Capitaine-Lugues*. Paris. 1845.

### *Peace of Amiens, and the system.*

Browning, G. *England and Napoleon in 1801*. Despatches of Lord Whitworth. London. 1857.

Follet, Dora. *Life and Correspondence of Mellington*. London. 1847.

Fouet, J. *La Russie et le système de la paix d'Amiens*. Documents anglais et russes inédits. (*Annales de l'École des sciences politiques*.) 1857.

Forst, C. *La France, l'Angleterre, et Naples, 1800 et 1801*. Paris. 1861.

Forster, H. M. *Die englisch-französische Friedensverhandlung* (Dec. 1798-Jan. 1800). Leipzig. 1899.

— *Preliminary stages of the Peace of Amiens*. Toronto. 1899.

Forster, A. *Die Negotiationen von 1800*. (*Freimüthige Jahrbücher*, Paris.) 1898.

De Gues, A. *Résumé des négociations diplomatiques relatives aux traités de Rastadt, de Lunéville et d'Amiens*. 2 vols. Paris. 1865.

Hind, W. *The principal causes of the renewal of the war between England and France in 1800*. (*On Trans. of the Royal Historical Society*, Marston. Vol. xvi.)

Hubert, H. *La politique coloniale de Napoléon I.* (*Revue des questions historiques*, vol. xxxv.) Paris. 1906.

Mait, Karl. *Life and Letters*. Vol. ix. London. 1878.

Martens, C. von. *Der Zustand des Ministeriums Feb. 1801*. (*Historische Zeitschrift*. Vol. xii.) Munich.

Philippson, M. *La paix d'Amiens et la politique générale de Napoléon I.* (*Revue historique*. Vols. xxxv and xxxvi.) Paris. 1906.

For the works of Capaldi and Lombard (*Napoleon's relations with England*), Esch (French colonial policy), Goss of Pitt by Ransbury and Ransbury, and the Marston, see of Pitt and Fox, see *General Bibliography*.

### II. ITALY.

For works of a general nature by Bianchi, Botta, De Castro, Rossetti, Ruff, Solop de Solera, Trossa, Vincenzi, see *General Bibliography*.

### *Memors and Correspondence.*

Arvolden, Count G. *Memors*. Florence. 1861.

Chapman, C. L. *Memors, letters and documents original*. Edited by Mahan. Paris. 1895.



## 11. GERMANY.

## Bibliography.

Becker, F. *Biographisch-Kritische Friedrich-Wilhelms III. und des Königs Louis mit Kaiser Alexander I.* Leipzig. 1886.

Weyhe, G. W. *La France après la paix de Biele (projet de la guerre)*. Gießen. 1879.

*For the history of Götze and the correspondence of Bismarck, see General Bibliography.*

## Götze, Weyhe.

Leipziger, E. T. *Deutsche Geschichte von Teils Principien des Götze bis zur Auflösung des alten Reichs.* Stuttgart. 1879.

*For other works of a general nature, by Deutz, Hünneke, Stern, Treubach, and the results of Biele and French, see General Bibliography.*

## Lorenz, Weyhe.

Angst, L. K. *Der Pfingsttag nach dem Litteratur-Frieden. Eine wissenschaftliche Abhandlung.* Berlin. 1882.

Albrecht, P. *Reisen zwischen Kassel und Mainz in den Jahren 1880-2.* Heidelberg. 1882.

Agnes, H. E. von. *Geschichte des bismarckischen Reiches.* 2 vols. Göttingen. 1882.

Emilien-Margarete, Karl von. *Deutsche und neue Zeit.* 2 vols. Wiesbaden. 1879.

Reichensperger, K. G. *Geschichte der Stadt Mainz (1700-1874).* Mainz. 1880.

Deutz, E. W. H. von. *Geschichte der Regierung und Bildung von Biele unter Carl Friedrich.* 2 vols. Göttingen. 1879.

De Meuse-Bichard, E. Graf. *Representanten des Ministeriums des Innern, 1798-1817.* Vol. 1. 1880-1882. Munich. 1882.

Gumpel, A. G. *Der Reichstagsparlamentarismus.* 2 vols. 1882. Hamburg. 1882.

Hoff, E. E. von. *Das deutsche Reich vor der neuen Revolution und nach dem Frieden von Leipzig.* 2 vols. Berlin. 1881-2.

Hofme, H. *Die Stadt Bonn unter französischer Herrschaft.* Bonn. 1872.

— *Oesterreich und Preussen gegenüber der französischen Revolution.* Bonn. 1848.

Kleinert, A. *Die Reichsrevolution von 1848.* Berlin. 1878.

Lévy-Brühl, L. *L'Allemagne depuis Waterloo. Essai sur le développement de la constitution politique et administrative (1800-1848).* Paris. 1866.

Mannbach, C. de. *Ministre pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution politique de la France, depuis 1794.* Amsterdam. 1866.

Randall, A. *La révolution française en Allemagne. I. Les Français sur le Rhin et l'Allemagne sous Napoléon I.* 2 vols. Paris. 1873-4.

Seydewitz, G. *L'Allemagne française sous Napoléon I.* Paris. 1864.

Weyhe, E. von. *Reichstags-Geschichte.* Göttingen. 1880.

— *Biele unter der deutschen Carl Friedrich und Carl Ludwig.* Frankfurt am Main. 1880.

## 12. SWITZERLAND.

## Bibliography.

*Bibliographical Abstracts for 1881 prepared by the authors of Bern, Zurich, Fribourg, and Lucerne, according to the plan of the Yearbook.*

*Swissische Sammlung der Acten aus der Zeit der helvetischen Republik.* Edited by J. Neuchâtel. 2 vols. Bern. 1866-1868.



Deroy, E. *Les relations diplomatiques de la France et de la République helvétique, 1798-1803.* (Recueil de documents publiés des archives de Paris.) Basel, 1906. (Quellen zur schweizer Geschichte, vol. viii.)

— *La relation des Grisons à la France. Correspondance diplomatique.* Paris and Geneva, 1903.

*Österreichs Verhandlung mit den schweizerischen Staatenrecht Vertheilenden. Österreichische Bericht.* 1800.

*Rapport sur les négociations de paix. Traitements aux des Jours 1803-12.* Edited by J. Kappeler. Bern, 1910.

For other collections of documents, see *General Bibliography* (Switzerland).

#### MINISTERS AND COMMISSIONERS.

Bach, H. *Correspondence de Pierre Ochs.* (Quellen zur schweizer Geschichte, vol. xiii.) Basel, 1905.

Brun, General. *Correspondance publi par Vevey.* (Recueil des actes de la Suisse, vol. xivii.)

Hug, E. *Die Bundesrecht der Eidgen. J. G. Müller und Joh. von Müller (1798-1803).* Frauenfeld, 1901.

Jahn, Ad. *Benigno, Talleyrand et Hayden.* Recueil de dépêches de Hayden, 1803-6. Zurich, 1899.

Jeanes, G. von *Beobachtungen meines Lebens.* Bern, 1893.

Lepetit, R. *Ans Philippe Albert Hayden's Bundesrecht.* (Quellen zur schweizer Geschichte, vol. xi, xii.) Basel, 1906.

Mayer von Kienast, L. *Lebenserinnerungen.* Frauenfeld, 1900.

Meyer, H. *Mémoires.* 2 vols. Bern, 1895.

Reuter, F. de. *Mémoires.* 4 vols. Paris, 1899.

Usteri, F., and Reuter, H. *Lebens Institute in Bern de Paul à Henri Maitre.* Paris, 1900.

Wallman, W. *Correspondence.* 2 vols. London, 1879.

In addition, the *Ministère de l'Intérieur*, Hay, Münster, Bern, and Talleyrand may be consulted see *General Bibliography*.

#### GERMAN WRITERS.

Graf, F. *Historie Helvetica de la Suisse moderne.* Paris, 1854.

Hüb, E. *Die Bundesverfassung der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft.* Bern, 1901. French translation. Frauenfeld, 1902.

Reuter, F. *Historie Helvetica de la Suisse moderne.* 2 vols. Paris, 1899-1901.

Teller, A. von. *Geschichte der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft (1798-1803).* 2 vols. Bern, 1912. French translation by Gasser. Geneva, 1913.

— *Geschichte der Eidgenossenschaft während der Herrschaft der Fremde (1803-12).* 2 vols. Zurich, 1910-12.

For other works of a general nature, see *Switzerland*, Müller, von Hayden, Usteri, Wallman, see *General Bibliography*.

#### GERMAN WRITERS.

Jacob, A. *Die Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft.* 2 vols. Leipzig, 1873.

Bach, H. *Historische Studien zur politischen Tätigkeit von Peter Ochs.* (Mittheil. für schweizer. Gesch., vol. xivii.)

Reuter, F. *Die Schweiz im europäischen Frieden: Ophelia's Zeit.* (Schweizer. vol. xiv.)

Reuter, H. de. *Lebens- und Reise-Notizen de la Suisse, et de l'Europe Helvétique de 1803.* (Schweizer. für schweizer. Geschichte, vol. xivii.) Zurich, 1906.

Hüb, E. *Politische Geschichte der schweizer. Eidgenossenschaft, 1798-1803.* (Continued elsewhere studies on the history of Switzerland, 1798-1814.)

- Maug, A. B. Die Schenkung der schweizer Regiments- u. Kapellmusik nach Baselstadt (1812). Second edn. Bielef. 1898.
- Geschichte der Schweiztruppen im König Napoleon I in Spanien und Portugal (1808-10). 2 vols. Bielef. 1900.
- Opelt, W. Die Verbindungen nach der schweizerischen Neutralität im Jahre 1812. Zurich. 1898.
- Rappet, J. Histoire Schaffner. Bern. 1898.
- Rein, E. Parochial et. Munici. (Congregation Institut de Helvetiq.). Neuchâtel. 1893.
- Schaffner, H. de. Histoire des troupes suisses au service de France sous le règne de Napoleon I. Second edn. Lausanne. 1893.
- Schaffner, H. de. Oeuv. d'histoire. (Ergänzungen politiques de la Suisse, 1810-21.) Leipzig. 1900.
- Schaffner, J. Das Recht der Helvetik (1798-2). (Politischer Abschnitt der schweizer Regimentsmusik.) Bern. 1900.
- Die schweizerische Wehrmacht im Übergang von 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert. (Festschrift zum 100. Jahrestag der Schweiz- und Wehrschafftruppe.) Leipzig. 1900.
- Tellen, G. Die Mission der protestantischen Gemeinden Baselstadt in der Schweiz (1688-9). Bern. 1899.

# Continental Hermann.

- Baudin, A. Revue des Cantons Valais de 1813 alla Constitution 1830. Lausanne. 1893.
- Bissegger, J. A. Das Kanton Glarus unter der Helvetik. (Glarus Jahrbuch, Part 1, Part 1.)
- Bissegger, J. A. Histoire du Canton de Valais. Gastera. 1844.
- Bissegger, J. A. Das Kanton St. Gallen in der Mediation. St. Gallen. 1871.
- Politische Geschichte des Kantons St. Gallen. St. Gallen. 1890.
- Collet, J. R. G. D'ou vient le Canton. (Journal of the French Revolution in Geneva.) 3 vols. Geneva. 1877-8.
- Edler, J. Geschichte des Kantons Valais. 2 vols. Bern. 1894-6.
- Malcher, F. Histoire du Canton de Vaud. Lausanne. 1892.
- Port, F. Storia della Svizzera italiana, 1797-1803. Lugano. 1894.
- Pfister, C. Geschichte des Kantons Lucerne. 3 vols. Zurich. 1900.
- Ruedi, P. Das Kanton Zürich zur Zeit der Helvetik (1798-1803). Zurich. 1900.
- Schaffner, J. Geschichte des Thurgau, 1797-1803. Frauenfeld. 1892.
- Schaffner, H. Geschichte des Appenzel. Aarau. 1900.

# Continental Hermann.

- Bissegger, J. Müller-Friedberg. St. Gallen. 1894.
- Bissegger, E. F. von. Erinnerungen an N. R. von Wattenberg. Bern. 1897.
- Frei, A. J. Geschichte von Solothurn. Frauenfeld. 1893.
- Kapp, D. Ich. Casper Schwenker. Berlin. 1894.
- Legenstein, E. F. A. Schaffner (1798-1803). Second edn. Bielef. 1898.
- Meyer, G. von. Hans von Ruedi, Bürgermeister der eidg. Stadt Zürich und Landammann der Schweiz. Zurich. 1898.
- Port, F. Oeuv. d'histoire. (Ergänzungen de l'histoire, Genève. 1892.
- (Festschrift zum 100. Jahrestag der Schweiz- und Wehrschafftruppe, J. L.) 1898. Bern. 1900.
- Wiedner, F. Leben und Wirksamkeit von A. Rappet. 2 vols. Zurich. 1897.
- Wiedner, F. von. Leben des schweizerischen Regimentsführers David von Wiedner, Valais und Solothurn. 2 vols. Zurich. 1894-6.

## CHAPTER VI

## THE CODES.

## I. CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES.

- LOISEL, J. G. *Procédures des tribunaux du Commerce d'État*. 2 vols. Paris. 1800-c.  
 ———. *Exposé du Code Napoléon (loi de la Commerce, ses modifications historiques, ses principes et substance du projet du Code Civil)*. 2 vols. Paris. 1800-3.  
 MALICOLA, J. de. *Analyses raisonnées des dispositions du Code Civil au Conseil d'État*. 4 vols. Paris. 1804-6. 2nd edn. 1823.  
 POTHOLIN, J. M. *Éléments de jurisprudence commerciale*. Paris. 1821.  
 TRILLAT, G. M. M. *Les droits civils français suivant l'ordre du Code*. 12 vols. Paris. 1821-23. 2nd edition, 4 vols. Paris. 1854.

## II. LATER WORKS.

- JAFFEY, C. et FAY, C. *Cours de droit civil français*. 5th edn., by FAY and FÉLIXJAFFEY. Paris. 1887.  
 FÉLIXJAFFEY, F. de. *Les institutions civiles de la France commerciale dans leurs principes, leurs dérivés, leurs analogues*. Paris. 1894.  
 FÉLIXJAFFEY, M. *Épisodes du retour de l'île d'Elbe*. Genéve. 1898. (Revue du Bulletin de l'Association Diplomatique, 35 édit. 1898.) (Contains useful criticism of the working of the legal system.)  
 BÉLÉZ, A. E. M. *Précis de droit commercial*. Paris. 1878-79-84.  
 BOUATY, E. *Éléments de procédure civile*. Paris. 1900.  
 CODE CIVIL, la. *Lois de Commerce*. (Préface par le Comité d'Études Législatives.) Paris. 1894.  
 COLMET DE SANTEUR, E. *Le droit de l'Empire et le Code Napoléon*. Paris. 1894.  
 DUBOIS, E. *Répertoire alphabétique de législation*. Paris. 1879 etc.  
 FÉLIXJAFFEY, A. *Introductions historiques à l'étude du droit commercial moderne*. Paris. 1898.  
 ———. *Traité du droit commercial moderne*. 2 vols. Paris. 1898 etc.  
 FÉLIXJAFFEY, J. *Commerce et la part prise par le travail social aux travaux préparatoires du Code Napoléon*. (Revue de l'Association de législation de l'Europe.) 1898.  
 FÉLIXJAFFEY, A. H. J. *Leçons sur la profession d'avocat*. Paris. 1898.  
 FÉLIXJAFFEY, A. *Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> ses institutions civiles et administratives*. Paris. 1898.  
 FÉLIXJAFFEY, A. *Cours élémentaire d'histoire du droit français*. Paris. 1898.  
 ———. *Notions de la procédure commerciale en France*. Paris. 1892.

- Forest, P. A. *Recueil complet des travaux législatifs du Code Civil*. 15 vols.  
Paris. 1802-6.
- Garnier, E. *Cours de procédure civile*. Paris. Paris. 1807-60.
- Grande Encyclopédie. 33 vols. Paris. 1803-1900. (Vol. 22 contains articles on the several codes by Planiol, Glorieux, Garnier, and others.)
- Hilfenbergh, V. E. von. *Encyclopädie der Rechtswissenschaft*. Art. on Code Civil. 2 vols. Leipzig. 1800.
- Jac, E. *Requisitoire et le Code Civil*. De l'influence personnelle exercée par le premier conseil sur notre législation civile. Paris. 1830.
- Lavallée, H. *Études sur la procédure civile*. Paris. 1867.
- Legal, J. G. *Législation civile, commerciale et criminelle de la France*. 32 vols. Paris. 1805-18.
- Méville, A. *Le Premier Conseil législatif*. Paris. 1894.
- Morin de Sévigné. *Napoleon ou l'État d'Édit*. Paris. 1808.
- Monges de la Foye, A. *La vie et les travaux de Napoléon de France*. Paris.
- Pardessus, J. M. *Cours de droit commercial*. 2 vols. Rouen. 1823.
- Polst, de la Loupe, J. *Opinion de Napoléon sur divers objets de politique et d'administration*. Paris. 1800.
- Pierres, E. *Napoleon I et les lois civiles du Consulat et de l'Empire*. Lyons. 1868.
- Portalis, J. E. M. *Discours, rapports et travaux inédits sur le Code Civil*. Paris. 1844.
- Projet de loi portant révision du Code de procédure civile promulgué par M. Antoine Dubout. Imprimé de la Chambre des députés. Paris. 1804.
- Proposition de loi pour l'abrogation du Code de procédure civile. Imprimé de la Chambre des députés. Paris. 1833.
- Rapport fait au nom de la Commission chargée d'examiner le projet de loi portant révision du Code de procédure civile par M. Dugué-Oudart. Imprimé de la Chambre des députés. Paris. 1861.
- Rapport, P. M. De l'organisation judiciaire et de la procédure civile en France. 1862.
- Revue critique de législation et de jurisprudence (journal).
- Revue des droits français et étrangers. Vol. 10, p. 375. Paris. 1800.
- Sagnat, F. *La législation civile de la Révolution*. Paris. 1870.
- Saint-Remy. *Essay on Portals*. (Chambers de Law). Vol. 7, pp. 375 &c. Paris. 1800.
- Schubert, G. *1800er artikel des Civilen rechts in relatione alle dinst von dinsten und wesen*. Paderborn. 1800.
- Serguey, P. G. von. *Vom Russl russen Recht für Österreich*. Art. on Code Civil. Leipzig. 1800.
- Sévin, M. *Études sur les origines révolutionnaires des Codes Napoléon*. Paris. 1879.
- Thibaut, M. L. *De l'influence des travaux de Portalis et du conseiller d'Agousson sur le droit civil moderne*. Paris. 1864.
- Vielot, B. *Études du droit civil français*. Paris. 1833.
- Wunderlich von Wunderlich, G. E. *Handbuch des französischen Civilrechts*. 4 vols. Heidelberg. 1837. (French translation by C. Aubry and C. Rau. Strasbourg. 1862-4.)

For Duvallier's collection of laws, etc.; Bédout-Méville's civil and criminal law of France of Napoleon; the *Mémorial* of Morin de Sévigné, and Thibaut's history of the Consulate and Empire, see Bibliography of Chapter I, p.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE CONCORDATS.

## I. THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

## A. FRANCE AND ITALY.

## CONCORDATS AND TREATIES.

*Unpublished matter.*

There is unpublished material for the relations of Church and State in France in the National Archives, Paris, in the following series:-

F<sup>o</sup> 282-284.

F<sup>o</sup> 6-8, 22-28, 204-218, 224.

F<sup>o</sup> 202-205, 204-205, 212-213, 206-210.

AB<sup>o</sup> 1514-1516, 1517, 1518-1519, 1507-1501.

AB<sup>o</sup> 200-201.

In the Ambrosian Library, Milan, Montecchi's *Diaria politico-amministrativa di Milano*, 1786-1824, throws some light on ecclesiastical relations in Italy under Napoleon's rule.

*Collection of Documents.*

*Recueil de la Mission, A. Documents sur la négociation du Concordat.* 4 vols. (*Journal éphémère diplomatique*.) Paris. 1804-5.

*Cérémonial de l'Empire Français.* Paris. 1802.

*Cérémonies et Fêtes de la cour et des souverains de LL. MM. LL. Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> et son auguste épouse.* Paris. [1802.]

*Correspondance ecclésiastique de la cour de Rome avec la France depuis l'irruption de l'État Romain jusqu'à l'achèvement du concordat pontifical, t. I., 1820.* Second édition. Paris. 1818.

*Document relatif aux contestations survenues dans la Savoie italienne et à Genève. France.* [1804-5.]

*Mémoires et correspondance politique et ecclésiastique du Prince Eugène, et. A. de Cambray.* Paris. 1803-4.

*Portalis, J. E. M. Documents, rapports et travaux relatifs au Concordat de 1801.* Paris. 1818.

*Saint-Beuve, Abel A. Mémoires sur le Concordat, sur le concordat de 1801.* Paris. 1802.

*Suard, Mgr. A. Correspondance diplomatique et ecclésiastique ecrite du Cardinal Suard (1770-1807).* Liège. 1802.

*Taboulet, P. Recueil des papiers ecclésiastiques déposés à Arras par les Français sur les évènements qui se sont passés depuis quelques années.* Paris. 1804-5.

See also *Correspondence of Napoleon* (*General Bibliography*).

*Europe, Western, etc.*

- Aubrey, F. T. D., Cardinal de. *Discours sur le rétablissement de la religion en France*. Paris. 1807.
- *Des évêques français, et de leur action dans les églises*. Paris. 1817.
- *Des appels auverns d'Idem*. Paris. 1814.
- Barruel, M. J. de. *Fragmenta selecta à l'histoire ecclésiastique des premiers évêques de cette église*. Paris. 1814.
- Barruel, Michel A. *Detail des causes philosophiques qui ont déterminé le schisme de Paris et quelques questions à l'égard de l'ordination de Michel aux évêques par la synode*. London. 1806.
- *De jure et de ore verba religiose à l'occasion du concordat*. Paris. An xi (1802).
- *Le Synode et le schisme français, ou la réhabilitation des pasteurs, dans les révolutions des empires*. London. 1806.
- Benedictus, A. de. *Histoire des malheurs de la captivité de Pie VII*. Paris. 1814.
- Beugnot, E. A. de (Bishop of Evreux). *Paragraphe, sommaire des lois et autres documents*. Paris. 1808.
- Chenestier, J. B., Poivre de. *Le pape de Christianisme*. Paris. 1800.
- Cassini, N., Cardinal. *Memoriae*. Ed. J. Cuvier-Poly. Paris. 1804.
- Dezobry, F. C. F. *Essai historique sur la puissance temporelle des Papes*. Paris. 1816.
- Enay, Abel J. A. *La constitution de l'Eglise dans la réception des évêques de la religion qui renferment de l'histoire et de la science, depuis l'âge de saint Cyprien jusqu'à nos jours*. Paris. 1800.
- Orléans, M. *Histoire des saints évêques, depuis le commencement du siècle dernier jusqu'à l'époque actuelle*. Paris. 1810.
- *Essai historique sur les libertés de l'Eglise gallicane*. Paris. 1804.
- *Mémoires*. Paris. 1802.
- Justini, J., Comte. *Mémoires historiques sur les évêques ecclésiastiques de France pendant les premiers siècles du christianisme*. Paris. 1810.
- Petit, D., Cardinal. *Memoria storica del massimo, de due viaggi in Francia, e della giustizia nel bene di S. Carlo in Francia*. Genova. 1804.

For Berke's History of Italy, and Memoirs of Mazzuchelli, see General Bibliography. For the Memoirs of Bonaventura, Chamaudon, Mnt de Melin, Savary, Talleyrand, Tassinari, and the "Lombardians" or Mnt de Stael, see Bibliography in Chapter I, p.

*Latin Works.**Historia.*

- Aubrey, F. A. *La Sécularisation française et les congrégations*. Paris. 1800.
- *An article in the Journal*, August 5, 1806.
- Baillet, J. *Le Concordat de 1801 et les articles organiques*. Paris. 1812.
- Barr, M. *Des quatre concordats de M. Pius, ou Observations sur un groupe de ces évêques*. Paris. 1806.
- Barr, A. *Étude sur le schisme jacobin des évêques, temples, presbytères*. Courcelles. Articles séparés. Discut. du 1805. Sans manuscrits du 1807 et du 1814. Paris. 1810.
- Berke de la Merveille, Comte A. *La sécularisation de l'Église*. Le Correspondant. Épis. rom. nouv. nouv. 1800-2.
- Chamaud, Dom F. *La Sécularisation, le Concordat, et la liberté religieuse*. Paris. 1801.
- Chamaud, M. *Le pape Pie VII à Rome*. Paris. 1807.

- CHIFFOLEAU-JOLY, J. Bonaparte, le Concordat de 1801, et le Cardinal Consalvi. Paris, 1869.
- DUBREUIL, A. Histoire des rapports de l'Eglise et de l'Etat en France (1719-1830). Paris, 1896.
- DUBREUIL, H. Des divergences des deux pouvoirs. Le Concordat de 1801 et les articles organiques ou deux Centimes. Paris, 1899.
- DUBREUIL, ALBERT. L'Eglise de France pendant la Révolution Française. Paris, 1894-5.
- DUBREUIL, J. La déposition des prêtres sous Napoléon I<sup>er</sup>. (Revue historique, 1878, vol. iv.)
- DUBREUIL, J. B. B. La petite église. Paris, 1894.
- DUBREUIL, C. VIE, B. J. Vingt-cinq siècles du pouvoir temporel des Papes de 1719 à nos jours. Paris, 1899.
- Un peu plus de lumière sur le concordat de Vienne et sur les arrangements de 1801. Paris, 1899.
- GAUCHER de GRAN-BOISSE, C. A. La Congrégation. Paris, 1876.
- Napoléon et les cardinaux roms (1800-1801). Paris, 1899.
- HANSEN, J. O. B. Contre de. L'Eglise Romaine et le Premier Empire, 1800-1814. 2 vols. Paris, 1866-70.
- HENRY, PAUL G. A. L'œuvre sur le Concordat. Paris, 1899.
- JOLY, PAUL. Etude historique et politique sur le Concordat de 1801. Paris, 1897.
- MARTEL, CARLÉAL. Le Concordat de 1801 son origine, son histoire. Paris, 1899.
- MAYER, C. Vénérables de l'Eglise et Napoléon. (Revue des questions historiques, April 1, 1897, p. 246.)
- MAYER, J. VAN DER, B. J. Die Verthigung der Kirche Schismatische in den Jahren 1810 und 1814. Mûnch. 1874.
- OLIVIER, EUGÈNE. Le Concordat ou il se passe? Paris, 1893.
- Sources nouvelles de droit ecclésiastique français. Paris, 1899.
- PERRIN, V. Le rétablissement du culte catholique en 1795 et en 1801. (Revue des questions historiques. Vol. xxxv.) 1898.
- PIRELLI, D. D. de. Les quatre concordats. Paris, 1818.
- PRENANT, E. de. L'Eglise et la révolution Française, Histoire des relations de l'Eglise et de l'Etat de 1789 à 1801. Paris, [1894.]
- RADIN, E. Relations exactes et détaillées de l'ambassade du pape Pie VII.
- RENAUD, ALFRED. Le concordat de 1801, d'après les papiers originaux du Cardinal Consalvi. Paris, 1894.
- RENAULT, ALFRED G. Le Concordat de 1801 et les articles organiques de 1801. Paris, 1899.
- ROCHE, L. Les origines du Concordat. Paris, 1894.
- THOMAS, A. Histoire des deux concordats de la République Française et de la République romaine. Paris, 1868.
- WICHTENHAGEN, W. La romaine sous le Premier Empire. Paris, 1892.
- Le divorce de Napoléon. Paris, 1898.
- Le Roi de Rome. Paris, 1897.
- Le Pape et l'Empereur. Paris, 1895.

For general works by Lathière (Rome), Sigheo and Tassin (Venice), and Lasser de Labarre (Belgium), see General Bibliography.

# Biographies, etc.

- ARTAUD de MONTEAU, A. F. Consalvi. Mémoires du pape Pie VII. 2 vols. Paris, 1855.
- CONSOLE, PIERRE. Vie du Cardinal d'Auton, archevêque de Trévise. Paris, 1859.
- CHAMPELLE, F. Histoire des Archevêques de Malines. Louvain, 1875.
- CHAMPELLE, A. Mémoires du général Foyet. St Cloud, 1897.
- GAUCHER, PAUL G. A. Vie de M. Henry. Paris, 1899.

- Griffiths, John P. R. *The discipline de Monseigneur Antoine-Charles Fleuret, Evêque de Nîmes*. Nîmes, 1802.
- Lepoint, Edmé A. B. *Histoire de Mgr. d'Amat de Dieuleveuve*. Lyons and Paris, 1847.
- *Le Cardinal Fleury*. Lyons and Paris, 1848.
- Thomé, F. *Unapostol van Maria-Louise (1878-84)*. Paris, 1887.
- Zorn, E. *Histoire de M. Remy et de l'Eglise de France pendant l'Epoque*. Paris, 1888.
- Barjault, J. J. F. *Le Cardinal Meuzi, évêque de Nancy*. Paris, 1869.
- Reant, Mgr. *Le Cardinal Fleury*. Paris, 1880.
- Reber, F. de. *Le Cardinal de Laizer de Bayeux d'après ses mémoires inédites*. Paris, 1884.
- Verhaegen, P. *Le Comte Paul van der Veeken*. (Publications de la Société Belge pour l'Etude et l'Archéologie des Eglises de Louvain. Vol. 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.) Brussels, 1884.

## B. GERMANY.

## Deutschens Reich.

- Dallwig, E. T. *Friedrich von. Von dem Föhrden der Kirche in den Staaten der deutschen Landesherrn*. Frankfurt, 1830.
- Hilshagen, C. F. *Deutsches Staatsrecht*. Helmstedt and Leipzig, 1790 et seq.
- Holl, J. P. *Stimmen aus dem Innern des alten u. neuen Deutschlands*. Berlin, 1838.
- Köhler, J. L. *Uebersicht der diplomatischen Verhandlungen des Wiener Congresses*. Göttingen, etc. Frankfurt, 1819.
- Milch, E. *Uebersichtliche Sammlung aller alten und neuen Kirchensätze, selbst einer Geschichte ders. Entstehung und ihrer Verbindungen*. Leipzig, 1829-31.
- Neuberg, G. F. H. *Archivhistorisch-kritisches von 1800-1810*. 2 vols. Berlin and Hamburg, 1831-33.
- Reinhold, A. de. *Mémorial officiel par l'empereur des royaumes catholiques et apostoliques de l'empire d'Autriche*. Vindobonae and Vienne, 1848-51.
- *De matrimoniis inter catholicos et protestantes*. Vindobonae, 1848.
- Wassberg, I. H. *Postscript von. Die deutsche Kirche, die Verordnungen von dem neuen Papstthron und die Kirche*. Zurich, 1838.
- *Die Kirche zwischen Kirche und Staat*. 2d. Dr. Joseph Bach. Aarau, 1838.
- Wieland, F. A. *Der deutsche Reich*. Frankfurt, 1800-11.

## Latin Words.

- Boscher-Moreau, G. von, Bonn. *Karl von Dallwig und seine Zeit*. Wiesbaden, 1878.
- Bergmann, H. *Deutschland von Kaiser Johann*. Leipzig, 1830-32.
- Breit, H. *Die vormaligen Reichsstände im katholischen Deutschland*. Köln, 1840.
- *Geschichte der katholischen Kirche im 19. Jahrhundert*. Mainz, 1833-1835.
- Fischer, H. A. L. *Reich in Kapitulat*. Wiesbaden, Germany, 1830.
- Goss, F. B. *Geschichte der Kirche Christi im christlichen Jahrhundert mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Deutschland*. Frankfurt, 1831-2.
- Kapp, G. C. *Die katholische Kirche von der Schenkung und die vormaligen Legation der deutschen Fürsten*. Köln, 1830.
- Lehmann, J. *Geschichte der deutschen Kirche und ihrer Bischöfe mit ihrer Gründung bis auf unsere Zeit*. Regensburg, 1835.



- Meyer, O. *Die Geschichte der deutsch-deutschen Frage*. Bielefeld, 1871.  
 —. *Die Concordatsverhandlungen Württemberg von Jahre 1810*. Stuttgart, 1878.  
 Mücke, E. *Allgemeine Geschichte der katholischen Kirche von dem Ende des letzten römischen Königthums bis auf unsere Tage*. München, 1855-6.  
 Müllersberger, A. J. *Populäre und Kirchenrecht*. Vol. 1. Vom Ende Papst VI bis zum Papst Gregorius XVI. (1858-67). Mainz, 1867.  
 For general works by Hergen, E. A. (Munich), and Fathes (Germany), Nibels, Schläger, and Wachsmuth (Kempten), see General Bibliography.

### Lower Bavaria.

#### Bavaria.

- Bayer, C. *Die katholische Kirche im Grossherzogthum Baden*. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1859.  
 Biedel, L. *Entwickelungen über die kirchlichen Zustände in den katholischen Grossherzogthümern Baden, Pommern, 1841*.  
 [Böcher, C. A. C. von.] *Concordat und Concilienwesen der Katholiken in Bayern, vom letzten Reich bis 1817*. Augsburg, 1847.  
 Xaver, von, Münster von, and Ruppel *Entwürfe zur Geschichte, Statistik, Statistik, und Kunst von Tirol und Vorarlberg*. Innsbruck, 1831.  
 Pfaff, M. *Die Kapuziner in Bayern*. München, 1876.  
 Papp, J. *Tirol im Jahre 1855*. Innsbruck, 1855.  
 Schmidt, E. A. F. A., Graf von Seckau. *Bayern unter der Regierung des Maximilian von Montenegro*. Leipzig, 1813.  
 Sigmund, J. N. von. *Kronungsvertrag, gesammelt, ergänzt und herausgegeben von Karl Sigmund*. Vol. 1. Regensburg und Amberg, 1846.  
 Schurz, B. von. *Staat und Kirche in Bayern, 1793-1811*. München, 1874.

### Prussia.

- Biedel, L. von. *Leben des Ober-Pfaffen. Prebiter von Völs*. Berlin, 1855.  
 Bucher, J. *Brave Frau Leopold Lehmans*. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1860.  
 Becker, A. *Handbuch der kirchlichen Gesetzgebung Preussens*. Berlin, 1847.  
 Hoyer, F. *Briefe und Tagelieder des Fürstbischofs von Ermland Joseph [Wilhelm Friedrich] von Hohenhausen*. Braunsberg, 1831.  
 Jager, E. A. T. *Geschichte und jetzige Verfassung der katholischen Kirche Preussens*. Halle, 1855.  
 Lehmann, M. *Preussen und die katholische Kirche seit 1840, nach den Acten der geheimen Reichsarchive. (Folkskirchen nach der A. preussischen Reichsarchive.)* Leipzig, 1855.  
 Marx, J. *Geschichte des Erzstifts Trier, I. A., der Stadt Trier und des Trierer Landes, als Konfessionen und als Geschichte von dem ältesten Besten bis zum Jahre 1818*. Trier, 1855-56.  
 Stahl, G. O. V. *Beschreibung der Deutschen der evangelischen Kirchenverfassungen betreffend die Verfassung der Bischöfe der evangelischen Kirche in Preussen*. Regensburg, 1845.

## South Germany

- Reich, H. Die oberdeutsche Kirchenprovinz von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart. Mainz. 1902.
- Leber, H. Die Kirchen der oberdeutschen Kirchenprovinz. Freiburg am Breisgau. 1903.
- Langen, J. von. Beiträge zur Geschichte der oberdeutschen Kirchenprovinz. Tübingen. 1903.
- Reichgen, N. Die Weidelschule von Würzburg. Würzburg. 1905.
- König, F. A. Geschichte der Hoch- und Tieferger. Mainz. 1911.

## Fürstentum

- Reichgen, N. L. Vollständige, historisch und kritisch bearbeitete Sammlung der Fürstentumsgeschichte. Vol. 1. Sammlung der katholischen Fürstentümer. Ed. Johann Jakob Lang. Tübingen. 1899.

## C. SPAIN

- Reich, H. Die politischen Gesellschaften in Spanien und ihre Stellung zu Kirche und Staat, in dem Tenth. Verbands VI. Mainz. 1904.
- La Puente, D. Visión de Historia eclesiástica de España. Vol. 1. Madrid. 1912.

## II. PROTESTANTS AND JEWS.

- Duchamp, N. Les sociétés protestantes et le social, ou philosophie de l'éthique contemporaine. Arignon and Paris. 1904.
- Perchès, J. Les sociétés juives en France sous le premier Empire. Paris. 1904.
- Pérez, G. de. Histoire des protestants de France, depuis l'origine de la Réformation jusqu'au temps présent. 1818 edn. Paris. 1901.
- Lemaire, Adol. J. Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> et les Israélites. La persécution juive pendant l'empire napoléonien. Paris. 1894.
- National Archives, Paris, 1793, 1798-1804.
- Schwarz, T. Histoire des Israélites depuis la mise de leur indépendance jusqu'à nos jours. 1818 edn. Paris. 1905.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE COMMAND OF THE SEA.

## I. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL.

Public Record Office, London, contains an enormous mass of material, of the following items are of importance (for the most part catalogued in the Secret Office, Lists and Indexes. *anno*. List of Admiralty Records. Vol. 1. 1890).

1800. Secretary, "In Letters."

1-10. Despatches of Admirals commanding on Baltic station.

110-119. Despatches and Correspondence of Admirals commanding on Baltic station.

170-179. Despatches of Admirals commanding on East India station.

170-209. Despatches of Admirals commanding on American station.

209-229. Despatches of Admirals commanding on Levant station.

229-239. Despatches of Admirals commanding on Lisbon station.

239-249. Despatches of Admirals commanding on Mediterranean.

249-259. Despatches of Admirals commanding on North America.

259-279. Despatches of Admirals commanding on North Sea station.

279-289. Correspondence of Admirals commanding at Chatham.

289-299. Correspondence of Admirals commanding at the Admiralty.

299-309. Correspondence of Admirals commanding at Plymouth.

309-319. Correspondence of Admirals commanding at Portsmouth.

319-329. 1800, 1. Intelligence.

329-339. Letters from Admirals.

339-349. 1800. Letters from the Secretary of State.

349-359. Letters from the War Office.

359-369. Secret Letters to the Admiralty.

369-379. Returns.

379-389. Proceedings of Courts-Martial.

389-399. Papers, under the King's name, year by year.

399-409. 1800-19. Supplement from "Miscellaneous." Vols. 408-4.

409-419. Despatches. (Alphabetical Catalogue under Admirals.)

419-429. Many vols. missing.

429-439. List of Navy Board. Vols. 1800-1800.

439-449. Secretary, "Out Letters."

449-459. Orders and Instructions.

459-469. Lords' Letters.

469-479. Secretary's Letters to Admirals and Public Offices.

*Admiralty, Secretary, "Navies,"* Vols. 188-189.

*Manila.* Information as to economy, power, signals, society, also *Naval Record Society*. (1875-76.)

In the "Admiralty, Secretary, *de Retours*," are also the letters of Captains and Commanders of Ships under the month of the office, year by year.

The War Office Records contain Reports and Dispatches covering the various expeditions.

In the British Museum are the Papers and printed Correspondence of Lord Nelson, catalogued in the "Additional Manuscripts":

Vol. 48, 255-56, 222. General Correspondence, 1802-3.

24, 555-6. Official Correspondence—Letters to Lord Nelson from the Admiralty.

24, 545-51. Secret Intelligence and Intercepted Letters.

24, 555-6. Private Diary of Lord Nelson, 1803-5.

Other items of interest are the signals used in the Trafalgar Campaign, and the Organization of the "Compos" and "Despatchlight" in that campaign.

In the Archives de la Marine at Paris is much material, including Ships' Logs, Admirals' Dispatches, Reports of Courts of Inquiry, Intelligence, Minutes of Council. The campaigns are given year by year. More *Travailleur* will be found in "Compagnies, 1802."

In the Archives de la Guerre at Paris is material bearing on the French projects of invasion.

Other unpublished material in the Spanish and Dutch Archives.

## II. DOCUMENTS.

Blackford, C. F. *Reports given the King and to the King*. 2 vols. Paris. 1848-49.

Beauchamp, P. *Plan de l'Armement de la Marine*. (Paris.) London. 1804.

Bremont, O. *England and Napoleon in 1805, being the Despatches of Lord Whitworth*. London. 1891.

Collingwood, G. B. H. *A Selection from the Public and Private Correspondence of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood*. London. 1878.

Cookes, J. B. *Fighting Instructions, 1800-1805*. (Navy Records Society.) London. 1904.

Hamelin, Adm. Sir B. Young. *Journals and Letters of Admiral of the Fleet Sir B. Hamelin, 1774-1804*. (Navy Records Society.) 2 vols. London. 1913-1915. (Order in vol. 1.)

Jackson, Rear Admiral T. B. *Logs of the Great Fox Fight, 1794-1802*. (Navy Records Society.) 2 vols. London. 1905-1909.

Loughran, J. E. *Official Documents Illustrating the Social Life and Internal Discipline of the Navy in the 18th Century*. (Navy Records Society.) London. (In preparation.)

Leyland, J. *Dispatches and Letters relating to the Blockade of Egypt*. 2 vols. (Navy Records Society.) London. 1894-1897.

Malville, Lord. *Speeches in the House of Peers—impugning the State of the Navy*. London. 1804.

Manning, A. *The Hamilton and Nelson Papers*. 2 vols. London. 1895-6. Privately printed.

*Naval Chronicle*, The. London. (Periodical.) 1899-12.

Nelson, Sir H. B. *Dispatches and Letters of Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson*. 2 vols. London. 1864-6.

Papers relative to the Blockade with Egypt in 1800-4. London. 1892.

Pelley, G. W. *Essay on the Military Policy of the British Empire*. London. 1812.

Payson, Edmund P. *The Naval Defences of London Empire*. Southampton, 1897. Examined for Local relations & in Marine. 18 vols. Paris. Jan & 2 1911.

Payson, George. *Recherches sur les défenses de Louis XVIII.* Paris. 1899.

*Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the French Armies, on the second Naval Department.* 54 parts. London, 1900-6.

Reed, David. *Naval Naval Chronology of the War*. London, n.d.

———. *Naval Naval and General List of the Royal Navy*. London. (Printed.) 1818-19.

Régis, Auguste, a. of Luchet's Memoirs addressed to Louis XIV, recommending to that monarch the conquest of Egypt etc. London. 1900.

*Tribunal Statement of the Ministry of Marine*—from the year 1710 inclusive. (Parliamentary Papers, 1881.) London. 1900.

Yvon, C. M. *Marine*. Correspondence, Despatches, and other Papers of Nicolas LeGoff. 12 vols. London. 1847-52.

For the *Marine* and other periodicals, Calhoun's *Pelagos*, Wallington's *Revue*, *Napoleon's Correspondence*, and *Laquelle*, *Napoleon's Correspondence*, see *General Bibliography*.

### III. GENERAL SPECIAL JOURNALS.

#### ENGLAND.

Chalmers-Jones, C. *History of the British Navy*. Paris. 1899.

Colclough, Edmund P. H. *Naval Warfare*. 188 vols. London. 1899.

Dumas, George M. *Précis des événements militaires*. Vols. 8-10. Paris. 1878-80.

Ellis, Admiral C. *Naval History from 1744 to the Peace of 1714*. London. 1824.

Julien-La Cour, B. *Guerre maritime sous la République et l'Empire*. 4 vols. Paris. n.d.

Levy, M. *Études d'histoire maritime*. Paris. 1905.

#### GRAND BRITAIN.

Harden, Captain E. F. *The Naval History of Great Britain*. 3 vols. London. 1897.

James, Sir W. L. *The Royal Navy*. London. 1906. (Vol. x.) (In progress.)

#### FRANCE.

Guérin, L. *Études maritimes de la France*. 4 vols. Paris. 1898-99.

Hugot, A. *France Militaire*. Ouvrage révisé. 4 vols. in 10. Paris. 1898-9.

Reed, P. *Histoire des institutions militaires des Français, depuis d'un siècle à la Marine militaire*. 4 vols. Paris. 1899.

Trochu, O. *Études maritimes de la France*. 4 vols. Paris. 1897.

Yvon, C. M. *Études maritimes de la France*. 4 vols. Paris. 1897.

For *Marine* (see *France*), *James* (Naval History) and *Chalmers* (Naval Navy), see *General Bibliography*.

#### GERMAN GERMAN.

Cocher, J. E. de. *Histoire de la Marine des Espagnols*. 2 vols. Madrid. 1904.

Jung, J. C. de. *Geschichte von der Norddeutschen Seemacht*. 4 vols. The Hague. 1899-1901.

- Neumann, A. *Historia Maritima Militar de España*. Madrid. 1881. (In preparation.)
- Reiderling, G. *Historia della Marina militare Italiana dal 1750 al 1850*. Roma. 1855.

## IV. BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

## CONTINUATION COMMENCED—P. 375.

- Barron, J. *Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir W. B. Barron*. 2 vols. London. 1841.
- Baxter, Sir W. *Autobiographical Narrative of the Death of Nelson*. London. 1803.
- Bray, A. B., and Mulrynda-Whitmore, H. B. *A Sailor of King George: The Journals of Capt. P. Robinson, 1769-1774*. London. 1904.
- Brown, Captain E. P. *Life and Correspondence of John, Earl of St Vincent, Admiral of the Fleet*. 2 vols. London. 1828.
- Brudenell, Earl of. *The Autobiography of a Seaman*. London. 1875.
- Carden, Commander J. A. *Reminiscences of 1775-1798*. Edited by Sir R. F. Vyse Hamilton. (Very Recently Issued.) London. (In preparation.)
- Clark, Lady M. *Memoirs and Letters of Captain Sir W. Clark*. 2 vols. London. 1838.
- Correll, Vice-Admiral W. B. *Personal Narrative of Events from 1758 to 1815*. 2nd edn. London. 1875.
- Croft, Major-General E. *Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir G. Croft*. 2 vols. London. 1852.
- Fawcett, Lieut. G. B. *Nelsoniana Reminiscences*. London. 1842.
- Fox, Captain Sir J. *Memoirs and Correspondence of Admiral Lord Foxglove*. 2 vols. London. 1808.

## LATER PUBLICATIONS.

- Barnes, J. E. G. *Biographical notices*. 2 vols. Paris. 1824-7.
- Carter, P. *Les Marins Français*. Paris. 1855.
- Marshall, Lieutenant A. *Royal Naval Biography*. 11 vols. London. 1812-25.
- O'Brien, W. *Naval Biographical Dictionary*. London. 1875.
- Robb, J. *Naval Biography of Great Britain*. 4 vols. London. 1835.

- Adams, A. *Memoirs of the Hon. G. K. Adams, C.B., Viscount Keith*. London. 1801.
- Allen, J. *Memoirs of the Life and Services of Admiral Sir W. Bligh*. Gloucester. 1841.
- Barnard, J. B., Esq. *Memoirs of the Life of Admiral Sir R. Collingwood*. 2 vols. London. 1835.
- Brown, Sir L. G. P. *Memoir of Vice-Admiral Sir J. Brown*. 2nd edn. London. 1855.
- Charbon, P. *Vie de l'Amiral Bugeaud*. Paris. 1858.
- Chapman, George, Esq. *Memoirs Personal and Historical of Admiral Lord Clonmel*. 2 vols. London. 1804.
- Clark, J. B. and Mulrynda, J. *Life of Admiral Lord Nelson*. 2nd edn. 2 vols. 1858.
- Fawcett, E. *La Contre-Amiral Brown*. Paris. 1807.
- Jourdan-Guyon, E. *Les Glorieux maritimes de la France: l'Amiral Bugeaud*. Paris. 1858.
- *Les Glorieux maritimes de la France: l'Amiral Bugeaud*. Paris.
- *Souvenirs-Panama*. 2 vols. Paris. 1858.

- de Byss, J. de. *Capitaine de Marine, Les Duguid-Thomson*. Paris. 1916.
- Longman, J. R. (Eds.). *From Hornum to Nelson*. Pencil Books. London. 1922.
- Nelson, Capt. A. T. *Types of Naval Officers (Aston, Beaumont, Pelleu)*. London. 1925.
- *The Life of Nelson*. (2nd edn.) London. 1927.
- (Mackay, Admiral John.) *A Naval Career during the old Wars: being the life of John Mackay*. London. 1925.
- Murray, Capt. A. *Memoirs of the Naval Life and Services of Admiral Sir F. Murray*. London. 1925.
- Odey, R. *The Life of Admiral Lord Exmouth*. London. 1926.
- Pomphrey, T. A. *Memoirs of the Life of Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson*. 2 vols. London. 1849.
- Thompson, Rear-Admiral A. *The Life of Admiral of the Fleet Sir W. Paken*. 3 vols. London. 1879-80.
- Paynter, F. A. *His Admiral Popham (Thompson)*. Genl. 1849.
- Paynter, Rear. R. *Life of Sir R. Wilson*. 2 vols. London. 1850.
- Smyth, Capt. W. B. *The Life and Services of Captain P. Boscawen*. London. 1822.
- Stanhope, Earl. *Life of the Hon. William Pitt*. 4 vols. London. 1832.
- Tucker, J. S. *Memoirs of Admiral the Rt. Hon. the Earl of St. Vincent*. 2 vols. London. 1844.

## V. SPECIAL WORKS.

### BRITISH TACITICS AND TACTICAL CONCEPTIONS.

Public Record Office, Admiralty, "Fleetism." Vol. 28. (4th.)

- Artchay, J. G. de. *Exercice de Carles IV*. Madrid. 1813.
- Baumgarten, H. *Guerrilla Española von Andalusien zur Brautlandischen Revolution*. 4 vols. Leipzig. 1833-37.
- Clavel, de W. L. *Comité d'Espagne*. London. Oct. 1858.
- Crook, Admiral P. *United Service Magazine*. Vol. 222. London. 1919.
- Cruet, A. F. de. *Historia del Combate Naval de Trafalgar*. Madrid. 1911.
- Duchêne, Capitaine R. *Projet et tactique de l'engagement avec les Brins-  
sages, 1793-1805 (French Staff History)*. 4 vols. Paris. 1900-5.
- Dunfry, de B. H. G. *La Marine espagnole pendant la campagne de Trafalgar*. Toulouse. 1905.
- Gibbs, H. M. de la. *Trafalgar*. Paris. 1907.
- Longman, F. R. *The Story of Trafalgar*. London. 1905.
- Lefebvre, H. *Combat de Trafalgar*. Lyons. 1894.
- Macfarlane, M. *Combate de Trafalgar: Testimonio de la Armada Española*. Madrid. 1905.
- Mayes, J. *Die Französisch-Spanische Allianz in den Jahren 1798-1800*. Leipzig. 1900.
- Morales de la Cruz-Morales, de Sir R. Collins. London. 1897.
- Neubelt, H. *The Year of Trafalgar*. London. 1898.
- Piquard, L. *Un Agent Secret... Le Comte d'Artois*. Paris. 1914.
- Revue d'histoire, publiée à l'École Supérieure de Guerre (for May 1905). Paris. Aug.-Dec., 1905.

## THE DOMINION AND WARS OF SPAIN.

- Arbuthnot, R. *Essays on Histories of Spain*. Paris, 1655.  
 Beaumont-Tisserant. *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire d'Espagne*. Paris, 1823.  
 Bayle-Dugèrre, Col. Les Années Espagnoles, depuis le 1 Janvier, 1812. 2 vols. Paris, 1816.  
 Edwards, R. *The History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*. 2d edn. 2 vols. London, 1812.  
 Goyzato-Gonzalez, T. R. *Traumatismo Levantino*. Paris-Bordeaux, 1872.  
 Lacroix, F. *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la Revolution de Saint Domingue*. 2 vols. Paris, 1825.  
 Lucas de Lebrun, L. de. *Mémoires de J. de Narbonne*. 2 vols. Paris, 1807.  
 Mémoires du Général Toussaint l'Ouverture, depuis son insurrection. Paris, 1825.  
 Mitrail, A. *Harmonie de l'Épigraphie moderne, à Saint-Domingue*. Paris, 1845.  
 Poyen, H. de. *Les Guerres des Américains de 1793 à 1825*. Paris, 1826.  
 St. Rémy, J. *Vie de Toussaint-L'Ouverture*. Paris, 1826.  
 Tchernichev, V. *Vie de Toussaint-L'Ouverture*. Paris, 1871.

## CONVENTIONS TREATY AND TREATY COMMISSIONS.

- Conventions des des Fédératives States of England in 1812*. London, 1812.  
 Des Conventions Continentales. *Précis de l'état politique et moral de l'Empire Français en 1818*. (Anon.) Paris, 1818.  
 Eden, Sir F. *Address on the Maritime Rights of Great Britain*. 2d edn. London, 1819.  
 Hennepin, M. *Hamburg und die Kontinentalsperre*. Hamburg, 1806.  
 Isenhardt, Sir F. de. *Effets du Blocus Continental sur le commerce des Bas-Échelles*. 2d edn. London, 1806.  
 Kluncker, W. *Der Kontinentalsperre in der ökonomisch-politischen Beziehung*. Braunschweig, 1806.  
 Poynter, R. *Essays de France avec l'Espagne*. Paris, 1804.  
 Quarterly Review, The. London, May, 1811.  
 Rodemann, F. *Kontinental- und des Bas-Échelles*. Paris, 1805.  
 Saint, O. *De l'Économie politique Napoléon I.* Munich, 1806.  
 Sans, J. M. *English Maritime Rights*. Vol. viii. London, 1805.  
 Sarrasin, Marquis de. *Napoléon I et la Revolution de la République Argentine*. Paris, 1802.  
 Sington, J. *War in England, or the Funds of the Neutral Rights*. London, 1805.  
 The Growth and Degeneration of French Government. Baltimore, 1816.

See also Bibliography in Chapter XVII.

For Chapter (Continued), see General Bibliography. For Foreign's Memoirs, see Bibliography in Chapter I, F.

## CONVENTIONS (1807).

- Kronenberg, C. E. *The Rights, 1807-14*. Copenhagen, 1864.  
 Kurler, J. 1807. *Danmarks Krig og Politiske Forhold, 1807-14*. 2 vols. Copenhagen, 1848-52.  
 Kurler, M. *Stoffen til Danmarks Historie, 1807-14*. Copenhagen, 1871.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

- Mason, G. *La Sicile depuis l'occupation anglaise*. Palermo, 1801.  
 Murray, Sir H. A. *Memories of Military Transactions in the Mediterranean, 1805-18*. London, 1802.



## Holland.

Papers relating to the Expedition to the Scheldt. London. 1819.

[Public Record Office.] Admiralty. "In Letters." Vol. 1047.

Rey, A. van. Geweldzaamly verholde landing. der Engelsen in Zeeland. Haarlem. 1849.

Polak, J. J. G. Mémoires sur la Guerre de 1800. 4 vols. Paris. 1874.

For *Letters de Lilloire* (French to Belgians), *Statuten* (French) and *Requis* (English and French, on General Philography).

## Sicily, Messina.

Authentic Narrative of the Expedition under Belg. Gen. Clavellet. With an account of the operations against Sicilian Agents. London. 1806.

Gillman, A. Campaigns, with an Account of the Expedition from England, under Sir D. Baird and Sir B. Pagden. Leeds. 1816.

Trial et Jugement de Louis-Gas. Willemsen. London. 1806.

## East Indies.

Bartholomew-Hornbach, Don B. de. *Précis de la Campagne de Java en 1811.* The Hague. 1824.

Thom, W. *Memoirs of the Conquest of Java and Operations in the Eastern Archipelago.* London. 1813.

## FRENCH NAVAL FORCES.

Bertrand, F. J. B. *Précis de l'Histoire de la Marine.* 3 vols. 1824-6.

Bout, V. *Geographie maritime de la France; Port-de-Toulon.* 2 vols. Paris. 1841.

Lambert, G. *Phénix de Toulon.* 4 vols. Toulon. 1807-11.

Larot, F. *Histoire de la ville de Brest sous le Directoire et Consulat.* Brest. n.d.

Pera, M. E. *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la ville de Toulon.* Paris. 1835.

## Commerce and Commerce.

Bellin, G. *The Naval Arsenal (Commerce and War).* Portsmouth. 1856.

Chalmers, G. *An Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain and Holland in 1805.* London. 1804.

Colquhoun, P. *Treatise of the Wealth, Power, and Resources of the British Empire.* London. 1802.

Dumas, F. *Our Next War: with some Account of the Position of B at Lloyd from 1805 to 1806.* London. 1806.

Hobson, W. E. *History of Merchant Shipping.* 4 vols. London. 1874-6.

McCallister, J. *A Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation.* London. 1846.

Milner, W. *Orbital Commerce.* With much additional matter by J. Thomson. London. 1835.

Norton, C. B. *The Commerce of France.* London. 1800.

Parker, G. *The Progress of the Nation.* New edn. London. 1841.

Tracy, T. *A History of France.* Vols. 1 and 2. London. 1836.

Of other Bibliography in Chapter XXII.

100

- Red-6. *Minor Expedition*.—carried out the Petitioner Branch of the Quarter-master's Dept. London, 1766.  
 von Bülow, Carl. *Observations on Naval Affairs*. In Aug. 1822.  
 Goring, W. *Ministry of a Court-Martial on Lord Stirling*. London, 1776.  
 National Economy, or Principals and Principles of Marine during the last 19th Century. Edited. Asch. Natic. Press. London, 1911.  
 Natchez, Mar. P. H. *Historical Record of the Royal Marine Forces*. 2 vols. London, 1845.  
 State of certain Unsettled Passages prevailing in H. M.'s Navy. London, 1811.  
 Williams, G. *History of the Liverpool Privateers*. London, 1825.

[illegible]

- A System of Mixed Tonic. (Anon.) London, 1797.  
 Charcote, J. History of Medicine and Pharmacology. 2 vols. London, 1842.  
 Derrick, C. Memoirs of the Rise and Progress of the Royal Navy. London, 1807.  
 Ellis, W. An Universal Dictionary of the Marine. London, 1780.  
 Lewis, R. The Young Sea Officer's Street-Andros. London, 1803.  
 Smyth, W. R., Admiral. The Sailor's Word-Book. Agent of no Lord's name.  
 Edited by Vice-Admiral Sir R. Baker. London, 1807.  
 Wood, D. The Ship-Doctor's Assistant. London, 1796.  
 Williams, J. R. P. Pharmacopoeia de Medicis. 2nd edn. Exon, 1803.

## CHAPTERS IX and X.

## THE THIRD COALITION.

## I. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL.

British Foreign Office Records—

France, Jan. 15-24; Prussia, Nov. 27-28; Austria, Nov. 29-31; Russia, Nov. 27-28; Sweden, Jan. 25-26.

Ergebnisse des grossen Congresses. Berlin.

Gebauer Neuknecht, Berlin.

Staatsarchiv, K. u. L. Telegraphisches. Vienna.

For the French Archives on General Schlegel's (Manuscript Source)

## II. DOCUMENTS.

Bon, A. Österreich und England in 1804-5. (*Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*. Vol. 52.)

Georg, Harbord. Negotiations relatives à Prusse, 1804-7. (*Ed. General Treaty*.) Paris. 1815.

Friedrich J. Kinsky von Wartenberg. Politische und militärische Correspondenz mit Kaiser Napoleon I. (*Ed. Schönböcker*.) Stuttgart. 1858.

[Londond, J. W.] *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des années 1804-7*. Stockholm. 1818.

Paget, Sir Arthur. Correspondence, 1796-1807. (*The Paget Papers*.) 2 vols. London. 1826.

Ram, J. E. (Ed.) Despatches relating to the third coalition, from the Foreign Office correspondence. (*Royal Historical Society*) 1854.

For collections of treaties by De-Chass, Götting, and Martens; Napoleon's Correspondence (general, and with Louis Bonaparte); the Memoirs and Correspondence of Bonaparte, Joseph Bonaparte, Caulincourt, Duroc, Gode, Elvert, Harbington, Masséna, Talleyrand; the Memoirs of Gode; the Memoirs of Caulincourt; the Memoirs of Louis Bonaparte; Tatischev's Negotiations, and the Warrentoff Archives (Russia); Alexander I and Napoleon (Tatischev); Prussia and Prussia (Bülow); Fred. William, Queen Louise, and Alexander I (Bülow); see General Bibliography.

## III. GENERAL WORKS.

Chamberlain, P. G. et Colin, J. La Campagne de 1805 en Allemagne. (*French Staff History*.) 4 vols. Paris. 1862.

Bach, K. Das Vortommungsgeschichte des Rheinlandes. Mainz. 1800.

- Rechnung von Geschäften des Königs von 1800 auf 1805.* (In *Baudouin's Almanach*.) Berlin... 1806.
- Barat, R. *La diplomatie prussienne depuis la paix de Presbourg.* Paris, 1805.
- Barat, General R. *L'opini de la guerre moderne.* La campagne d'Ebn. Paris, 1804.
- Bartley, Sir B. *Military transactions in the Netherlands, 1801-10.* (Plans printed in the great war with France.) London, 1814.
- Glaserfeld, C. von. *Skizzen des Ober-Feldmarschall von Bernadotte's Kabinettschreiben.* Part (4.) Berlin, 1803.
- Derfing, Max. *Abhandlungen aus der kriegs. Geschichte.* Leipzig, 1801.
- Festart, P. *Campagne de France, 1800.* 2 vols. Paris, 1805-06.
- *Campagne de Polono, 1807.* 2 vols. Paris, 1805.
- Fran, General G. A. *Ueb. Tactik, Strategie, Logistik.* 1803.
- Goltz, H. 1808. *Kriegs Campagne in Altona.* Paris, 1803.
- Goltz, C. von den Bomben und Jern. Berlin, 1800.
- Hopfer, Alexander von. *Der Krieg von 1806 und 1807.* 4 vols. Berlin, 1808.
- Lefebvre-Nichols, C. von. *Der Krieg von 1806 und 1807.* 4 vols. Berlin, 1808.
- [Meln, C.] *Frank de la Campagne de 1806 en Allemagne et en Italie.* Brunsel 1809.
- Militskovic-Dandevit, General. *Relation de la campagne de 1806 (and par L. Natchikine).* Paris, 1808.
- *The recent war of the Emperor Alexander against Napoleon, in 1806-7* (Russia.) St Petersburg 1808.
- Martin, J. *Le Soldat Imperial.* 2 vols. Paris, 1805-6.
- [Pold, General G.] *Histoire des Campagnes de l'Empereur Napoleon en 1806-7* (Mémorial du Duple général de la Guerre. Vol. VII.) Paris, 1806.
- Perr, R. L. *Napoleon's Campaign in Poland, 1806-7.* London, 1801.
- Ritter, W. *Der Krieg von 1806 in Deutschland und Italien.* Frankfurt, 1806.
- Schlichte, K. Friedrich von. *Der Krieg von 1806 in Deutschland.* Vienna, 1807.
- Tietze, P. *Handbuch-prussische Politik unter Alexander I und Friedrich Wilhelm III.* 1808.
- Witte, Sir E. T. *Real remarks on the character and composition of the Russian army, and a sketch of the Campaign in Poland.* London, 1806.
- For general notes on Europe by Alison, Laffiere, Kauter, Gordon, Ford, on France by Barrow, Figue, Bourque, Thiers; on Germany by Follen, Fortin, Harbeck, Derfing, Treitschke; on Austria by Baur, Wachtman; on Russia by Bernhardt, Schermer; on Napoleon by Crispin, Pouring, Jomel, Lefebvre, Fran, Tiedel, Tiedel von Wartburg, etc.; on Military History by Fran, or General Bibliography.

## IV. BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS.

### Correspondence Memoirs, etc.

- Agout, Print, von Preussen. *Kriegsgeschichtliche Notizen.* (Kabinettschreiben. Part II.) Berlin, 1803.
- Bern, R. von. *Erinnerungen aus dem Leben des Generals.* (Ed. R. Nippel.) 2 vols. Leipzig, 1803-06.
- Carnot, Baron. *Souvenirs du general d'Altona.* Paris, 1806.
- Franque, Th. de. *Journal du camp de Mouton et des campagnes d'Altona* (jusqu'en 1805.) Paris, 1804.
- [Hegner, H. C. von.] *Mein Anteil an der Politik.* 2 vols. Stuttgart, 1805-6.
- Wachtman, Colonel Christian von. *Mémoires, etc.* Amsterdam, 1805.
- Witt, Baron F.-F., *Chargé au chef de la Grande Armée.* Journal (1792-1806). Paris, 1804.



## CHAPTER XL

## TILSIT AND ERFURT.

## I. CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES.

*Contemporary Manuscripts.*

A small part only of the diplomatic correspondence contained in the archives of the Grand Forum, relating to the period subsequent to the Treaty of Tilsit, has yet been systematically published. The work of Henry Bailew, "*Forces et faiblesses,"*" has not been carried on beyond the year 1807. The dispatches of the French Foreign Office during the minority of Charles X, Duc de Calabre, are not fully known, but the gaps in our information have been to a large extent filled by the work of M. Vissel, "*Napoleon et Alexandre I*" (1897-1903, 4 vols., Paris, 1905). Light has also been thrown on Russian policy during this period by the *Cartulaire* Correspondence, the *Wissenschaft Archiv*, and the works of MM. Tschischel and Tschischinski, which are founded on documentary evidence. Similarly the *Historisches Museum*, edited by Leopold von Ranke, Lombard's "*Monarchie pour servir à l'histoire des années 1800, 1805, 1807,"* Dr A. Schenk's "*Urkundengen und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der russischen Reformen,"* and collections of the reform-*edicts*, present fairly complete materials respecting the foreign and domestic history of Prussia in this period. With Austrian affairs this Chapter does not deal, except in relation to the policy which led up to the interview at Erfurt. The *Memoirs of Metternich* give some of the basic papers relating to this.

The British Foreign Office Records for this period have been published only in the most fragmentary manner. The following are the volumes that deal chiefly with the events described in this Chapter: Denmark, Nos. 127; Portugal, No. 128; Prussia, Nos. 74 et seq.; Russia, Nos. 40-74; Sweden, Nos. 4-47 (*see notes*); Holland, Nos. 40-42 (*see notes*); Sully, Nos. 37-46 (*see notes*); Turkey, Nos. 20-46 (*see notes*).

*Contemporary Printed Works.*

For the *Wissenschaft Archiv*, and for the Collection of Treaties by Gieseler, Gieseler, Martens, Rousseau, see General Bibliography.

*Memoirs and Correspondence.*

For the Correspondence of Napoleon (that of First, William and Queen Maria with Alexander I, that of Bernadotte with Napoleon, that of Alexander I with Czar Nicholas) the *Memoirs and Correspondence of Götting, Hardenberg, Metternich*, and the writings and diaries of Götting and Hardenberg, see General Bibliography. For the *Memoirs of Gorchakov*, (Schischel), Champagne, and Tollywood, see Bibliography in Chapter I, V.

## II. LATER WORKS.

## General.

- Delisle, E. *Les Polémoses orientales du Napoléon* (1800-05). Paris. 1891.  
 Froidourney, H. *Les Polémoses orientales du Napoléon* P. (In *Revue des Questions Historiques*. Vol. xxvii.) Paris. 1891.  
 Flegel, L. *Les Français en Russie et les Russes en France*. Paris. 1896.  
 Fyfe, A. *The Movement of Mass under Alexander I.* (In *Review*.) In *Poland*. ivsq. 1891.  
 Ross, J. B. *Napoleonic Studies*. London. 1901.

For general works on European History by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, see Austria (by Ross, Wachtelstein), Russia (Barnhart, Trachtenberg), Germany (Fisher, Hinton, Rombert, Trachtenberg), Italy (Jotta, Felt), Spain (Poncet), on Napoleon and his battles (De Cass, Hinton), on Napoleon and Alexander (Delisle), Yush-ki; on Alexander I (Bogdanovich, Goltz, Joparidze), see *General Bibliography*.

## Romanian Works.

- Isacof, S. J. *Le Chancelier Karamanoff*. (In *Diastema et la nouvelle Roum*. Vol. ii.) B. Ploienburg. 1897.  
 Pader, A. *Roum and Napoleon*. 2nd ed. Ploienburg. 1898.  
 Pignatelli, L. *Roumanie, Napoleon, et les Russes*. Paris. 1895.  
 Stănescu, S. *Exercices de Napoleon I<sup>er</sup> et de Grouchy*. 2nd ed. Lillo. 1892.  
 Tănase, J. *Le Général Prasson von Jahn*. (In *Revue Historique*. Vol. xv.) Paris. 1891.

For Hungarian works or essays on Talleyrand (Fischer), Götting (Bogdanovich, Trachtenberg), Maret (Ross), Bismarck (Klein), see *General Bibliography*.

## Serbian Works.

- Eliezer des Peres, B. *Les préliminaires de l'Entente d'Oslovi*. (In *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*. Vol. ix.) Paris. 1896.  
 Delisle, E. *La question d'Orient en 1805*. (In *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*. Vol. ix, 20.) Paris. 1895-6.  
 Goltz, A. de (Général). *Vieilles de Général C. M. Comte de Goltz en Perse avec le premier Empire*. Paris. 1895.  
 Maréchal, F. *Empire et la République de Turquie*. In *Revue d'Europe*. Paris. 1895.  
 Radomirski, K. *Souvenirs et les Hautes Russes* (1807-1810). Paris. 1895.

## III. THE REVIVAL OF PRUSSIA.

## Germanic Literature.

- Arnold, E. M. *Gold der Zeit*. Vol. ii. 4 vols. London. 1893.  
 — *Erinnerungen aus dem deutschen Leben*. Leipzig. 1891.  
 Berg, Götter von. *Leben, Kämpfe von Preussen*. Berlin. 1894.  
 Barnhart, A. F. *Über das deutsche Geschick der Napoleon in einem Opusculum*. Berlin. 1893.





- Freeman, A. *Der Geschichte des Tugendbundes*. (In *Historische Studien und Skizzen*.) Paderb. 1888.
- Galland, B. M. von Humboldt als Staatsmann. Stuttgart. 1890.
- Geyer, L. *Geschichte des geistigen Lebens der preussischen Hauptstadt*. 2 vols. Berlin. 1895.
- Görke, R. *Das Bestehen der deutschen Erhebung 1807-18*. Götting. 1871-2.
- Görke, C. *Preußen von der Restauration nach unten*.
- Grosche, G. J. (Tugend). G. J. Grosche, 2 vols. Leipzig. 1893.
- Hahn, J. G. L. F. von Schell. 2 vols. Leipzig. 1854.
- Hase, F. *Geschichte der preussischen Politik (1701-18)*. Leipzig. 1881.
- Harn, B. M. von Humboldt's Lebensbild und Charakteristik. Berlin. 1867.
- Hilgert, T. G. von. Beiträge zur Charakteristik Friedrich Wilhelms III. Braunschweig. 1844.
- Höfer, R. *Lebensbild*. (Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie. Vol. xix.) Leipzig. 1884.
- König, G. W. *Leben*. Leipzig. 1863.
- Krupp, G. F. *Die Preussische Erhebung.... in den älteren Studien Preussens*. 2 vols. Leipzig. 1877.
- Krupp, R. *Die Gründung der kön. Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin*. Berlin. 1875.
- Krupp, W. T. *Von und Wiken des Tugendbundes*. Leipzig. 1830.
- Lehmann, M. *Kunstwerk und Leben*. Leipzig. 1875.
- Lehmann, A. *Der Tugendbund*. Berlin. 1867.
- Mauritz, K. *Geschichte der preussischen Staats-Verfassung im 19<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhundert*. Leipzig. 1899.
- Möller, E. *Die Reform der Verfassungs-Organisation unter Stein und Karlarberg*. Leipzig. 1859.
- Paulsen, F. *Geschichte des politischen Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten*. Leipzig. 1883.
- Paulsen, F. G. *Leben*. 2 vols. Hamburg und Götting. 1848. (Engl. translated (Hilgert). London. 1848.)
- Reorganisation der preussischen Erziehung nach dem Thier Frieden*. (Ann.) Vol. 9, 10. (Beiträge zum Militär-Wissenschaft.) Berlin. 1874-5.
- Schwarz, W. *Hilgert of German Literature (1701-1833)*. Engl. translated. Oxford. 1871.
- Schulzermacher, S. *Leben*. 2nd edn. 1866.
- Schmidt, W. A. *Geschichte der deutschen Verfassungsorgane während der Restaurationsperiode und des Wiener Kongresses*; herausgegeben von Franz Neukirch von A. Bern. Stuttgart. 1866.
- Sehmsen, F. *Der Tugendbund*. Königsberg. 1864.
- Seydewitz, L. *Geschichte der Aufhebung der Leibeigenschaft und Höligen in Europa*. St. Petersburg. 1861.
- Thiele, K. E. *Arzt*. Von Leben und Arbeiten. Göttingen. 1864.
- Tiedemann, H. von. *Polen und die nationale Idee*. (Historische und politische Aufsätze. Vol. viii.) Leipzig. 1888.
- Vogt, J. *Geschichte des sogenannten Tugendbundes*. Berlin. 1846.

For general works on Germany under French domination (Danziger and Berlin), Prussian administration (Paderb., Paderb.), Lives of Wilhelm (Königsberg, Berlin, Verlag von Koenig), Government (Berlin, Paderb., Königsberg, Berlin), Schwarz (Berlin, Leipzig), Berlin (Paderb., Berlin, Bonn), Thiele (Göttingen), von General Seydewitz.

IV. THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES AND FINLAND

CONTINUOUS JOURNALS

- Aschölz, G. M. *Studien zu Aschölz's Historische Papper*. 3 vols. Stockholm. 1802.
- Gederos IV Adolphus. *Historical Sketch of the last Years of the Reign of Gustavus IV, Adolphus, late King of Sweden*. Translated from the Swedish. London. 1818.
- Kay-Lang, E. V. *In diplomatische Beziehungen unter Gustav Adolph II. König von Schweden und Kaiserthum I. Russland* (7 Sept. 1657). 12 vols. Stockholm. 1808.
- Marble, Sir J. R. *The Diary of Sir John Marble*. 1 vol. London. 1804.
- Murray, W. *Narrative of the Conquest of Finland by the Swedes in 1808-9*. (Engl. translation. London. 1814.)
- Ström, C. J. von. *Främlingens Upplysning om Sverige och Norge i 1808, 1809*. Copenhagen. 1810.
- Trostberg-Lindner, G. *Historien om den svenska (1793-1809)*. 4 vols. Stockholm. 1808-7.
- For the Correspondence of Bernadotte with Napoleon and his Preliminaries, etc., see General Bibliography.

LITERARY WORKS.

- Almqvist, C. A. *1809 års Revolution och dess mål*. 2 vols. Stockholm. 1808.
- Aschölz, G. *Le Diplomate suédois à Stockholm en 1810*. In *Annales Suédoises*. Vol. 25. Paris. 1807.
- Beyss, F. *Les Suédois à la Grande Armée in Corps de la Grande Armée (1807-8)*. Paris and Nancy. 1808.
- Björkberg, A. *Historisk Berättelse*. Stockholm. 1808.
- Edman, G. *Historien om Sverige under Gustav IV Adolfs Öfverstyrelse-regering*. Lund. 1807.
- Engström, J. R. *Finland's Union with the Russian Empire*. (Translated from the Swedish.) Riga. 1804.
- Engström, J. von. *Minnen och Anmärkningar*. Stockholm. 1804.
- Forsberg, L. *De Revolutione de Grand-Franchise*. Paris. 1808.
- Fisher, J. B. *Finland and the Swedes 1808-09*. London. 2nd ed. 1866.
- Forsberg, E. *Finlands Historie*. (Translated from the Finnish.) Leipzig. 1874.
- Forsberg, J. von. *Danmarks Krige og Politiske Historie, 1807-8*. 2 vols. Copenhagen. 1845-52.
- Schöck, G. *Bernadotte's mål (1810-4)*. Paris. 1808.
- Stålén, B. von. *Minnen om Sverige under Bernadotte*. Edited by Engström. Stockholm. 1805.
- Sjöström, K. G. *Carlenska Finland*. (Translated from the Swedish by E. Aschölz.) Götta. 1826.
- Tegné, E. G. M. Aschölz. 2 vols. Stockholm. 1802-7.

For general works on the history of Scandinavian lands (Finn, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, etc.), see the list of Scandinavia (Europe), and the list of Scandinavia (Russia), see General Bibliography.

## V. THE GRAND DUCHY OF WARSAW.

## BIOGRAPHY.

Leche, J. G. Geschichte der vorzöglichen Herzogthum Warschau, aus den Polnischen abstrahirt.

Lelewel, J. Analyse et pendant des trois Constitutions polonoises de 1791, 1801, et 1815, traduit du polonois par E. Rytkowski. Paris. 1802.

## CONTEMPORARY ARMENIANS.

Bigon, L. P. E. (Baron). Souvenirs d'un Diplome. La Pologne (1801-18). Paris. 1864.

Brodski, N. von. Aus dem Leben des Grafen A. von Brühl. 2 vols. Berlin. 1878.

Erasmus, E. Memoires (1795-1812). (In Polish.) Pozna. 1848.

Ferdin, Catharina. Memoires (1776-1803). Paris. 1892.

Fock, M. de. Histoire de l'Armee russe à Varsovie en 1812. Paris. 1813.

Stamps, S. Polish Insurrections in 1807: Historical Sketch of the Campaigns of 1806 (In Polish.) 1807-8.

Tornickia, Stanis. Memoires d'une Polonoise (1794-1803). 2 vols. Paris. 1861.

For the Memoirs of Czartoryski and Opasko, and the Correspondence of Dorsot, see General Bibliography.

## LITERARY WORKS.

Bukowicz, J. Scenes from the Life of the last Generations in Poland. (In Polish.) 2 vols. Pozna. 1890-2.

Feuerst, A. Zur Geschichte der politischen Frage 1814-6. (In Mittheilungen des Instituts für internationalen Geschichtsunterricht.) Vol. xx. Innsbruck. 1890.

Gombrowski, B. Ustania polonoise: la chute de Varsovie (1809-14). (In Polish.) Warsaw. 1904.

Krasinski, A. La nouvelle renaissance des arts et des sciences (1802-18). (In Polish.) 4 vols. Warsaw. 1901-2.

Orlovski, A. Life of T. Orlovski, and the Events in Poland, 1812-1817. (In Polish.) Pozna. 1920.

Raschke, F. History of the Bishop of Warsaw. (In Polish.) 3 vols. Pozna. 1880.

Schuch, S. L. The Poles in Spain, 1808-12. (In Polish.) Warsaw. 1901.

Schuch, S. Die Finanzen des Herzogthums Warschau (1795-18). 2 vols. Pozna. 1890-2.

For Emmanuel' Przechlowski Augustus, an Bibliography in Chap. LX and E. For Lelewel's History of Poland, see General Bibliography.

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE WAR OF 1866.

## I. DOCUMENTS.

No systematic and extensive publication of the documents relating to the political history of the year 1866 has as yet been made. This statement holds good of all the States concerned. Even Leibniz's correspondence work, *Moniteur des affaires de l'Europe pendant le congrès de Vienne*, is in this respect incomplete. The Austrian archives have been used by Herz, as far as possible and convenient, in his *Die Zeit Julius und Maximilian Fürst*, 1866-69, which books copy thoroughly of the policy of the Minister Count Stadion. Wertheimer's *Oesterreich Österreich und Venedig im ersten Jahrzehnt des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, vol. iv, is based on documentary evidence.

The National Archives of France still contain much unpublished material relating to 1866; but the more important part has been published in the *Correspondance de Napoleon I.* in the *édition de Fétis*, and in the *Œuvres complètes de Napoleon*, and in the *Revue de Champagne*. The same may be said of the English archives, as the principal sources is to be found in "George Canning's Official Correspondence," and the "Canning's Memoirs."

As regards the military events of 1866, the F. K. Zeitschriften in Vienna contain stores of valuable material, which has been extensively used by Herz, and Rasker-Kriegsheim, in his *Zeitschrift*, 1869, also in his *Aspern*, which is still in process of publication. On the other hand, these archives contain many documents which, being "secret," may not be published, as that, as yet, we cannot be said to possess an absolutely complete history of 1866, written from the Austrian point of view, and based upon official reports.

The French General Staff, on the other hand, is exceedingly engaged in editing the archives of the *État de la guerre*, for the history of the War of 1866, in an admirable work by Col. Goussier, *Compte de 1866 en Allemagne et en Autriche*, of which three vols. have already appeared. It is based exclusively on documents.

There remain the Prussian archives of Dresden, Munich, Stuttgart, Berlin, and Darmstadt, which contain various unpublished official reports relating to the part taken in the war by the Confederation of the Rhine.

The documents relating to the English Expedition to Wiesbaden have been published in *Expédition de l'Allemagne*. Finally, notes of documents relating war affairs of *Lübeck, Hambourg, and des Chambres de Commerce d'Allemagne*. Paris, 1868.

## II. CONTEMPORARY WORKS.

MILITARY, CONTEMPORARY, ETC.

(a) *General*.

For the *Memories and Correspondence of Napoleon, Canning, Castlereagh, Metternich, Bismarck, and the Dukes of Oporto, see General Bibliography, for the Memoirs of Champagny and Barye, see Bibliography in Chapter 4 F.*

(b) *History*.

Beauch, Frédéric von, 2, 3. Feldgeschichtsbuch. Vienna. 1837.

— Vertheidigung des Reichsstaates von Regensburg 1805. Prague. 1876.

Castlereagh, *Journal de marche*. Paris. 1861. Vol. 2. English translation. London. 1875-6.

Fapin, Louis. Der Föhlzug des königl. bayerischen Regiments 1805. Berlin. 1838.

Jakob, Richard von Göttersheim. Im Feldzuge 1805. Graz. 1899.

Karl, Richard von Göttersheim. Einfluss von der Schlacht von Aspern auf den Marschall. Vienna. 1905.

Lacey, Henry. *Memoirs* (English). London. 1811. (Steven L. was English General in the French camp.)

Lorenz, *Mémoires de guerre*. Paris. 1861.

Lorenz, *Mémoires de guerre*. (English) as "General historical et militaire de cette guerre." Paris. 1865.

Pain, J. J. G. *Mémoires de la guerre de 1805*. 4 vols. Paris. 1824-6.

Pollinger, F. *Verichte der kaiserlichen militairischen und civilen*. 2 vols. Paris. 1861.

Wagner, Friedrich von. Das Besondere aus dem Jahre 1805. (Geschichtswagen des 1. u. 2. Krupp-Korps.) Berlin etc., vol. 10. Vienna. 1874.

For the writings of Archduke Charles, and the *Memories and Correspondence of Raschdorf, Prerad, Sauer, Metternich, Mack, Mautz, Barye, see General Bibliography.*

## III. LATER WORKS.

(a) *General*.

Baurle, A. Österreich nach dem Frieden von Wien. Vienna. 1862.

Bernart, K. von. Kaiser Franz und Metternich. Leipzig. 1899.

Vandal, A. *La France et la Russie pendant la campagne de 1805*. (*Année de Louis des hommes politiques*, 1871.)

For works on European History, during this period, by Alison, Carlyle, Lehrs, Gordon, Ross, on France by Elger, Tait, Thiers, on Austria by Day, Wachtel, on Germany and Prussia by Fels and Giesey, Lives of Napoléon by Fournier, Lecky, Ross, on Napoleon and Alexander, by Vandal, and collections of Treaties by Gordon, etc., see *General Bibliography.*

(b) *Memoirs*.

Reich-Kriegsboten, *Reichs von Regensburg* (1805). Berlin. 1868.

— *Schell*. Berlin. 1865.

- Isenau, W., von. Die Herr von Angersberg. Berlin. 1870.  
 Preuss-Lit.-Anstalten, Preuss. von. Napoleonskriege. Berliner 1800 und 1815.  
 Berlin. 1865.  
 Reiche, P. von. Der Feldzug von 1810. Vienna. 1874. (Papierabdruck von der Österreichischen militärhistorischen Gesellschaft, 1874.)  
 Philer, E. Der Feldzug von 1810 in Deutschland und Tyrol. Augsburg. 1874.  
 Hermann, H. von. Das Heer von Kaiser-Lothar nach dem Befehl des Kaisers Johann in Kärnten 1809. Leipzig. 1848.  
 Leber, A. L. J. Comte de. France historique de la guerre de 1809. Paris. 1844.  
 Leber, A. von. Das Kriegsjahr 1809. Wien. 1868.  
 Meyers, von. Österreichische Krieg mit Napoleon I. Vienna. 1870.  
 Meyer, A. Die Schlacht von Aspern am 21. und 22. Mai 1809. Berlin. 1909.  
 Müller, Carl von. Müllers Werke. Vol. III, part 2. Berlin. 1870.  
 Nomen. Hülfsbuch des Herrens von Österreich 1809. Halle. 1875.  
 Ruff, C. G. L. Campaigns in 1809 (French and History) 2 vols. Paris. 1870-1872.  
 Schindler, P. J. A. La guerre de l'Autriche contre la France en 1809.  
 ———. Leben des Feldmarschalls Johann von Österreich, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung  
 des Feldzugs dieses Jahres in 1809, B. I, II, und III. Wien. 1844.  
 Stadel, G. Die Schlacht bei Aspern nach Berlin. Vienna. 1868.  
 Stadel, A. Aspern und Wagram. Vienna. 1867.  
 Steinbach, Franz von. Der Krieg von 1809. Vienna. 1871.  
 Waldau, L. von. Der Krieg von 1809. Vienna. 1872.  
 Weizsäcker, Heinrich, H. von. Kämpfe Johann in Feldzug 1809. Graz. 1890.

For the works of Isenau and Tyrol von Wartensberg on Napoleon in command, and of Angely on Archduke Charles, see General Bibliography.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM.

## I. EUROPE AND THE LARGE STATES.

## CONVENTIONAL AGREEMENTS.

## Collection of Documents.

- Blanchard, G. R. *Répertoire général des lois, pour la France*. 3 vols. Paris 1848-53.
- Bornius, E. T. F., and Daniels, A. von. *Handbuch des für die kriegl. gegen-  
übergekommenen verbindlichen Gesetze, Verordnungen und kaiserlichen-  
schlüsse aus der Zeit der Freundschaft*. 4 vols. Göttingen. 1818.
- Trillice del Re del Regno de Napoli*.
- Trillice del Re del Regno di Venezia*.
- Ordon et Commerce dell' Impero Francese abilitato nel Regno di Napoli per ordine  
del Re*. Naples. 1806.
- Loati, J. G. *Regni de Code de Commerce, ou compilation de choies des articles  
du Code*. 15 vols. Paris. 1808.
- Lois et Règlements des Douanes Françaises*. Paris. 1804-05.
- London Gazette*, &c. London. 1805-15.
- Mémoires sur les Lois de la Neutralité marchande*. Paris. 1804.
- Novi Chronica, The Year*. various. 40 vols. London. 1790-1822.
- Official Documents relating to the United Provinces of Venezuela*. London. 1811.
- Ordon in Council and Instructions for imposing the Restrictions of Blockade*.  
London. 1806.
- Ordon in Council. New System of Commercial Regulations*. London. 1806.
- Résumé des Lois, Décrets, Arrêtés, et Circulaires concernant les Douanes*, 1791 à  
1818. 2 vols. Paris. 1818.
- Severy, A. J. M. Esq. *Des de Roisins. Rapports officiels à Napoléon 1<sup>er</sup>*. Published  
in the Archives of the Imperial Russian Historical Society. 1865-6.
- Statistical Tables of the Commerce of the United States with European Countries*.  
1790-1800. Washington.
- Tribute de Commerce e Navigazione*. *o. Principes Regulate de Portugal e do Ray  
do Brasil Unido de Gracia e Justicia e Lisboa* (1810) Paris. 1810).

For the Annual Register, collections of treaties by G. F. de Martens (general),  
T. E. Martens (German), Neumann (Swiss), French (French), etc. (Foreign).  
Diplomatic relations of France and Russia (Tischbein), and the productions  
etc. of Revolutions in Great France of Sweden, see General Bibliography, for the  
Moniteur, see Bibliography in Chap. 2, F.

## General.

- Bagford, J. *Letters to the Modern History of Europe*. London, 1834.  
 Bédard, J. *The Conflict with France*. London, 1837.  
 Letters from Africa to a friend on the Coast and in 1810-18. (Paris.) 2 vols. London, 1813.  
 Berne, H. *Considerations on the Causes, Effects, and Consequences of the present War*. London, 1812.

## Letters and Correspondence.

- Armit, E. M. *Reminiscences and letters of General Armit*. Ed. of Lord's 1847.  
 Baynes, J. *Life and Correspondence of Admiral Sir W. Pitt Rivers*. 2 vols. London, 1910.  
 Chalmers, A. rev. *Letters and Papers*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1850.  
 Croker, J. W. *Correspondence and Diaries, 1809-18*. Edited by L. J. Jennings. 3 vols. London, 1912.  
 Elton, G. *Miss Widdowson's letters*. 4 vols. Leipzig, 1850-55.  
 Emmertmann, E. *Memorabilia*. 3 vols. Hamburg, 1849-51.  
 Jacot, F. *Personalities of the 18th*.  
 Martin, Sir T. Byam, Admiral. *Letters and Papers*. (Overy Research Society.) 3 vols. London, 1898-1900.  
 Nejdin, I. *Correspondence (lettres de, avec l'archevêque) (1793-95)*, published by A. Vassal in the *Revue Russe*, 1900.  
 Parson, C. F. *Letters and Correspondence of Margaret Calverley*. 4 vols. London, 1906.  
 Ross, Right Hon. G. *Diaries and Correspondence of*. 2 vols. London, 1897.  
 Ross, Sir J. *Letters and Correspondence of Admiral Lord de Saunders*. 2 vols. London, 1908.  
 Stoll-Holstein, Mathias de. *Das Archiv d'Orléans*. Paris, 1911. [New ed. from the original 1881. Ed. by F. Guéhen. Paris, 1914.]  
 Taffers, H. *Was ich erlebte*. 10 vols. London, 1899-6.

For Napoleon's "Opusculs" (Polem. de la Guerre); Napoleon's correspondence; Masséna, Correspondence etc., of Bonaparte, Clarke, Duroc, Gode, Marmont, Murat, Oudinot, Vandamme etc. *See* *General Bibliography*. For Napoleon of Bonaparte, Masséna, Duroc, Murat, Marmont, see *Bibliography in Chapter 5, C*.

For other contemporary publications see below, under "Special Works."

## LARRY WILSON.

## General.

- Nikolai, L. *Am stromen-eller Telt*. Munksgaard, 1908.  
 Ross, J. B. *Napoleonic Studies*. London, 1906.  
 For general works on the History of Europe and the Continent (Russia, Prussia, Austria, England, Netherlands, Germany (Prussia), France (Bourbon), Spain (Bourbon), Belgium (Louis de Lorraine), see *General Bibliography*—also also *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*. Paris. v. 4.

## Biographical.

- Alberdyne, A. *Memoirs of the Hon. G. E. Binghamton, Esq.*, Thruout Knoll. London, 1890.  
 Tait, W. *The public and private life of Lord Chancellor Eldon*. 2 vols. Ed. of London, 1868.  
 For Lord of Alexander I, Duroc, Murat, see *General Bibliography*.



*Recent Works.**Contemporary Travels.*

- Gale, J. *Voyages and Travels in 1808-11: with statistical, commercial, and miscellaneous observations.* London, 1813.
- Giles, G. *A Journey from London to St Petersburg by way of Sweden.* London, 1816.
- Hackland, A. *Travels through Denmark and part of Sweden in 1805.* 2 vols. London, 1809.
- Klappel, C. H. J. *Reise in mehrere russische Gouvernements in den Jahren 1804, 1805, und 1806.* Mannheim, 1809-12.
- Sampli, B. *A Journey through Spain and Italy to Naples and thence to Constantinople.* 2 vols. London, 1805.
- *A second Journey in Spain in the spring of 1806.* London, 1812.
- Schlegel, C. F. A. *Letters relative to a Tour to the Continent in the year 1802.* London, 1812.
- Walt, D. C. *Observations and Remarks during four Excursions made to various parts of Great Britain in 1815-16.* London, 1818.
- For Travels in Naples and Italy, and in Turkey, see below.

*Industry and Commerce.*

- Achard, P. C. *Tableau complet sur le commerce des laines et des draps fabriqués dans la Germanie by D. Achard.* Paris, 1813.
- Anzeige aus dem Repertorium von einer Geschäftsreise nach Holland im Jahr 1800* [Anon.] 1812.
- Baker, E. *History of the Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain.* London, 1823.
- Baur, A. *Geschichte des Handels in den Jahrhunderten.* Vienna, 1804.
- Black, J. *A comprehensive History of the Woollen and Worsted Manufactures.* London, 1808.
- Brougham, Lord, Speech of, in House of Commons, June 19, 1812, on the present state of Commerce and Manufactures. London, 1812.
- Brown, J. *Annals of the Honourable East India Company.* London, 1819.
- Egner, J. G. *Gründung einer Geschichte der manufakturischen Weberei der reinen Seide (1776-1816).* 2 vols. Hamburg, 1818.
- Edwards, G. *An Estimate of the comparative strength of Great Britain.* London, 1814.
- *Lanes to Trade.* New ed. London, 1820.
- *Considerations on Commerce, Politics and Arts, &c.* London, 1811.
- Chaptal, J. A. C. *La chimie appliquée aux arts.* 4 vols. Paris, 1800.
- *Compte rendu à S. M. l'Empereur et Roi sur la fabrication des toiles de laines.* (Annuaire de l'agriculture française.) Vol. second, Paris, 1811.
- *De l'industrie française.* 2 vols. Paris, 1812.
- *La chimie appliquée à l'agriculture.* 2 vols. Paris, 1823.
- Craw, J. *Plan for the better Protection of British Commerce.* London, 1812.
- Guillard, P. *The manufacturing Population of England.* London, 1820.
- Gossard, B. *Rapports de la Chambre de Commerce.* 3 Vols. Paris, 1808.
- Gossard, C. *Essai de la Politique commerciale de la France.* 2 vols. Paris, 1804.
- Goss, Brougham, &c. *Annuaire pour l'exportation des laines, soies, &c.* [Anon.] 2 vols. 1808, 1810.
- Grand, J. *Apports sur le Commerce.* de Philadelph. Paris, 1811.
- Inquiry into the State of our Commercial Relations with the Northern Powers, &c.* [Anon.] London, 1811.

- Lafontaine, E. *Histoire des Douanes françaises et de l'Industrie en France de 1815 à nos jours*. 2 vols. Paris. 1897. Nouvelle édit. (Nouv. éd.). Paris. 1903.
- *Le Tréport des Douanes françaises*. (In "Journal des Économistes," vol. 1897.) Paris. 1898.
- Léves, C. *Letter on the North American Export Trade*. London. 1819.
- Marguerite, D. *History of the European Commerce with India*. London. 1812.
- *Aspects of Commerce*. 4 vols. London. 1816.
- Marschall, J. R. *A select Collection of curious and valuable Treats on Commerce*. London. 1816.
- *Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation*. London. 1817.
- Marsden, C. G. *Commercial and Political Observations on the State of the Cotton Markets 1804-1815*. London. 1819.
- Maugon-Grandjeu, K. *Essai sur la Législation des Douanes*. Paris. 1818.
- *Théorie des Droits de Douanes*. Paris. 1819, 1820, 1821, 1822.
- and Des de Perthes, L. J. *Des Douanes des productions de la nature et de l'Art, qui sont l'objet du Commerce de la France... et des Droits auxquels elles sont imposées*. 2 vols. Paris. 1820.
- Miles, F. *The History of Imports and of Native Industries in Great Britain*. London. 1819.
- MIL, A. *Commerce defined*. London. 1820.
- Morice de Jéruzy, A. *Le Commerce en son état*. 2 vols. Paris. 1812.
- Murray, Gervase. *Annuaire de l'industrie agricole, manufacturière et commerciale*. Paris. 1814.
- Murray, Léon. *British and Irish exports from 1800 to 1814*. London. 1819.
- *Traité comparatif de Commerce de la France*. London. 1817.
- Nail, G. *Histoire du Commerce intérieur de la France depuis la Révolution*. Paris. 1819.
- Novellino, P. E. C. *Comet. Ragione sopra i mezzi di supplire alla carezza del grano, etc.* Turin. 1808.
- Parson, G. R. *Progress of the Nation (1801-40)*. London. 1847.
- Richards, C. *A concise History of the present State of the Commerce of Great Britain*. (Translated by J. Berge.) London. 1800.
- Ross, Right Hon. G. *A brief Examination into the Commerce of the Customs, Commerce and Navigation of Great Britain*. London. 1808.
- Smyth, W. *Précis indépendant de Commerce*. 2nd ed. London. 1808.
- Teece, E. *A History of Prices and of the State of Circulation from 1761 to 1807*. 2 vols., in 4 vols. London. 1808-09.
- Trade under Regulation Monarchy*. [Anon.] London. 1811.

*The British Industry and Commerce Birmingham, Lanc., an General Bibliography.*

#### *The Continental System.*

- Lawson, James A. *Napoleon's Continental System*. Boston. 1862. The supplementary volume contains a short bibliography on the Continental System.

Longman, H. Lord, Speech of, in House of Commons April 1, 1808, against the Orders in Council. London. 1808.

Lowry, K. *Le Blocus continental*. (Article in the *Dictionnaire des Finances*, edited by Lecoq bar.) Paris. 1805.

Madgwick, H. *Handlung und die Handelspolitik*. Hamburg. 1808.

Marsden, F. de. *Effects of the Continental Warlike*. London. 1812.

Ray in the Orders in Council (Anon.). London. 1812.

Ramsbach, W. *Die Continentalsystem*. Stuttgart and Tübingen. 1808.

Lawson System, The. *Quarterly Review*. May, 1813. London. 1813.

- Laffay, L. *Das Continentsystem*. Leipzig. 1812.  
 Malaret, B. *Le Systeme continental et les Anglais*. Paris. 1809.  
 Phillimore, J. *Reflections on the nature and extent of the League Trade*. 2nd ed. London. 1812.  
 ———. *Lectures on the League Trade*. London. 1812.  
 Rose, J. R. A document relating to the Continental System. (English Historical Society. Vol. xxv.) London. 1891.  
 Schlegel, J. W. de. *Sur le Systeme continental et ses rapports avec la Trade*. Hambourg. 1812.  
 Stahl-Holstein, A. L. G. de, Baron. *An Appeal to the Nations of Europe against the Continental System*. Stockholm and London. 1812. (5th English edition.)  
 ———. *Le systeme continental et ses rapports avec la Trade*. Amsterdam. 1812.

*International Law.*

- Arsal, D. A. *Droit maritime de l'Europe*. 4 vols. Paris. 1895.  
 ———. *Origine et progrès du Droit et de la Législation maritimes, avec des observations sur le Conseil de la Mer*. Paris. 1895.  
 Blackstone, Sir W. *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. 4 vols. New ed. London. 1811.  
 Busch, J. G. *Völkerrecht*. Hamburg and Altona. 1898.  
 Escobar, P. *De Jure maritimo: étude de droit international et de droit comparé*. Paris. 1895.  
 Fagge-Frouin, T., and Seret, A. *Précis du Droit des Gens*. Paris. 1877.  
 Grosse, O. *Manuel de droit de gens*. Grosse. 1895.  
 Heffeker, L. E. *Droits et devoirs des nations maritimes*. 4 vols. Paris. 1898.  
 Mackintosh, Lord C. A *Discourse on the Conduct of the Government of Great Britain in respect to neutral Nations*. London. 1804.  
 Jackson, F. J. *Handbuch über das völkerliche Recht der Engländer und Franzosen*. 2 vols. Hamburg. 1855-6.  
 ———. *Manuel des Princes et du Krige*. Altona. 1812. (English translation. London. 1815.)  
 Klüber, J. L. *Droit des Gens moderne de l'Europe*. 3 vols. Paris. 1869.  
 Manning, W. G. *Commentaries on the Law of Nations*. New ed., revised by J. Aron. London. 1871.  
 Martens, F. de. *Cours élémentaire de Droit des Gens*. Paris. 1885.  
 Moynan, J. *War in Progress; or the Friends of the neutral Flag*. London. 1808.  
 Moynan, R. *Elements of the Law of Maritime Capture and Prize*. New York. 1814.  
 ———. *History of the Law of Nations in Europe and America from the earliest times to 1814*. New York. 1818.

*France*

- Baron, J. *Histoire successive de la France*. 2 vols. Paris. 1818.  
 Guizot, C. *Essai politique sur le régime public*. 2 vols. Paris. 1819.  
 Guizot, M. de C. (Duc de Guise). *Notions historiques sur les Finances de la France* (1818-14). Paris. 1818.  
 Guizot, C. *Notions historiques de la Révolution française*. Paris. 1808.  
 Harpail, A. J. R. *Mémoire sur le Rattachement des Finances*. Paris. 1814.  
 Ponsard, C. *Les Budgets de la France depuis le commencement du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris. 1887.

*Political Economy.*

- Grey, S. *The Causes of a Nations Progress in Wealth*. (In *The Pamphleteer*.) Vol. xxx. London. 1829.  
 Hildebrand, R. *Lehrbuch für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*. Jena. 1865, etc.

## Diplomatic Relations.

- Almqvist, A. *La Diplomatie russe à Stockholm en 1818*. (In *Revue Historique*.) Vol. xxviii. Paris, 1920.
- Montgolfier, M. de. *Mémoires diplomatiques* (1793-1811). Paris, 1920.
- Papell, A. N. *Relations of Russia with the European Governments before the War of 1812*. (In *Revue*.) St. Petersburg, 1919.
- Schüler, M. E. *Frankreich in seinen Beziehungen zu Europa während der Regierung Alexander I.* 1800-12. (In *Russische Revue*. 1894-6.)

For Gardiner's Collection of Treaties, see General Bibliography.

## Rural History.

- Galles, N. *Les Conditions rurales dans la République de l'Empire*. 2 vols. Paris, 1912.
- Miles, A. T. *The Influence of the Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*. 2 vols. London, 1895.
- Norman, C. B. *The Growth of France*. London, 1907.

## Foreign literature and travels.

- Almon, F. *Reisen zwischen Mexico und Mex. in den Jahren 1892-13*. (Hilfsband 1892.) (In Collection: *Neubearbeitung der Reisen Alexander von Humboldt*.)
- Armin (Mun). *Sketches of German Life* (1794-1812). London, 1844.
- Barnes, W. *Reise von der Geschichte Lüneburg in den Jahren 1800-04*. (In *Mittheilungen des Vereins für Lüneburger Geschichte*.) Vol. 4, n. 1, 2, 3.
- Barth, von Klaus in Berlin. (Jena.) *Kunst- und Literatur*, 1908.
- Baumgarten, F. *Das Geschichtsbuch Frankfurt* (1800-18). Frankfurt, 1901.
- Berlin, J. A. *Statistik der Reichsgemeinden*. 2 vols. Frankfurt, 1912.
- *Historische Darstellung der diplomatischen Prozesse*. Part 1 only published. Tübingen, 1910.
- Börsing, F. C. G. *Geschichte von Danzig, nebst Bemerkungen auf einer Reise von Danzig nach Eisleben*. Berlin and Leipzig, 1890.
- Edwards, R. *The History, civil and ecclesiastical, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*. 4 vols. 4 vols. London, 1848.
- Ernest, A. A. *Paris*. Les Français en France, 1800-18. Paris, 1922.
- Fisher, G. E. von. *Nachricht zur Geschichte der in Preussen, zwischen 1800. In Petersburg*. 1800-7. English translation. London, 1911. (Also in, *Österreichs Beziehungen zur Welt* (Frankfurt, 1915).)
- Freytag, G. *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*. Vol. ix. Leipzig, 1910.
- Frederick, J. G. J. and Stern, E. W. *Geschichte der Stadt Gumbrecht*. 1911.
- Gilbert, R. *Essay on the great officers which may be derived from the British West Indies*. London, 1802.
- Göbel, R. *Das Geschichtsbuch*. 1800-12. Cologne, 1875.
- *Das Königreich Westphalen: Neben einem französischer Fremdenverkehr in Harzen*. 1800-15. Düsseldorf, 1908.
- Gell. *Geschichte von Westphalen*. 1800-15. Düsseldorf, 1911.
- Hamel, C. and Marbach, R. *Westphalen unter Napoleon*. 1. 1 vols. Bonn, 1912.
- Hermann, W. *Das Reichthum des Harzes*, 1802-12. Jena, 1907.
- Hansen, A. H. L. *Geschichte des Königreichs Hannover*. 2 vols. Hannover, 1824-30.
- Hilgendorf, account of the interesting Island of. (Jena.) London, 1811.
- Hoffmann, L. *Österreichische Geschichte Bayern unter Maximilian, 1790-1817*. (Historische Wissenschaften und Völkerkunde.) Koberger, 1912.

- Palumbo, R. *Storia Cardine, Regno delle Due Sicilie*. Naples. 1877.  
 Pepe, G. (Mineral). *Elementi istorici della vita Italia, e in speciali Cadi d'Italia*.  
 Paris. 1847. [Engl. translation. 3 vols. London. 1856.]  
 Roescher, H. *Geschichte Neapels während der letzten erhellung Jahre, dargestellt  
 am Leben der Generale F. und W. Pepe*. Zweilungen. 1868.  
 Solipa, M. *Il Regno de Napoli sotto i Borboni*. Naples. 1890.  
 Tassin, C. *Storia del Risorgimento italiano*. 3 vols. Turin. 1888-90.  
 Weil, J. R. *Le Prince Eugene et l'Italie—Opérations militaires, organisation  
 diplomatique*. 3 vols. Paris. 1865.

For general works on Italian history by Botta and de Castro, see also *Grand  
 Mars Cardine* (Dionisio, Telford), and on the Neapolitan Empire in Italy  
 (Mazzini), see *General Bibliography*.

#### IV. TURKEY (1700-1800).

##### CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS.

- Bayle, A. *Traité des relations sur les relations de la Russie avec Naples*.  
 Solignac. 1808.  
 Eden, W. *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*. London. 1796.  
 ———. *A concise Account of the Commerce and Navigation of the Black Sea*. 1800.  
 ———. *A letter to the Earl of D. . . on the political relations of Russia in regard to  
 Turkey, etc.* London. 1801.  
 Galy, J. *Lettres from the Levant, etc.* London. 1813.  
 Gauthier, F. A. L. de. *Journal d'un Voyage dans la Turquie d'Asie et la Perse*.  
 3 vols. 1807 et 1808. 2 pts. Paris. 1810.  
 Hamilton, W. *Remarks on several Parts of Turkey*. London. 1808.  
 Hammer-Purgstall, J. von. *Der osmanische Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staats-  
 verwaltung*. 2 vols. Tübingen. 1812.  
 Harbord, H. *Travels into the Russian Isles, Albania, Thessaly and Macedonia*  
 (1803-6). London. 1808.  
 [Mauvry, C. P. F.] *Mémoires secrets sur la Russie, et particulièrement sur la fin  
 du règne de Catherine II et sur celui de Paul I.* (Published anonymously.)  
 4 vols. Amsterdam (Paris). 1800-6.  
 Meade, J. *A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople*  
 in 1808-9. London. 1812.  
 Prevostello, P. C. H. L. *Turkey in the Mass, Albania and other parts of the  
 Ottoman Empire*. (Translated from the French.) London. 1810.  
 Ray, J. de. *Description de l'Asie Mineure de l'Asie*. Paris. 1800.  
 Thomson, T. *Present State of Turkey*. 2 vols. London. 1810.  
 Totta, W. *History of Russia in the Reign of Catherine II. 4th ed.* 2 vols.  
 London. 1800.

For the History of Marmara, see *General Bibliography*.

##### LEAST WORKS.

- Abel, Right Hon. Sir R. *The Negotiations for the Peace of the Duchesnois in  
 1790-4*. 2 vols. London. 1844.  
 Bailly, L. *Revue de la Grèce*. Paris. 1820.  
 Capella, P. *La Mission de l'Asie Mineure à Constantinople en 1801*. (In *Revue  
 d'Histoire diplomatique*.) July, 1802.  
 Oudinet, B. S. *Résumé historique sur les Révolutions et l'Indépendance de la Grèce  
 depuis 1798 jusqu'à 1830*. 2 vols. Leipzig. 1845.

- Cassidy, W. F. *La Serbie et la dynastie degli Obrenovitch, 1870-83.* Paris. 1871.
- Dezobry, E. *La Politique orientale de Napoléon (1800-18).* Paris. 1874.
- Encarnan, J. *Efforts made for J. Karaman Terzian's*. *History of Modern Greece to the present time.* 2 vols. London. 1876.
- Hayfinchard, E. *La Turquie et la Tunisie, ou Histoire des relations dans l'empire ottoman.* 2 vols. Paris. 1872-3.
- Gravelin, G. *La Nation de Constantinople.* Paris. 1877.
- Harford, M. *Les ambassadeurs turques avec le Quirinal.* Paris. 1882.
- Kalisch, J. G. *Turkey through Africa and other Formosa of Turkey.* in 1880-18. 2 vols. London. 1813.
- Kalisch, J. G. *Constitution der Bulgaren.* France. 1876.
- Jakobson, de St. Denis, Baron de. *Révolution de Constantinople en 1837 et 1838.* 2 vols. Paris. 1839.
- Macartney, G. *History of the Levant Isles (in Greek).* 2 vols. Athens. 1816.
- Mait, — *Albanische Ökonomie (in German).* Paris. 1832.
- Mikschewich, M. *Palace of the (in German).* Bulgaria. 1881.
- Peter, A. A. *Servia, the youngest Member of the European Family.* London. 1847.
- Piquet, A. N. *The Russo-Turkish War of 1876-78 (in Russian).* 2 vols. St. Petersburg. 1883-7.
- Pinel, P. *La Turquie de 1750 à 1810.* Paris. 1810.
- *L'Organisation des Des Indes en 1811. (in French, Histoire diplomatique.)* Paris. 1810.
- Piquet, A. Y. *Servia and Servia (1800-1870).* (in Russian.) 2 vols. Moscow. 1870.
- Prigorsky, P. G. H. L. *History of the Republics of the Levant (1710-1824).* 4 vols. Paris. 1824.
- *Les États de la Turquie.* Paris. 1833.
- *Travels into Greece.* 4 vols. Paris. 1828.
- Rudin, L. von. *The History of Servia. English translation.* London. 1813.
- Russek, J. *La Serbie et le Monténégro.* Paris. 1874.
- Saint, C. *Les États de Turquie.* 2 vols. Paris. 1844.
- *La Monténégro.* Paris. 1845.
- Schlesinger, E. *Bulgaria et les Des Indes (1757-1810).* Paris. 1882.
- St. Basil-Thomson, R. G. H. *Kara-Georgis et Miksch.* Paris. 1879.
- Schlesinger-Thomson, O. *Die Revolutionen in Constantinople (1837-42).* Vienna. 1842.
- Spencer, Cassin-Gil. *Constantinople.* London. 1830.
- Stas, Baron de. *Revue des Travaux de la Porte ottomane.* Paris. 1855.
- Wallerstein, K. *The Romanes of an Empire (Lithuania II of Russia).* 2 vols. London. 1896.
- *The Story of a Throne (Lithuania II of Russia).* 2 vols. London. 1897.
- Wern, C. F. *Diplomatische Geschichte der internationalen Europa.* Leipzig. 1838.
- Zamp, A. D. *Levant Oriental.* 2 vols. Leipzig. 1880-81.
- *Les États turques ou le peuple ottoman.* Paris. 1881.
- Zeller, H. F. *Revue des Travaux, etc.* Constantinople. 1874.

For general works on the internal policy of Austria (Hungary), on the Eastern Question (Greece), on the history of Turkey (Greece, Armenia de St. Denis, Bulgaria), of Greece (Philip, Moore), and the Republic of Servia, see General Bibliography.

Bodurmann, E. *Roma-Napoli in Italia*. Paris. 1893.

Toussaint, P. C. G., Comte de. *Etudes statistiques sur Rome et la partie occidentale de l'Italie romaine*. 2 vols. Paris. 1831.

Tobi, A. *Vienna e i re di Napoli dal 1737 al 1808*. 2 vols. Florence. 1910.

## D. Naples.

### *Contemporary History, Documents, etc.*

Di Napoli, N. *Storia della capitale del regno di Napoli*. Naples. 1859.

*Relazione della commissione di commissione legislativa di domini enfeudati e comunalmente nelle parti del R.R. D.D. al di qua del Faro*. 24 vols. Naples. 1855-57.

Rankine, Sir Henry. *Narrative of some passages in the great war with France from 1799 to 1806*. London. 1804.

Recher, de Caluso, Général. *Mémoires de 1794-1805*. Paris. 1895.

Giustiniani, L. E. de. *Documenti, journal et souvenirs*. 4 vols. Paris. 1858.

Grass, L. W. *Annali della città di Napoli, 1794-1811*. 2 vols. Catania. 1870.

Mét de Mélie, A. F., Comte. *Mémoires*. 2 vols. Paris. 1808. Engl. transl. New York. 1890.

— *Rapport général sur la situation du royaume de Naples pendant les années 1806 et 1807, présenté au roi en son conseil d'état par le ministre de l'intérieur*. Naples. 1808.

Gallo, Counte Grégoire. *Mémoires historiques, politiques et littéraires sur le royaume de Naples*. Edited by A. Gual. 4 vols. Paris. 1821.

Papa, G. *Memorie istoriche alla sua città*. 2 vols. Paris. 1805.

Pignatelli Stappale, F. *Memorie istoriche alla storia del regno di Napoli dall'anno 1806 al 1815*. Naples. 1820.

Ruvet, A. *Notion historique sur la Calabre*. Paris. 1817.

For the *Memorie*, etc., of Joseph Bonaparte and Murat, see General Bibliography.

### *Later Works.*

*Archæological Studies for the Province Neapolitana.*

Bodolfini, F. R. von. *Beschreibung des kaiserlichen Festlandes I., aus geographischer Quelle*. 4 vols. Vienna. 1858-61.

Collette, F. *Storia del reame di Napoli dal 1738 al 1825*. 2 vols. Paris. 1859. Engl. translation. Edinburgh. 1860.

— *Opera storica sua*. Naples. 1865.

Guiglia, Constant H. *Naples in 1710*. London. 1898. (Bibliography.)

Johnson, R. H. *The Neapolitan Empire in Southern Italy*. 2 vols. London and New York. 1894. (Bibliography.)

Schäpe, M. *Il regno di Napoli sotto i Borboni*. Naples. 1900.

## E. Geography.

Nouriss, O. de Talleyrand, Filles de Saint-François. (Rome historique. Vol. 1830, 1837.)

Martin, T. F. F. *Talleyrand et la Principauté de Bénévent*. (Rome des questions historiques. Vol. 180.)

## II. THE ILLYRIAN PROVINCES.

Much information may be gleaned from the *Archives Néapolitaines*, 7<sup>e</sup> et, and A.F. v. 1712, Paris. For the *Memorie di Murat*, see General Bibliography.

- Repp, P. E. H. *Les provinces-Electorats de Grande Armée*. Paris, 1898.  
 Schen, T. *Annuaire de la Diète de 1797 et 1804*. Bonn, 1896-98.  
 Fourn, P. *La Diète de 1797 et 1804*. Paris, 1894.  
 Barthelemy Repp, *Discours et rapports au nom de la province d'Alsace de l'Empire*. 14 vols. Paris, 1812.

## III. THE LONLAN ISLES

- Rademacher, E. *Beiträge zu den Inschriften 1897-1898*. Paris, 1898. (F. J. Reuss Catalogue, Apr. 25, 1898.)

## IV. SUMMARY.

Most unpublished material is to be found in the Archives Néapoléon at Paris (especially for the Grand Duché of Berg), in the Bibliothèque of Berlin (especially for the Kingdom of Westphalia) and in the archives of Hannover, Düsseldorf, Münster, and Wiesbaden.

## General Works

For general works on Europe (French), on Germany (Fishes, Hübner, Portius, Reinhard, Ziembschke), see General Bibliography.

## A. Kingdom of Westphalia.

- Gieske, E. *Das Königreich Westphalen*. Göttingen, 1899.  
 Klemmhardt, A. *Geschichte des Königreichs Westphalen*. (Gesch. d. Herzogthums.) Göttingen, 1898.  
 Meunier Westphalen, in: *Annuaire*, 1897-98.  
 Neptun et le roi Jérôme. *Revue Historique*. Paris, 1899.  
 Schickelberg, A. von. *Beziehungen des Königs Jérôme zu dem König Johann von Westphalen mit dem König Friedrich von Westphalen*. 1899.  
 Stenhardt, F. C. von. *Denkmalen von meinem Leben und aus anderer Zeit*. Braunschweig, 1893-95.  
 Thümmel, F. *Die letzten Zustände des Kaiserthums Napoleons unter der französisch-westphälischen Herrschaft*. 2 vols. Hannover und Leipzig, 1870-2.  
 Westphalen, in: *Revue des Archives Néapoléon*, in course, see above under *minutes*, part of history section. Paris, 1898.

For the Memoirs of Jerome Bonaparte and Dr. Cassa (Les rois légitimes) see General Bibliography. For those of Neptun, see Bibliography in Chap. I, P. CL also Bibliography in Chap. XIII.

## B. Grand Duché de Berg.

- Gieske, E. *Das Großherzogthum Berg*. Göttingen, 1897.  
 Schmidt, G. *Le Grand-Duché de Berg (1806-13)*. Paris, 1896.  
 Serre, A. J. *Narration des Gestes und Handlungen welche in des ehemaligen Herzogthums Jülich, Cleve und Berg, und im vornehmigen Grossherzogthum Berg geschehen sind*. Düsseldorf, 1873-5.

For the Memoirs of Neptun and the works of Reinhard, see Bibliography in Chapter I, P.

## C. The Grand Duché of Nassau.

- Appe, H. S. von. *Geschichte des Fürstenthums Nassau*, was it was and was it is at the 17th. Cologne, 1898.  
 Bernatz, K. T. F., and Dunsch, A. von. *Handbuch der für die künftige preuss. Rheinprovinz nachfolgenden Nassau, Vorschläge und Vorgesetzte Geschichte von der Zeit der Franzosenzeit*. Cologne, 1898.



Lévy-Scholar, L. Les habitans de la zone grecque de l'Als. (Revue des Français, Paris, March, 1905.)

Nagels, J. M. E. Beschrijving der provisorische Vervalting van Elzas van 1815 tot 1820. Cologne, 1821.

### D. THE HANOVERIAN DOMINIONS.

Klug, K. Geschichte Lübeck während der Napoleonzeit mit dem kaiserlichen Fürstentum 1811-4. Lübeck, 1898-9.

Servigny, G. L'Alsace française sous Napoléon I. Paris, 1904.

## V. THE BELGIAN DEPARTMENTS.

For the media of Belgium and Liège de la Roche, see General Bibliography.

### VI. HOLLAND.

Contemporary Minutes, Documents, etc.

In Koninklijke Geschied. 1806-18.

Knapenack, C. R. E. Bijlagen tot de nation. Geschied. van de koninkrijke Aene 1806 en 1809.

— Levensgeschiedenis van den Levenslust Geerd. Maastricht, 1844.

Onderzoek betrekking tot de opheffing van het Koninkrijk Holland in 1809. Oude Diplomatieke Archiefstukken, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Genootschap geschiedt in Utrecht. Series 2, vol. 2. Utrecht, 1898.

Radi, W. F. de W. Verslag van hetgen. ter geleefheid van het verlaten de Koninkje van Holland te Paris te verspreiden Amsterdam, 1807.

Radi, J. Historisch-geografisch onderzoek naar het algemeen en het bijzonder Verkeer van den Wierden in Nederland van 1795-1818.

For the Relations, etc., of Louis Bonaparte, and the Minutes and Letters of D and G. E. van Nagelsack, see General Bibliography.

Letter Files.

Gardien, L. Un coin de l'histoire sous le règne de Louis Bonaparte. Paris, 1902.

Jensen, T. T. H. De overneming van Nid. 2 vols. Groningen, 1807.

Kunze, F. Leven van G. en D. J. van Lintrop. Amsterdam, 1893-5.

Leopold, W. Louis Bonaparte de Koning van Holland. Amsterdam, 1898.

Wichers, L. De opheffing van Koninkje Lodewijk Napoleon. 1806-18. Utrecht, 1902.

For the general history of De Koninkje, see also (Napoleon and King Louis) and De Louis (see van Brins), see General Bibliography.

## VII. THE COLONIES.

Adam, H. Napoléon I<sup>er</sup> et Saint-Domingue. Revue historique, vol. 100.

Philips, H. Geschiedenis der Verlossing van St. Domingo. 2 vols. Breda, 1827.

Pope, H. de. Les guerres des Antilles de 1792 à 1812. Paris, 1897.

Prussack, H. A. H. de France sous Deless. Paris, 1892.

Radi, G. De Koninkrijkpolitiek Napoléon I. Maastricht, 1902.

Schneider, V. Vie de Toussaint l'Ouverture. Paris, 1899.

## VIII. SWITZERLAND.

For the authorities on Swiss history during this period, see Bibliography in Chapter 22, IV.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE PENINSULAR WAR.

## I. CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES.

## Germans.

*Agüellon, José C.* *Observaciones sobre la historia de la Guerra de España.* London. 1855.

*Estados de la organización y forma de los Ejércitos Españoles.* (Anon.) Madrid. 1812.

*Foy, General M.* *Essai sur la Guerre de la Péninsule.* 1808. Paris. 1807.

*Fontana, Marshall J. B.* *Mémoires historiques sur la Guerre d'Espagne.* Paris. 1800.

*Isambert, Charles, Marquis et.* *Narrative of the Peninsular War, 1808-12.*

London. 1855.

*Mémoires sur la Guerre d'Espagne* [ed. A. de Bauxhaup]. Four vols. of short narratives by French and Spanish eyewitnesses: Esca, Chénouet, Gassene, Delmas, Vial, Kell, etc. Paris. 1822-3.

*Napier, General Sir William.* *History of the War in the Peninsula and the South of France, 1807-18.* London. 1850.

*Prutz, Dr. Arthur.* *Mémoires historiques sur la Révolution d'Espagne.* Paris. 1858.

*Schöpsch, Colonel F.* *Geschichte des Revolutions Spaniens und Portugal.* Berlin. 1818.

*Solier, Marshal Louis Gabriel.* *Mémoires sur ses Campagnes en Espagne, 1808-12.* Paris. 1820.

*Stanhope, R.* *History of the Peninsular War.* 2 vols. London. 1855-56.

*Tavera, Conde de.* *Historia del Levantamiento, Guerra, y Revolución de España.* Paris. 1818.

*French Correspondence of Napoleon and of Joseph Bonaparte, and the Dispatches of Wellington, as General Wellington.*

## French.

*Baty, Captain R.* *Campaigns in the Western Pyrenees and South of France.* London. 1822.

*Belmas, Major J.* *Journal des Sieges faits et ouvrages par les Français dans la Péninsule, 1808-12.* Paris. 1855.

*Cabellon, Lieutenant-Colonel M.* *Les défilés de Saragossa, 1808 et 1809.* Paris. 1812.

*Cordell, Felix.* *Occupation of the Cities of Spain.* London. 1808.

*Chénouet, D.* *Correspondence sur les campagnes du Maréchal Soult, et la bataille de Toulouse.* Paris. 1848.

- Claver, *Comandante en Jefe*, *Minister of the Court of Enquiry* etc. London. 1820.
- Delagrèze, Colonel A. *La Campagne de Portugal, 1810-11.* Paris. 1892.
- Elliot, Captain W. G. *Excursion on the defence of Portugal.* London. 1871.
- Gervais de Cey, Marshal. *Journal des opérations de l'Armée de Catalogne, 1808-9.* Paris. 1847.
- Jones, Colonel J. T. *Journal of the army landed in Spain, 1811-12.* London. 1847.
- *The Loss of Torres Vedras.* London. 1820.
- LaFolle, Colonel G. *Mémoires sur les Campagnes de Catalogne, 1808-11.* Paris. 1818.
- Lamaze, Colonel. *Édges et défenses de Badajoz etc. 1811-12.* Paris. 1822.
- Lapierre, Captain E. *Campaña de J. Andorra, 1810-11.* Paris. 1876.
- *Campaña de 1812-14 en l'Alentejo, les Pyrénées, et la Gascogne.* Paris. 1864.
- Lezénard, F. M. *Les opérations militaires du Maréchal Soult en 1810.* Paris. 1811.
- Meyers, Major H. and Lalle, Captain G. *Campaigns of the Loyal Lusitanian Legion.* London. 1892.
- Miles, James. *Narrative of the Campaign of Sir John Moore in Spain, 1808-9.* London. 1890.
- Monkton, Captain W. *Campaigns of 1809, '10, '11.* London. 1875.
- Yorck, Major G. *María Antea Campaigns against Ferdinand in Spain, 1808-12.* Florence. 1847.

*Monographs, American, etc.*

- Bachileron, C. H. *Tagbarron along Gibraltar-Orizaba, 1809-11.* Wiesbaden. 1898.
- Edwards, Captain R. *A tour in the Peninsular War, 1808-12.* London. 1820.
- Engels, H. *Aus dem Leben des Generals.* Edited by H. von Brandt. (State Monographs.) Berlin. 1872.
- Faulkner, Colonel G. *Reminiscences of a Veteran.* London. 1891.
- Gargrave, Marshal Sir J. *Life and Correspondence of.* Edited by Wm. G. Wymsey. 2 vols. London. 1878.
- Castell, E. *Adventures of a Soldier, 1812-18.* London. 1841.
- Forbes des Oubiers, General L. F. *Journal, 1808-20.* Paris. 1892.
- Ging, Rev. G. R. *The Schismers.* (State Monographs.) Edinburgh. 1872.
- Grove, Marshal Sir W. M., *Letters and Journals of, 1799-1815.* London. 1891.
- Goussard, Colonel A. *Services Militaires.* Paris. 1876.
- Grove, W. *Adventures with the Campaign by Bangers, 1809-12.* London. 1894.
- Hawley, Col. T. *Journal of the Campaigns of 1808.* London. 1846.
- Jacob, W. *Letters from the South of Spain, 1808-12.* London. 1822.
- Kennell, Sir J. *Adventures in the Fife Brigade.* London. 1840.
- Laport, E. *Private Journal of Lord Quarters, 1812-13.* London. 1864.
- Lapierre, General Baron. *Mémoires.* Paris. 1890.
- Lauriston-Galabene, Lieutenant-Colonel J. B. *Campaigns at Souvereyre, 1812-13.* Lyons. 1848.
- McClellan, Sir A. *Autobiography.* London. 1871.
- Moore, Sir J. *Diary of.* Edited by Sir J. E. Murray. London. 1874.
- Napier, Sir G. *Early military life of.* (State Monographs.) Edited by W. G. R. Napier. London. 1866.
- Neylan, Captain W. *Witnesses sur la Guerre d'Espagne, 1808-12.* Paris. 1817.
- Perkins, Commandant B. *Services of Campaigns.* Paris. 1892.
- Potter, Sir T. *Mémoires.* Edited by H. B. Richmond. London. 1820.
- Ross, Captain M. *Mémoires, 1808-12.* Paris. 1894.
- Serrano, Colonel F. de. *Mémoires écrits par lui-même.* Paris. 1845.

St. Chems, General A. Winsom. Paris. 1892.

Trochu, Gen. Marc-Amand-Edmond St. Diary of a-Lordly Officer, 1870-75. London. 1896.

For the *Monnaie*, viz., of Gold, Silver, Bronze, Wood, see General *Numismatique*. For those of Steel, de Silver, Ivory, and Bone, see *Objets d'Art*.

## II. LATER WORKS.

### General.

Arévalo y Vico, General José. Guerra de la Independencia. 15 vols. Madrid. 1860-1862.

Chabrand, Adolphe. Les Français en Espagne. Paris. 1898.

Claude, Louis de. Hombres Veneros de los Armas de Infantería y Caballería Española. Madrid. 1898.

Lafit-Huy, Eugén. Victories of the Peninsular War. London. 1878.

Oran, C. W. C. History of the Peninsular War. Vols. I. & II. Oxford. 1892-4.

Silveira, Almeida José de Lins. História da Guerra em Portugal. 12 vols. Lisboa. 1852-62.

### Spain.

Bédarris, Commanche. Campañas de Fernando Napoleón en España. (French Staff History.) 2 vols. Paris. 1891-2.

Benson, H. L. History of the King's German Legion. London. 1844-5.

Clancy, E. St. M. La Capitulation de Baylen. Paris. 1892.

Clary, Louis-Antoine-Colonel. La Capitulation de Baylen. Paris. 1892.

— Campañas de Marshal Beresford en España. Paris. 1894.

Cope, Sir W. H. History of the 18th Regt. London. 1857.

Maxwell, Captain W. B. Historical Record of British Regiments. London. 1890.

Thiers, Lieutenant-Colonel E. Le Général Dupont et la Capitulation de Baylen: son œuvre historique. 2 vols. Paris-Montpellier. 1893.

### Portuguese.

Crawford, General R. Crawford and his Eight Divisions, by R. Crawford. London. n.d.

Dwyer, Sir Howard. Lido by L. W. Polson. London. 1895.

Fay, General, Via italiana etc. By Commanche St. Gerat de L'An. (Road to Bay's Victory.) Paris. 1896.

Fitz, Richard, Lord. Lido by E. Sidney. London. 1845.

Meun, Lieutenant de Foyouren en Espagne. By Comte de Mont. Paris. 1897.

Revue, Lord. Lido by G. O. Moore-Bond. London. 1895.

Vivian, Richard (Lord). Memoirs, by C. Vivian. London. 1890.

Whittington, Sir L. R. Memoirs, by F. Whittington. London. 1890.





## NARRATIVES.

## General.

Berlin, Geograph. La Campagne de 1812, d'après des témoins oculaires. Paris, 1866.

Chamberlain, Marquis de. Histoire de l'Expédition de Russie. (Guerres, vol. 1, 1858, vol. 2, Vol. rom. Paris, 1859.)

Chamberlain, General H. von. Der Feldzug von 1812 in Russland. (Historisches Museum, vol. 2, Vol. xvi.) Berlin, 1862.

Desaix, le Baron. Souvenirs de l'Empereur Napoléon pendant la Campagne de 1812. Paris, 1844.

Filser de Fels, Adam, württemberg. Artillerieingenieur an der 2<sup>te</sup> Armee (Maréchal Napoléon). Feldzug in Russland von 1812. Edited by Major von Kessler. Leipzig, 1894.

Fils, le Baron (württembergisch in Napoleon). Souvenir de Napoléon-Desaix, témoin de la guerre des événements de cette année. Vols 1, 2. Paris, 1822.

Major, Pierre de. Histoire de Napoléon et de la Grande Armée pendant l'année 1812. Paris, 1864. 2 vols. 2 vols. Paris, 1865. English translation. 2 vols. London, 1866.

Waters, Sir Robert (British Commissioner with the Russian army). Narrative of Events during the Invasion of Russia by Napoleon. Transports and the Retreat of the French Army in 1812. Edited by his nephew and son-in-law Herbert Randolph. 2 vols. London, 1856.

## Special.

A. F. de B., ex-juré au service de Russie. Mémoires de la destruction de Moscou en 1812. Traduit de l'allemand par M. Berton. Paris, 1858.

Chamberlain, Marquis de. Rapports de l'état-major de l'Armée de l'Expédition de Russie à la mort de M. le Comte Bessières, intendant. La victoire sur l'incendie de Moscou. Paris, 1858.

Colonel, A. Relation du siège des Français à Moscou et de l'incendie de cette ville en 1812 par un habitant de Moscou, auteur de divers documents relatifs à cet événement (François d'Yver, directeur de M. Levesq). Publié par A. Colonel. Brussels, 1871. (Bibliographie.)

G. L. D. témoins oculaires. [Paris, Londres etc.] Souvenirs et après l'incendie, ou Notes sur les faits les plus importants. Les documents qui se trouvent pendant l'incendie et les incendies pendant la retraite de 1812. Paris, 1854.

Jardin, General. Notes politiques et militaires des campagnes de 1812-14. Extraits de ses souvenirs militaires, avec une notice biographique, etc. By F. Levesq. 2 vols. Lons-le-Saunoy, 1866.

Levesq, H. J. Extraits de Moscou. Notes écrites au quartier de l'empereur 1812. 1858.

Partout, H. Explication de M. le Lieutenant-Général Comte, sur la discipline de la 2<sup>te</sup> Armée de l'Armée de Napoléon et de la Grande Armée, par le général comte de Bugey, et sur la retraite de 1812. Paris, 1858.

Paul, M. de (combattant et témoin). Histoire de l'Armée dans le Grand Duc de Viatka en 1812. Paris, 1818.

Rapport, le Comte. La victoire sur l'incendie de Moscou. Paris, 1858.

Trépo, Armand de. La Russie. Souvenir d'un soldat de la Grande Armée. Lons-le-Saunoy.

Vandenberg, G. de. Relation importante du passage de la Bérézina par l'armée française en 1812, par un témoin oculaire. Paris, 1844.

III. LATER WORKS.

General.

- Bogdanovich, M. *Imperial Otschakovskaya Russy 1812 godo.* (History of the National War of 1812.) Vols. 1-3, in Petersburg: 1888 etc. (Bibliography.) German translation by G. Baumgarten. Leipzig: 1894.
- George, Wendell B. *Napoleon's Invasion of Russia.* London, 1899.
- Jensen, M. S. *Napoleons Krigene i Rusland 1812.* (Napoleon's campaigns in Russia.) Copenhagen: 1899.
- Lafontaine, J. P. de. *La Campagne de Russie de 1812.* Paris: 1901 (Bibliography.)
- Oron-Holten, Erikur von der. *Der Feldzug von 1812.* Berlin: 1892.
- Wieland, Victor. *The Invasion and Fall of Napoleon.* London: 1894.
- For general works on European history (by land and Thiers), Russia (Bagdasarian, Isakian), Napoleon and Alexander I (Bismarck, Vassili), Alexander I (Belkin), see General Bibliography.

Russia.

- Delefort, Erikur von. *Die Feldzüge im Kaukasus am 7. September 1812.* Munksg.: 1897.
- Felix, G. *Campagne de Russie (1812).* (French Staff History.) 2 vols. Paris: 1904-5.
- Kharkevich, V. 1812 g. Rossiya. *Vostochno-evropeiskaya tsivilizatsiya.* (A study in the Asiatic history of war.) St. Petersburg: 1895.
- Kharkevich, V. *Voina 1812 goda ot Rossii do Evropeytsy.* (The War of 1812 from the Russian to European.) Vilna: 1894.
- Lehmann, von. *Der Russische Ueberzug der Kaiserin Napoleon unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Thätigkeiten der deutschen Truppen.* Ein Vortrag. Berlin: 1899.
- Popest, A. N. *Moia v 1812 godo.* *Pustynnyy v Moia v 1812 godo.* (Moscow in the year 1812. The French in Moscow.) Kishin: Iosif Iosif: 1894a.
- Reuter, F. *Deluge Russian. Wissenschaftliche prae-historische Skizzen.* (History of the Deluge of Russia.) Vols. 1, 2. Posen: 1895.
- Sapozhnik. 1812-1. *God ot nachala voyny do poslednyaya zhiznitsy.* (The year 1812, from the beginning to the end, continued.) Riga: 1890. (Bibliography.)
- Tsarsk. *Skizhki. War bei Moskau im Jahre 1812 in Russische geschichte.* Berlin: 1900.



## CHAPTER XVII

## THE WAR OF LIBERATION, 1813-4

## I. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Hack, F.: *Bibliographie des deutschen Regiments- und Bataillons-Geschichten*. Berlin, 1866.

—: *Bibliographie der deutschen Truppen-Geschichten*. Berlin, 1868.

Katalog der Bibliothek des kgl. preussischen grossen Generalstabs. Berlin, 1878 Supplementa. 1894, 1900.

Register des neuen Kriegsbibliothek. Göttingen, 1900.

For Peiser (Bib.) *loc. cit.*, vol. vi on General Bibliography

## II. CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES.

## DOCUMENTS.

Fils, Baron A. J. P.: *Mémoires du Duc d'Orléans, contenant le récit des événements de son siècle*, p. 1, à l'histoire de l'empereur Napoléon. 2 vols. Paris, 1818.

—: *Mémoires de 1814*. Paris, 1854, 1858.

Rapport des ordres de mouvement, productions et bulletins de S. A. R. Charles Jean, Prince royal de Sicile, commandant en chef de l'armée royale du Nord de l'Allemagne en 1812 et 1813. Strasbourg, 1838.

Seydewitz, A. B. von: *Tagebuch des kgligl. Preuss. Armee-Korps unter Befehl des Generalleutnants von York am Feldzuge 1812*. Berlin und Posen, 1820.

For Martineau Trevelyan, Baron's "Almanach," see General Bibliography

## MEMOIRS, QUARTERMASTER, etc.

Berthier, A.: *Le général de l'Élé PHÉ*. Souvenirs de 1814 et 1815. 2 vols. Paris, 1838.

Börcke, T. von: *Kriegsbilder, 1806-12*. Nach seinen Aufzeichnungen bearbeitet von Lamsprunge. Berlin, 1896.

Colomb, E. von: *Blätter zu Berlin, 1812-3*. Berlin, 1876.

—: *Aus dem Tagebuche des Kommanden von Colomb*. Neubügel 1812 und 1814. Berlin, 1874.

Dandenberg, A. M.: *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Kriege 1812*. Leipzig, 1837.

Dörke, Karl von, k. K. Oberst.: *Erinnerungen eines österreichischen Offiziers aus dem Kriege 1812*. Nach einem im k. k. Kriegsmusee niedergelegten Manuskript bearbeitet. 1898.

Eschscholtz, Otto de: *Als jeune homme 1814-16*. Rouen, Paris, 1881.



## GERMAN WORKS.

Revue de la Martinique, T. L. V. — Campagnes de Bonaparte en 1813, 1814 et 1815 jusqu'à son départ, d'après les tableaux officiels des armées et des Français. Paris. 1816.

Chambray, General K. von. Die Feldzüge von 1813 in Böhmen, der Feldzug von 1813 bei dem Vulkanostrande, und der Feldzug von 1814 in Frankreich (Humboldts Werke vol.) Berlin. 1820.

Diplomatische Geschichte des Jahres 1813-4. Leipzig und Altona. 1816-8.

(Heintz, A. Ch. H.) Beschreibung des Feldzuges der Verbündeten gegen Napoleon im Jahre 1813. 1814.

Hilfmann G. von M.). Der Geschichte des Feldzuges von 1813. Posen und Bromberg. 1815.

Jacot, A. H. de. Histoire de la guerre de Russie et d'Allemagne, depuis May 1813. Paris. 1815.

— Précis géographiques et militaires des campagnes de 1812 à 1814. Recueil de cartes nouvelles inédites, par F. Leconte. Paris. 1817 2 vols. Librairie. 1819.

(Knaphausen, J. von.) Journal der Kriegsgeschichten der russischen und verbündeten Armee von der Belagerung Thorn's bis zur Einnahme von Paris. Rega. 1813.

Lindsayberry, G. W. Yane, Memoirs of the war in 1813 and 1814. London. 1819.

(Lüchow, G. A. W., Prachin von.) Beiträge zur Kriegsgeschichte der Feldzüge 1813-14. Berlin. 1815.

(Möhring) G. von W. Zur Kriegsgeschichte der Jahre 1813-4. Die Feldzüge der russischen Armee unter dem Feldmarschall Bliicher von der Belagerung des Vulkanostrandes bis zur Belagerung von Paris. Berlin und Posen. 1816.

— Betrachtungen über die grossen Operationen und Feldzüge der Feldzüge 1813-4. Berlin und Posen. 1815.

Narvaez, J. M. de. Memorias de. Particulars de 1813, en tablas políticas et militares presentadas al cuerpo de Armas de Suo m. Paris. 1815.

Partis, L. von. Der Krieg in Deutschland und Frankreich in den Jahren 1813 und 1814 2 vols. Berlin. 1817.

Rapport, Baron M. Considérations sur l'art militaire. Paris. 1816.

Springel, G. Kampfgeschichte von den Jahren 1813 und 1814. Mannheim. 1820.

Wagner, A. Pläne der Schlachten und Treffen, welche von der preussischen Armee in den Feldzügen der Jahre 1813-14 geliefert wurden. Berlin. 1815.

## FRENCH WORKS.

## January-June, 1813.

(Chambray, N. von.) Die Feldzüge 1813 bei dem Vulkanostrande. Leipzig. 1815.

(Möhring) G. von W. Die preussisch-russische Campagne im Jahre 1813, bei dem Vulkanostrande. Leipzig. 1815.

(Molitor, Freiherr K. G. von.) Die Uebersicht von Bliicher mit Bering auf die Schlacht von 23. und 25. Mai 1813. Dresden. 1817.

Wartenburg, August, From-von. Tagebuch vom 1. March, Juni 1813. Berlin. 1814.

## July-November, 1813.

Jaur. Über die Schlacht von Gross-Bauern und Domschütz. Von einem Augenzeugen. Leipzig. 1815.

Recherches, Col. G. B. de. Tableau de la campagne d'Allemagne en 1813 en Allemagne, depuis le système de l'ambassade jusqu'au passage du Rhin par Fribourg-Simplon, par un officier russe. Paris. 1817.

- Rapports, Lucie. Memory of the operations of the allied armies, under the command of Blücher, during the latter end of 1813. London, 1822.
- Schmann, G. von H. J. Die Schlacht bei Leipzig. Posen, 1828.
- Jaag, M. Beschreibung der grossen Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig, 1813. Leipzig, 1814.
- Arnaud, A. H. Rapports de la victoire de la campagne d'automne de 1813. Paris, 1817.
- Rapports de la victoire de la bataille de Leipzig sur les armées de la campagne de Prusse en 1813. in p. 104.
- Lambrecht, C. W. Meine Erfahrungen von und während der Schlacht bei Leipzig. Leipzig, 1814.
- [Möller] C. von W. Napoleons Strategie im Jahre 1813, von der Schlacht von Gross-Görschen bis zur Schlacht von Leipzig. Berlin, 1827.
- Ost, L. Die Vorfälle zur Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig. Sammlung von Briefen Blücher vom 1. bis 24. Okt. 1813. Paderborn, 1820.
- Orlikow, Professor E. G. von. Napoleons Führung in Preussen im Jahre 1813. Dresden und Leipzig, 1814, 1846.
- Schmitt über die Ereignisse bei Mainz (2. Oct.—4. Nov. 1813. Tübingen, 1814.

January-April, 1814.

- Berlin, G. La campagne de 1814 d'après des témoins oculaires. Paris, 1827.
- Peut, A. De la bataille et de la capitulation de Paris 1814. Paris, 1826.
- Schäfers über die Ueberfälle der k. k. Armeen bei Arden bei Grief und Lyon, im Februar und März 1814. Tübingen, 1814.

Prussia.

- Reis. Führung der Russen. Hamburg, 1814.
- Gerstl, C. F. H. von. Die Fehlschläge der Russen in den Jahren 1812 und 1813 aus den besten Quellen gezogen und dargestellt von einem Historiker. Dresden, 1822.
- Féry, G. Journal des opérations de sa tête corps en 1813. Paris, 1822.
- Arnaud Geschichte der operations militaires de la 7<sup>me</sup> division de cavalerie légère polonoise. (Rome.) Paris, 1814.
- Levinski, D. Die Führung an der Vorder-Elbe in den Jahren 1812 und 1813 von einem Augenzeugen, General von F. H. von Jän. Berl. 1828.
- Mausfeld-Prohlitz, Tagebuch des Generalen unter Führung des Grafen von. Einleitung des k. und k. Kaiserpalastes. 1826.

### III. LATER AUTHORITIES.

German Works.

- Arden, Die französische, im Jahre 1813. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Napoleonischen. Berlin, 1826.
- Bate, C. Napoleon im Jahre 1813. 2 vols. Altona, 1826.
- Beschütz, A. de. Histoire des campagnes de 1814-15. 2 vols. Paris, 1827.
- Berlin, H. Geschichte der deutschen Politik, von 1813 und 1814. 4th ed. revised by Ullrichshaus. Bremen, 1851-2.
- Berthold, H. Histoire abrégée de la campagne de Prusse 1813-15, à la tête d'une des divisions de Wurtemberg. 2 vols. Altona, 1826.
- Eschke, L. E. Histoire de France, depuis le commencement de la guerre de France jusqu'à la dernière restauration. 10 vols. Paris, 1827-30.
- Engelhardt, H. Geschichte des Krieges im Jahre 1813 für Deutschland. Uebersetzt. Translated from the Russian. St. Petersburg 1823-27.
- Geschichte des Krieges 1814 in Frankreich und des Russen Napoleons I. Translated from the Russian by G. Engelhardt. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1822.

[Kleist?] *Grande Napoléonisme: Campagne de 1813 en Allemagne*. Fragment inédit-manuscrit. Paris. 1895.

Clifford, G. *Commentaries on the War in Russia and Germany in 1812 and 1813*. London. 1865.

Cluvelin, F. B. A. *Histoire de la guerre 1812 en Allemagne*. Paris. 1870.

Clement G. *Campagne de 1813*. Paris. 1884.

Deutsches Geschichts-Jahrbuch des Jahres 1813-4. Leipzig und Altona. 1814-5.

Dreyer, J. G. *Vorlesungen über die Befreiungskriege*. 2te u. 3te Aufl. Gießen. 1871.

Dührer, Max. *Ann der Zeit Friedrichs des Grossen und Friedrich Willhelms III*. Leipzig. 1878.

Ebel, Gen. von. *Ann der Zeit der Freiheitskriege*. 3te Aufl. Verlags. Cologne. 1873.  
1. Überblick und Reorganisation der preussischen Armee in den Jahren 1807-8 und die Reorganisationen im Jahre 1813.

Fischer, Fr. *Geschichte des Befreiungskriegs 1813-15*. 2 vols. Berlin. 1871-2.

— *Denkwürdigkeiten preuss. Geschichte von dem Befreiungskriege 1813, 14, 15*. Berlin. 1816.

Französische Armee, Die, im Jahre 1813. (Gross.) Berlin. 1866.

Friedrich, Karl. *Geschichte des Krieges 1813 und 1814*. Altona. 1813.

Herzog, G. *Die Ursachen der Niederlagen Napoleons, 1813*. Haa. Schieda. vol. 55.

Hofmann, J. *Feldzug von 1813*. Munich. 1871.

Edler. *Die preussische Armee 1807-71*. Berlin. 1879.

Kleist-Wietzen, A. *Oesterreichs Theilnahme an der Befreiungskriege*. Vienna. 1867.

Martens, A. *Schlacht des obersten Laß et Mosca (1805-6)*. Paris. 1869.

Martens-Wietzen, Gen. und Kleist-Wietzen, A. *Oesterreichs Theilnahme an den Befreiungskriegen*. Vienna. 1867.

Mikolajewicz-Dulczyński, A. *Darstellung des Feldzugs in Preussisch-O. Poln im Jahre 1813*. Grosse translation by L. von Kottbus. Leipzig. 1858-7.

— *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Feldzuge von Jahre 1813*. Grosse translation by K. Gellhausen. Berpt. 1857.

Morin, I. *Le soldat impérial (1806-14)*. 2 vols. Paris. 1904.

Nassau, Ed. *Ann des Jahres 1813*. Leipzig. 1866.

Otto-Jensen, G. *Feldzug von der. Militärische Geschichte des Befreiungskrieges 1813*. 2 vols. Berlin. 1863-4.

Ott, K. *Geschichte der letzten Kämpfe Napoleons*. 2 vols. Leipzig. 1861.

Paulig, F. R. *Geschichte der Befreiungskriege*. Frankfurt. 1860.

Petit, le général. *Les principales opérations de la campagne de 1813*. *Extrait de ses mémoires militaires*. 1850.

Pfingst Hartung, J. von. *Napoleon I. Das Erwachen der Völker*. Berlin. 1861.

Pohl, A. *Ann der Zeit des J. 1806-11*. Berlin. 1866.

[Preuss, K. L. von.] *Lebens- und Geschichte des Jahres 1813 von einem bekannten Officier der preussischen Armee*. 2 vols. Potsdam. 1861.

Rea, R. T. von, and Alfred von Kottbus, R. H. *Der Krieg der Vorkämpfer gegen Frankreich 1813, '14, '15*. 2 vols. Berlin. 1853-7.

Recher, G. *Geschichte der deutschen Freiheitskriege von Jahre 1813-4*. Berlin und Paris. 1842-43. Berlin. 1862.

Rochet, G. *La grande armée de 1813*. Paris. 1870.

Schadowitz, F. J. A. *Der Feldzug in den Jahren 1813-4 unter Napoleons persönlicher Leitung*. 4 vols. Braunsch. 1870-4.

Schäfer, F. *Der Feldzug 1813*. Leipzig. 1868.

Sponhoff, J. *Die Freiheitskriege der Deutschen in den Jahren 1813-4*. 2 vols. Braunsch. 1846-7.

— *Der große Chémis (1812-15)*. Braunsch. 1861.

- Börs, P.: *Genealogie der deutschen Kaiser bis zur Thronbesteigung des Königs Nikolaus I.* Hannover. 1885.
- Stäbe, D.: *Der erste italienische Feldzug gegen Napoleon.* 2 vols. Leipzig. 1852.
- Sunderlin, G.: *Werkzeugen Politik und Kriegen in den Jahren 1800-18, vorzüglich seiner Leitung des Kaiserpremier Carl Johann. Translated from the French by Dr C. M. Frisch.* 2 vols. Leipzig. 1866.
- Sybel, H. von. *Der erste italienische Feldzug gegen Napoleon I. Month.* 1855.
- Vassierow, G. de. *Histoire de la guerre italienne en 1805.* Paris. 1812.
- *Historie des campagnes d'Italie en 1805 et 1806.* London. 1813.
- Vassierow, M.: *Erzählungen und Carl XIV. Johann.* Braunschweig. 1815.
- Voss, de Wittenberg, A. von. *Skizzen über den Krieg. Berlin.* 1805-6.
- Walden, Friedrich L. von. *Der Krieg der Österreichern in Italien 1812, 18.* Gießen. 1814-5.
- Walden, Friedrich von. *Bemerkungen über die grossen Operationen auf Schlesien, den Feldzug von 1813 und 1814.* Berlin. 1815.
- *Die Schlacht, in der die Befreiungskriege 1813.* 2 vols. Berlin. 1814.
- Wagner, H.: *Charakteristische Bemerkungen an Österreichern und Russen, während der ersten Periode bei der Vereinigung Norwegens mit Schweden in den Jahren 1813 und 1814. Aus der Feder Carl-Johann.* Vol. IV. 1816.
- Yank von Wittenberg, Carl. *Politik während der in den Jahren 1813 in Altonaer Leipzig.* 1816.
- Zeiss, W. 1813-7. *Preussens Völkerverteilung.* Braunschweig und Leipzig. 1815.
- Zimmermann, W.: *Die Aufbruchsgeschichte des Deutschen gegen Napoleon.* 10. ed. Stuttgart. 1813.
- For general works by Bülowers, Hünner, Lefflers, Godes, Schumann, Schick, Thümmel, Thümmel, or General Bibliography.

#### Generalities. Works.

- Bülowers, A.: *Napoleon bei Leipzig.* Berlin. 1865.
- Grandy, A. von. *Leben und Wirken des Generals der Infanterie G. von Grawert.* Berlin. 1864-65.
- Hellmuth, J.: *Infanteriechef Friedrich Witten.* Leipzig. 1861.
- Hellmuth, Friedrich von. *Aus dem Leben des Feldmars. Eugen von Wittenberg.* Berlin. 1861-2.
- Klein, General von. *Das Leben des General-Feldmarschalls Graf Klein von Nollendorf.* Berlin. 1861.
- Lebensbilder aus dem Befreiungskriege. (Anon.) Jena. 1861.
- Lohmann, H., Engelhardt u. Schick. *Bemerkungen aus Geschichte des Preussischen Krieges.* Leipzig. 1875.
- *1806, Schlachten, und Schlachten.* Leipzig. 1877.
- *General (General) und der Geschichte des Lebens von 1813. (Hans. Schickelmann.)*
- Melander, F.: *Das Leben des General-Feldmarschalls H. von Sagen.* Berlin. 1864.
- *Der Erziehungsmethoden von Heerführern 1815. (Friedrich von Sagen und Peter Grawert.)* von Berlin. 1864.
- Melander, F.: *Le Marché de Sagen.* Paris. 1865.
- Otto, Carl Fr. von. *Witt, von Sagen, General der Kavallerie und Chef der Gendarmerie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Armee mit Bezug auf die Befreiungskriege 1813-15. (Hedwig von Witt.)* 1814-15.
- Papst, Louis de. P. C. Papst, general in chief, 1813-4. 2 vols. Paris. 1875.
- Preussler, H. von. *General Preussler.* Leipzig. 1865.
- Preussler, H. von. *General Preussler in den Befreiungskriegen 1813. (Hedwig von Sagen.)* 1865.

- Kadletz, v. *Feldzüge 1812. Jakob für Armes und Marme.* Vol. 180. 1807.  
 — *Die Geschichtsbücher der Heere des Kaiserthums im Jahre 1812-4.* (Jahrb.  
 für Armes und Marme. Vol. 181.) 1812.  
 — *Die k. k. österreichische Feldmarschall Graf. Von einem österreichischen  
 Feinde.* Stuttgart. 1808.  
 Kappeler, F. *La déroute de Marston en 1814.* Paris. 1810.  
 Kuhn von Libersdorf, Generalleutnant. *Ein topographisches Denkmäl.* (Feldb.  
 von Mühlitz-Wachau.) 1812.  
 Lehmann, Th. *Frederick Wilhelm III and Alexander I in their respective  
 campaigns.* Allg. Zeitung, October 1806.  
 Schlegel, G. von. 1807. *Napoleon in Sachsen.* Dresden. 1806.  
 Schöndewind, F. A. A. *Feldmarschall Graf Kadletz.* Augsburg. 1812.  
 Schwetz, L. *Leben des Generals G. von Clausewitz.* Berlin. 1831.  
 Vauclous von Euse, K. A. *Leben des Generals Bülow von Dennewitz.* Berlin.  
 1812.  
 — *Geschichte der Kämpfe des Gen. Tottleben.* 1812-4. Stuttgart. 1814.  
 Wippen, F. *Feldmarschall Fürst Blücher von Wahlstatt.* Schwetz. 1819.  
 Wolf, M. H. *Le premier Empire et Munich, 1812-4.* Paris. 1802.

For Biographical works on Napoleon (Fœderer and Tsch. von Wartenburg,  
 Napoleon und Bonaparte (Fugard), Napoleon's Marche, etc. (Blücher), Duroi  
 (Blücher), Vignot), Bay (Le Hôpital), Göttert (Müller), Vandamme (de Cam),  
 Blücher (Blücher), Schen, Vauclous von Euse, Göttert (Feldmarschall),  
 Schenker (Klapp), Lehmann, Tsch. (Dreyer), see General Biography.

#### General Works.

##### January-June, 1812.

- Arns, H. von. *Schilderung der Kriegsvorgänge in und um Dresden vom 7.  
 März bis 26. August 1812.* Dresden and Leipzig. 1814.  
 Cotta, O. *Der Feldzug Österreichs zur Krönung im Jahre 1812.* Mittheilungen des  
 k. k. Kriegsmuseums. 1814.  
 Fœderer, F. T. *Erzählung, von Details in dem jense. Jahr.* 1807.  
 — *Erzählung, in deutscher Sprache.* 21 mai-4 juin. Paris, Nancy. 1802.  
 Fölsche, A. von. *Geschichte der Preussenkämpfe 1812 und seine Vorgeschichte.*  
 u. *(Geschichte der Befreiungskriege.)* Berlin. 1804.  
 Kämpfer von Wippen, Der Trüben vol, im 10. Mai 1812. (Beitrag zum Militär-  
 Wissen.) Vorch-Jena, 1807.  
 Lamm, C. L. M. *La manœuvre de Leipzig 1812.* Paris and Nancy. 1804.  
 Mäkelch, F. von. *Die Schlacht bei Bautzen, 20-21. Mai 1813.* Berlin. 1815.  
 — *Der Geschichte des Krieges im Jahre 1812.* Der Waffenschatzband von 6. Juni  
 bis 17. August. (Beitrag zu den preuss. Geschichtsbüchern.) 1812.  
 Otto Sachs, G. *Frederick von der Napoleon im Ruhen.* (Kaiser-Museum.)  
 Berlin, 1812.  
 Schenker, Th. *Zur Würdigung der Expedition von Torggen.* (Historische  
 Zeitschrift. Vol. 84.) Munich. 1808.  
 Schlegel, W. von. *Die Feldzug von 1812.* 2 vols. Berlin. 1806-09.  
 Thoms, Friedrich. *Zur Expedition von Torggen, Forschungen zur kritisch-  
 und pers. Geschichte.* Vol. 100. Leipzig. 1800.  
 — *König Friedrich Wilhelm III, sein Antheil an der Expedition von  
 Torggen.* In: Berlin, zur kritisch. und ge. Gesch. 1800.

##### July-December, 1812.

- Arns, C. H. *Die Schlachten und Schlachten bei Leipzig im October 1812.* 1, 2.  
 Dresden. 1812-13.

- Ante, C. H. Die Kriegsverluste deutschen Eisenwagens am August, 1913, und der Schlacht bei Salzin. Dresden 1913.
- Brenner, W. von. Die entscheidenden Tage vor Leipzig. (Beilage zum Militär-Wochenblatt.) 1910.
- Dachow, H. S. Die Schlacht bei Mützenberg. Wittenberg 1912.
- Dier, J. Die Schlacht von Munsau am 29. Oktober 1813. Leipzig 1911.
- Freytag-Loringhoven, Pauline von. Aufklärung und Armeebildung, dargestellt an den Ereignissen bei der schlesischen Armee im Herbst 1813. Berlin 1906.
- Fraser, J. Geschichte des Vortriebskrieger 1813. 2 vol. (Beilage der Befehlungsblätter.) Berlin 1905-6.
- G., A. (Hörsing). Strategie napoleonische. Le campagne d'Autunno de 1813 et les Apres-midi. Paris 1907.
- Gross, C. Die große Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig im Jahre 1813. Leipzig 1911.
- Hofner, J. A. Prüfung von. Die Schlacht bei Salzin, 1813. Vienna 1873.
- Hofner, Pauline von. Zur Geschichte der Schlacht bei Salzin. Berlin 1897.
- Hilary, Th. Relations personnelles de la bataille de Leipzig par Fourier, relation authentique du Fournier de l'Armee et du combat de Salzin. Paris 1815.
- Kauffman, O. Die Schlacht bei Salzin vom 13. 14. und 15. Oktober 1813. Berlin 1907.
- Kocher, H. Kavallerieorganisation, Aufklärung, und Armeebildung bei der Kampagne in den entscheidenden Tagen vor Leipzig. Vienna 1904.
- Kunt, General von. Von Dresden nach Schleibitz, August 1813. (Beilage zum Militär-Wochenblatt.) 1910.
- Künze, F. Die Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig. Leipzig 1911.
- Lagerviertel, S. Napoleon und Carl Johann von Kugel i Tykland, 1813. Stockholm 1905.
- Napoleons Operationsplanen von Gross-Berlin. Nr. Dornowitz. (Militär-Wochenblatt. Beilage.) 1909.
- Napoleons Taktiken nach der Schlacht bei Dresden während des Vortriebs der Kampf-Armee März 29 August 1813. (Jahrb. für Armee und Marine.) 1905.
- Napoleons, R. Die Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig. Leipzig 1903.
- Notitz über die Kavalleriegefechte von Leutenants-Lieut. am 24. Oktober 1813 (Militär-Wochenblatt.) 1911.
- Otto, W. Aus der letzten Monate des Jahres 1813. (Historische Taschenrechner. Serie Neues, Teil zwei.) Berlin 1910.
- Pöllmann, R. Die Schlacht bei Gross-Berlin und General von Bülow. Ein Vortrag zum Quellenstudium der neuen preussischen Geschichte. Berlin 1912.
- Pöllmann, R. Napoleon, de Dresden i Leipzig. Studie strategische. Paris 1910.
- Pong. Die entscheidenden Tage der Schlacht und umliegenden Gebiet von 15. August bis zum 15. November 1813. Pina 1904.
- Quilberg, R. von. Das Vortriebskrieger 1813. (Jahrb. für Armee und Marine.) 1904.
- Rand, G. W. Historische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schlacht bei Munsau am 29. 30. 31. Okt. 1813. Hama 1913.
- Rohr, G. Die Entstehung des Operationsplanes für das Vortriebskrieger von 1813. Militär-Wochenblatt, Berlin 1910.
- Schwarzwälder, von der. Die Prüfung an der Schlacht am 30. September 1813. (Beilage zum Militär-Wochenblatt.) 1910.
- Sprengel, J. Die Bewegungen der 1. internationalen Armee in Sachsen im September und Oktober 1813. (Österreichische Militärschicht.) 1911.
- Die Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig. Leipzig 1903.
- Stark-Graubach, G. L. von. Die Schlacht bei Gohlberg-Mörsdorf am 25. August 1813. Berlin 1905.
- Verhagen, F. W. von. Die Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig. Dornowitz 1907.
- Wagner, Otto. Carl Johann von Bülow in den letzten Tagen nach der Schlacht



- de Gruen-Deuren. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Nord-Armee 1813. Gießen. 1892.
- Haber, K. Napoleon und Bonaparte im Herbstwinter 1813. Berlin. 1893.
- Wagner, K. Die Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig. Berlin. 1892.
- January-April, 1814.*
- Juchacz, Der, der schließlichen Besatzung der Schlacht von Paris am 30. März 1814, und so der der vorangehenden Bewegungen mit der Schlacht bei Laon. Berlin. 1895.
- Karow, Ernst. Stoff della condotta della guerra 1814 in Francia. Turin. 1895.
- Kraus, Die Strömung der Befreiung im Hauptquartier des schließlichen Heeres vor dem Beginn der entscheidenden Kämpfe im Februar 1814. (Jahrbücher für die deutsche Armee und Marine. Vol. xxvii.) Berlin. 1874.
- Reuter, E. Les premiers combats de 1814. Paris. 1894.
- (Dauvergne, von, und Goussier, von.) Geschichte der Foklungen von 1814. 4 vols. Berlin. 1848-52.
- Reichard, H. Das Treffen bei Batzen-delle. Berlin. 1897. (Beichte von Militär-Wissenschaft.) 1897.
- Reuter, E. Histoire de l'Armée de 1814. Paris. 1898.
- Reuter, A. Der Congress von Göttingen, 1814. Vienna and Prague. 1898.
- Reichard, A. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Foklungen 1814. Hamburg. 1899.
- Reich, F. von. Geschichte der Foklungen 1814 gegen Frankreich unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Agitationen der kgl. Wiener-Regierung. Truppen. Stuttgart. 1892.
- Reuter, E. 1814. Paris. 1898.
- Reuter, A. von. Der Foklung 1814 in Frankreich. 8 vols. Berlin. 1895-7.
- Reuter, H. Das Treffen bei Wittenberg am 2. Oktober 1813. Berlin. 1892.
- Reuter, W. Die Kämpfe der letzten Foklungskämpfe mit Napoleon I. Februar 1814. (Historisches Taschenbuch.) Leipzig. 1898.
- , Lord Caulbrugh und die Militärbefehle in Leipzig am 23. Januar 1814 (1814.) Leipzig. 1895.
- Reuter, W. Die Operationen Napoleons von La Rothière bis Bar-sur-Aube. (Beichte von Militär-Wissenschaft.) 1897.
- Reuter, F. E. 1814-15. Histoire des armées françaises dans le département de l'Aube. Troyes and Paris. 1892.
- Reich, G. Politik und Kriegführung während der Foklungen von 1814. Berlin. 1895.
- Reich, J. B. Die Operationen der schließlichen Armee gegen Paris im März 1814 u. s. Vienna. 1892.
- Reich, H. F. Die Foklung der schließlichen Armee Napoleon 1814 in Frankreich. Vienna. 1898.
- , Die Schlacht von Batzen-delle am 23. Februar 1814. Vienna. 1892.
- Reuter, R. Kriegführung und Diplomatie des Verhältnisses von 1. Februar bis zum 26. März 1814. Göttingen. 1898.
- Reich, H. B. Le campagne de 1814 d'après les documents des archives impériales et royales de la guerre de Vienna. La campagne des armées alliées pendant la campagne de 1814. 4 vols. 1874-8.

#### Land.

- Reuter, Göttingen. Schlacht der Göttinger-Preussisch-sächsischen Truppen. Berlin. 1895.
- Reuter, A. Lützen am 1824. Paris. 1898.
- Reuter, E. Historische Teilnahme an der deutschen Befreiung im Foklung 1813 mit besonderer Berücksichtigung auf die Truppenbewegungen in der Elbe. Hannover. 1892.
- Reichard, H. von. Die Nord-Armee im Jahre 1814. (Beichte von Militär-Wissenschaft.) 1897.





## CHAPTERS XIX and XXI

## THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

The main part of the manuscript material for a history of the Congress of Vienna, and of the First and the Second Phase of Peace, as well as during national diplomatic history of the year 1814, is to be found in the dispatches and other papers deposited in the Archives of the various departments of the several European Governments. Most of this material, but not as yet all, is accessible to the student. The papers dating from the period in the Foreign Office at Paris, which include the official correspondence of the French embassy at Vienna, are open to students, on permission of a commissaire, those in the *h. h. Ministère de l'Étranger* are open to applicants, and those in the *h. h. Ministère en présence of the Minister of the Interior*, those in the *Ch. des Ministères* and the *h. h. Ministère de l'Intérieur* on application to the Director, the *Chanc. Écrite* at Brussels and at the Hague are freely opened, but special permission is required for the use of the papers of this period in the Imperial Archives at St. Petersburg and in our own Foreign Office. In addition, some of the smaller Archives contain papers of interest, more especially the Royal Archives at Brussels for the session the Minutes of December 26, 1814, with regard to the management of the French question at the Congress.

It would seem as if no private correspondence remained unpublished which is likely to equal in interest that which has already been given to the world, although important Russian sources are only gradually being made accessible to Western students.

For a complete list of the publications at the Congress, see Richter, *Actes du Congrès*, etc., Vol. iv, pp. 244 sqq. He cites as a (partial) contemporary but the "Globe des Réunions à Vienne pendant le Congrès," published at Vienna in Jan. 1815 as "Vienne, l'Anglais, le Français de S. A. R. le Duc Albert de Saxe-Teschen."

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Recent bibliography will be found in Vol. 2 of Lavigne and Barthod's "Histoire Générale" of Modern Europe and in A. Barthod's work on the Second Phase of Peace (see below). For German affairs see K. Zacher's edition (for 1814, Göttingen, 1892) of Dehnen's works, "Quellenstudien der deutschen Geschichte." The bibliography of the French question, which is very copious and of peculiar interest, is very exhaustively treated in Dr. F. Thüden, "Die Publikation der ministeriellen Papiers aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert" (*Österreichische Literatur, ihre Quellen, Kritik*, 1892).



[Münster, R. F. H. Count von.] *Das Depeschen über den Wiener Kongress*, edited by Christ von Munnich. In *Politische Mittheilungen über den Lateinischen von Wien* (Congress for the Congress). Leipzig, 1815.

[Duchess of Angoulême.] *Les Mémoires de la Princesse de France*. 1814-15. [Edited by F. de.]

[Paris, A. de.] *Les Mémoires de la Princesse de France*. 1814-15. [Edited by F. de.]

[Paris, A. de.] *Les Mémoires de la Princesse de France*. 1814-15. [Edited by F. de.]

— *Correspondence between the Tsar and the Emperor*. 1814-15. [Edited by F. de.]

— *Correspondence between the Tsar and the Emperor*. 1814-15. [Edited by F. de.]

For the discussion of the relations of the Emperor and the Emperor, see the *Correspondence* of the Emperor and the Emperor.

#### THE GREAT QUESTION.

[Austria, Count C. M. von.] *Rechnen und Rechnen*. 1814. [Revised edition.]

[Austria, Count C. M. von.] *Rechnen und Rechnen*. 1814. [Revised edition.]

[Austria, Count C. M. von.] *Rechnen und Rechnen*. 1814. [Revised edition.]

[Austria, Count C. M. von.] *Rechnen und Rechnen*. 1814. [Revised edition.]

[Austria, Count C. M. von.] *Rechnen und Rechnen*. 1814. [Revised edition.]

[Austria, Count C. M. von.] *Rechnen und Rechnen*. 1814. [Revised edition.]

[Austria, Count C. M. von.] *Rechnen und Rechnen*. 1814. [Revised edition.]

[Austria, Count C. M. von.] *Rechnen und Rechnen*. 1814. [Revised edition.]

#### THE GREAT QUESTION, cont.

[Austria, Count C. M. von.] *Rechnen und Rechnen*. 1814. [Revised edition.]

[Austria, Count C. M. von.] *Rechnen und Rechnen*. 1814. [Revised edition.]

— *Rechnen und Rechnen*. 1814. [Revised edition.]

- Arnold, E. M. *Die Repräsentanten und die Repräsentation*. Berlin, 1912. [On the proceedings of the Congress.]
- *Schicksal der und an einem Teller Deutschen*. Leipzig, 1912.
- *Der Geist der Zeit*. Part 10. Berlin, 1912.
- Baron, Joh. Joseph von. *Österreichische Briefe*. Herausgegeben von F. Rader. Vol. 10. Munich, 1914.
- Blaugewitz, A. *Bayern und Hessen, 1799-1805*. Berlin, 1906. [Contains impressions of General von Scharf, Bavarian Minister at Darmstadt, to King Max Joseph.]
- Blotzstein, Hermann, von. *Österreich*. Leipzig, 1814-18. [Falsified copies of German letters and newspapers, wrongly named of unknown French persons; written mainly by Götter, with contributions by K. Waller, Arnold et al. 1817, the last number, appeared January 15, 1818.]
- Born, Friedrich von. *Die Schicksale des Fy von 1806 zur deutschen Frage*. 1819, von P. Rader. *Wiener Zeitschrift* No. 495, 1806.
- *Tagebuch des Fy, vom Feind während des Wiener Kongresses*. Mag. 2. ed. von A. Lehmann. *Wiener Zeitschrift* No. 592, 1806.
- Wittke, von. *Österreich*. 1812. [Founded and edited by Arnold.]
- [Wunderberg, H. Baron von.] *Die deutsche Sache*. Die Verhandlung in ihrer ersten Begründung und Entwicklung. Im April 1812. u. s. [Directed against the pretensions of Russia.]

### III. CONTEMPORARY OR NEARLY CONTEMPORARY HISTORIES, MEMOIRS, RECOLLECTIONS, ETC.

#### A. *Germany and Her Successors*

- Arnold, E. M. *Erfahrungen von dem kaiserlichen Leben*. 2d. ed. Leipzig, 1911.
- Bauer and Osterwald. *Briefe mit Selbstzeugnissen*. Edited by A. Bauer. [Schicksal der Deutschen-Österreich, etc.] Vol. 10. Vienna, 1905.
- Geisel, F. P. G. *Mémoires*. Vol. 1. Paris, 1809.
- Guarville, J.-G.-B. de. *Œuvres, Contes du Comte de Guarville*. Paris, 1879. [Characteristics of a paper poet, in the Rue des Deux Moulins, 1802, for the first time publishing the material matter of the correspondence between Louis XVIII and Talleyrand.]
- Hornig, J. Baron von. *Kaiser Franz und Österreich*. Leipzig, 1910. [Fragments.]
- *Kaiser Friedrich, Graf von Münster*. Lebensbilder aus der Restaurationszeit, 1. 2 parts. Paris, 1903-4. [A epitome of Münster's Remains, in part documentary, richly hostile to Metternich.]
- Mémoires pour les papiers d'un homme d'État. (Paris.) Vols. 10 and 11. Paris, 1817-18.
- Wolfgang, Baron J. A. E. W. L. von (Gönnel). *Mémoires*. Leipzig, 1861.
- For the *Memories of Metternich*, and of Metternich (see Napoleon and Marie Louise), see *General Bibliography*. For those of Prussia, Talleyrand, and Villamont, see *Bibliography in Chapter I, B*.

#### For the *Revised Peace of Paris* see also B.

#### B. *The Congress at Vienna.*

- Angelier, Comte de. *Le Congrès de Vienne et les traités de 1815*. Avec une introduction historique par J.-B. Capotegon. 4 parts. Paris, 1904.
- Capotegon, R. H. B. *Histoire de la Restauration*. 16 vols. Paris, 1893-5. [Vol. 2 contains Talleyrand's point on the position of France at the Congress, documents concerning the Polish question, etc.]

- Cagliuso, R. E. R. *Le Congrès de Vienne sous son rapport avec la science et les arts* (Mémoires de l'Europe). Paris, 1819.
- [Fleury, G. de.] *Revue du Congrès de Vienne*. (See under G.)
- Gayer, Andrew R. E. *von. Eine Veltter an der Politik*. Vol. iii. Nach Neumann's Fall. — Der Congress von Wien. [The Appendix contains many documents, official and journalistic.] Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1825. Vol. vi. Der zweite Wiener Frieden. [The Appendix of Documents.] Leipzig, 1825.
- Laplace, Simon D. de. *Notes et souvenirs du Congrès de Vienne*. 2 vols. Paris, 1825.
- La Grand-Chantraine, Camille A. de. *Souvenirs du Congrès de Vienne*. Edited with introduction and notes by Camille Fleury. Paris, 1796.
- Lips, Charles Joseph. *Proces du Congrès de Vienne et ses suites historiques et politiques*. 3 vols. 1811-12. Engl. selection and translation by R. F. Wernley, with introduction by Isaac-Bours. 3 vols. 1826.
- Morley, Francis de. *Souvenirs* (1824-1831). Paris, 1831. [Contains social reminiscences of the Congress.]
- Nietz, K. von. *Leben*. Leipzig, 1831. [Contains social reminiscences of the Congress.]
- Paul, W. R. de. *Des Congrès de Vienne*. 2 vols. Paris, 1815.
- Schumann, A. F. H. *Geschichte des zweiten Wiener Friedens für Deutschland, des österreichischen Krieges*. 1815. (Gives pages of Great war with extracts.)

For the Minutes of Meetings von Ross, and of Ménéval (see Napoleon and Marie-Louise), see General Bibliography, for Reminiscences of Camille-Fleury, see Bibliography in Chapter 3, F.

## IV. LATER WORKS.

## German.

- Börsch, A. *Staats-Systeme in Europa*. Vol. 1. Paris, 1821.
- [Dietrich, W. von.] *Denkschriften und Briefe von Constantin de Wail und Lottmann*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1824-25.
- Fichte, T. *Geschichte von Napoleon*. Vol. iii. (Book, der europ. Staaten.) Götting, 1823.
- Görres, G. de. *Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts mit den Wiener Vorlesungen*. Vol. 1. (Section on Der Wiener Congress.) Leipzig, 1828. French translation by Muret. Vol. 1. 1834.
- Hackmair, H. 1814 (1 vol.), 1818 (2 vols.). Paris, 1820-2.
- Körner, J. *Der Krieg von 1815 und die Vorlesungen von Wien und Paris*. Leipzig, 1821.
- Klotz, A. *La Sainte-Alliance et le Congrès*. Chap. 15 of Vol. 1 of *Leben und Charakter des Kaisers Maximilian de 1808* (see under K.). Paris, 1836.
- Murphy, G. H. *Skizze von. Politische Skizzen über den Lage Europas*, 1824-27. Leipzig, 1827.
- Nathaniel, A. F. de. *Revue de la Restauration*. Vols. 1, 2. Paris, 1820.
- Offen, (Graf). *L'Europe Unie*. Vol. 1. Paris, 1825.
- Rosenau, A. von. *Geschichte von Europa*. Vol. 2. (Book, der europ. Staaten.) Götting, 1827.
- Schütz, A. L. von. *Geschichte Frankreichs vom Herrn Napoleon Bonaparte bis zur Wiederherstellung des Kaiserthums*. (Handlungsbeichte des zweiten Zeit.) Vol. 1. Leipzig, 1826.
- Seidel, G. *Politik und Kriegführung während des Feldzuges von 1815*. Berlin, 1821.



## CHAPTER XX.

## THE HUNDRED DAYS.

## I. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL.

*Kriegsarchiv des grossen Hauptquartiers. Berlin.*

*General Office, London. Military Despatches, 1848.*

*Waller's Letters (Napoleon's collection) to British Generals (contains many not yet taken in his book of 1831).*

*Wellington Papers at Asby Grove (many may not published in General's Wellington Despatches).*

*For the French Archives, see General Bibliography.*

## II. CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES.

## FRANCE.

*Höfingen, Duc de. Documents inédits sur la campagne de 1815. Paris. 1842.*

*Genard, General. Documents sur la bataille de Waterloo. Brussels. 1819.*

*For Wellington's Despatches and Napoleon's Correspondence, see General Bibliography.*

## RUSSIA, HANNOVER, &amp;c.

*Comte de Saxe. Mémoires sur les Cent Jours. Paris. 1830-32.*

*Flory de Guebriant, M. Napoléon en 1815. Paris. 1815.*

*Reusky, Count. Relation abrégée de la campagne de 1815. Observation sur la campagne de 1815. Treguerra, etc. Paris. 1819-20.*

*Georgel, General. La campagne de 1815. Paris. 1844.*

*Le Foyrie, Marquis de. Mémoires. Paris. 1827-8.*

*Moore, General C. Journal of the Waterloo Campaign. London. 1876.*

*Wittig, General. Aus meinen Leben. Berlin. 1840.*

*Pyrie, C. esq. Kriegsgeschichte Frankreichs im Jahre 1815. Berlin. 1815.*

*Stachurski, General. Notes on Waterloo. London. 1860.*

*Schwarz, H. H. Waterloo-Lectures. London. 1861.*

*For the Memoirs of Caulaincourt, see Bibliography to Chapter I. F. For those of Blücher, see General Bibliography.*

## III. LATER WORKS.

## GERMANY.

*Capitaine, H. H. B. Les Cent Jours. Paris. 1842.*

*Chassin, Lieutenant-Colonel. Histoire de la Campagne de 1815. Brussels. 1820.*

- Cheney, Colonel G. *Waterloo Lectures: a study of the campaign of 1815*. London. 1898.
- Clapartout, General E. von. *Der Feldzug von 1815*. (Historisches Werk, vol. viii.) Berlin. 1823.
- Comte de St. Clement, H. *Les dernières années de Napoléon*. Paris. 1895.
- Devoy, C. von. *Vergleichende des Feldzuges von 1815*. Berlin. 1877-8.
- Espartero, M. 1815. (1) *La première Restauration*. *Les Cent Jours*. (1815-16.) (2) *Napoléon*. (1815-16.) (3) *La seconde Restauration de Napoléon*. (1815-16.) 3 vols. Paris. 1893.
- Le Tour d'Auvergne, Col. R. *Studies on the campaign of Waterloo*. Paris. 1892.
- Leutnant Vitzthum, O. von. *Napoleon's Campaign, 1815*. Berlin. 1844.
- Lévesque, E. von. *Précis de la campagne de 1815*. The Hague. 1818.
- Morris, W. 1870. *The Campaign of 1815*. London. 1898.
- Olsch, E. von. *Feldzug von 1815*. Berlin. 1883.
- Sherry, W. *History of the War in France and Belgium in 1815*. London. 1818.

#### FRANCOIS.

- Gillet de l'Ain, M. *Vie militaire du Général Foy*. Paris. 1899.
- Holzer, A. *Skizzen aus dem letzten Kampfe*. Vienna. 1834.
- For the Memoirs or Lives of Napoleon, Wellington, Blücher, Grouchy, Quasdy, Marat, Ney, Bessé, see the General Bibliography.*

#### GERMANY.

- Frederick, V. L. *History of the King's German Legion*. 2 vols. London. 1805-7.
- Leutn. W. *Land Division engaged at Waterloo*. London. 1846.
- Flugl-Beziehung, J. von. *Vergleichende der Schlacht bei La Belle Alliance*. Berlin. 1818.
- Korn, J. H. *Napoleonic Studies*. London. 1894.

## CHAPTER XXII

## GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, 1719-1825

## I—ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

## CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES

## General.

Cobbett, Lord. *Memorials of His Time*. Edinburgh. 1868.

Edinburgh's Review. Edinburgh. 1805-1844.

Macvey, W. *The Spirit of the Age*. London. 1834.

*Portents of the Lords*. Edited by J. E. F. Rogers. Vol. II. Oxford. 1874.

Quarterly Review. London. 1806-1815.

Smith, Sydney. *Works*. 3 vols. London. 1848.

*State Trials*. Ed. Howell. 5 vols. successive. London. 1817-26.

Walton, John (John Fisher). *Works*. 4 vols. London. 1811.

Wynd, C. *Political Papers*. Vols. v, vi. London. 1894.

For the *Journal Register*, Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, *Household Debates*, *Journals of the Lords and Commons*, see *General Bibliography*.

## General.

Clarkson, T. *History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade*. 2 vols. London. 1808.

*History of the Two Acts* (1801). London. 1795.

*Proceedings of the Society of Friends of the People*. London. 1793.

Shaw, L. *Journal of a Tour to Saint Helena in 1810-11*. 2 vols. Edinburgh. 1822.

## Hansard, Sessions, etc.

Archibald, William, Lord. *Journals and Correspondence*. Vols. 26-27. London. 1801.

Brougham, Henry, Lord. *Tide and Times*, written by himself. Vols. 20-21. Edinburgh. 1874.

Buckingham, Duke of. *Memories of the Court and Cabinet of George III.* 4 vols. London. 1823-5.

—, —. *Memories of the Court of England during the Regency*. 2 vols. London. 1825.

Burton, David. *Edits and Correspondence*. Ed. J. Burton. London. 1833.

Burton, Charles. *Reminiscences*. 2 vols. London. 1824.

Calcraft, Charles Allen, Lord. *Diary and Correspondence*. Vols. 1-15. London. 1894.

- Greasy Papers, *Two*. Edited by Sir H. Maxwell. Vol. 1. London. 1893.  
 Grubbe, Maxine. *Diary and Letters*. Edited by Andrew Dutton. 4 vols.  
 London. 1891-3.  
 Holmes, T. *Speeches*. 4 vols. London. 1897.  
 Johnson, J., *Manuscript of*. 3 vols. London. 1893-5.  
 Johnson, T. *Manuscript*. 3 vols. London. 1891.  
 Knox, Percy. *Manuscript*. 3 vols. London. 1895.  
 Mackenzie, W. *Speeches*. Vol. 1. London. 1893.  
 Napier, Mrs G. *Autobiography*. 3 vols. London. 1891.  
 Lusk, David of. *Political Manuscripts*. Edited by H. Dowding. London. 1898.  
 Papendick, Mrs. *Journal*. 3 vols. London. 1897.  
 Price, F. *Additional MS. British Museum*. 1726.2.7499.  
 Russell, Sir S. Mansel. 3 vols. London. 1898.  
 Ross, G. *Manuscript Correspondence*. 3 vols. London. 1893.  
 Russell, E. B. *Speeches*. 3 vols. London. 1894.  
 Walpole, H. G. *Recollections of the Life of L. J. Fox*. London. 1898.  
 Walsgrave, W. *Correspondence*. 3 vols. London. 1891.  
 ———. *Private Papers*. London. 1897.  
 Warrington, W. *Diary*. London. 1895.  
 ———. *Speeches*. 3 vols. London. 1893.  
 Young, Arthur. *Autobiography*. London. 1898.

For the *Manuscript Correspondence*, or *Speeches of Burke, Craswell, Fox, Paine, Cartwright*, and the *Diaries* etc. of *Mackenzie*, see *General Bibliography*.

# LATER WORKS.

## General.

- Boswell, H. *Biographical MSS. England*. Vol. 1. Berlin. 1894.  
 Cook, M. *A Century of English History*. 3 vols. Edinburgh. 1899.  
 Cunningham, W. *Elements of English History and Government in Modern Times*. Part II. Cambridge. 1892.  
 Deane, M. *History of the British Empire in the 18th Century*. 3 vols. London. 1893-4.  
 David, A. *History of Thackeray and Thackeray England*. 3 vols. London. 1898.  
 Hall, A. *From Bishopric to Bishopric: A History of England*. Leipzig. 1898.  
 Lewis, Sir G. Cresswell. *Essays on the Administration of Great Britain*. 1780-1820. London. 1894.  
 Macpherson, Sir J. *History of Civilization in Scotland*. New edn. 4 vols. Pictou. 1898.  
 Taylor, T. *History of France*. Vol. 1. London. 1893.  
 Todd, H. D. *Great England*. Vol. v. London. 1898.

For the *General History of England* by *Adolphus, Evelyn, Mackenzie, Murray*, and *May's Constitutional History*, see *General Bibliography*.

## General.

- Anderson, W. J. *History of Catholic Emigration*. 3 vols. London. 1898.  
 Fortescue, J. *The British Army, 1750-1850*. London. 1898.  
 Fox-Bourne, H. S. *English Newspapers*. Vol. 1. London. 1891.  
 Fyfe, W. *History of the Radical Party in Parliament*. London. 1893.  
 Johnson, M. *The Platform, its Rise and Progress*. Vol. 1. London. 1891.  
 Keith, T. E. *History of Tyburn*. London. 1898.  
 Kerr, G. *The English Nationalists*. London. 1898.  
 Strachan, W. *On the Laws issued by Sir John*. London. 1898.

- Quarles, J. W. *The English Church in the 18th Century, 1688-23*. London: 1910.  
 Ross, J. H. *The Food Supply of England*. Monthly Review. March, 1902.  
 Sharpe, R. *London and her Hospitals*. Vol. iv. London, 1905.  
 Smith, E. *The English Doctors*. London, 1911.

#### REMARKS.

- Ayer, J. G. *Episcopates in the French Revolution*. London, 1905.  
 ———. *Napoleon's English Captives and Captives*. London, 1906.  
 Ashurst, Lord. *From some Chapters of his Life and Times*. London, 1901.  
 Ashurst, C. *Devotion*. London, 1894.  
 Bagehot, W. *Locality Studies*. *The First Edinburgh Review*. London, 1911.  
 ———. *Biographical Studies*. William Pitt. London, 1909.  
 Bain, A. James Pitt. *A Biography*. London, 1912.  
 Baker, J. *Martin and his Work*. London, 1902.  
 Baker, R. Lytton. *Notional Characters*. 2 vols. London, 1897.  
 Campbell, Lord.  *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*. Vols. vi-vii. London, 1907.  
 ———. *Lives of the Chief Justices*. Vol. vi. London, 1874.  
 Carlyle, F. *William Colclough*. London, 1894.  
 Cartwright, E. *Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright*. Leeds, London, 1858.  
 Chancelier, A. *Sydney Smith et la Renaissance des idées libérales en Angleterre*. Paris, 1904.  
 Channing, E. *Life of Joshua Watson*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1861.  
 Cleveland, Barbara. *Life of Lady Rachel Montagu*. London, 1897.  
 Colchester, Lord. *Life of Pitt Rivers*. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1912.  
 Colchester, Robert. *Colchester, 1800*. Lond. Chancery.  
 Ferguson, A. *Henry Dring*. Edinburgh, 1902.  
 Fitzmaurice, Lord E. *Life of Lord Shelburne*. Vol. vi. London, 1879.  
 Gray, C. *Early Life and Opinions of Alaric, Earl Earl Grey*. London, 1901.  
 Harcourt, J. L. *Charles Fox, a political study*. London, 1905.  
 Harcourt, Lady. *Memoirs of Sydney Smith, with a selection from his Letters*. 2 vols. London, 1895.  
 Horne, L. *Memoranda Correspondence of Francis Horne*. 2 vols. London, 1912.  
 Kayser, G. T. *Life of the first Lord Russell*. London, 1873.  
 Kershaw, Lady. *Life of Anthony Munday*. London, 1906.  
 Le Marchant, Sir D. *Life of Lord Ashurst*. London, 1876.  
 Lockhart, J. O. *Life of Sir Walter Scott*. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1837-41.  
 Manning, Lord. *Essays on William Pitt and Lord Rockingham, with Biography of William Pitt*. Collected Works, vols. vii, viii. London, 1835.  
 Marshall, E. *Life of Sir J. Macintosh*. 2 vols. London, 1905.  
 Marshall, J. A. R. *George Canning and his Times*. London, 1905.  
 Miles, Lady. *Life of Sir Gilbert Elliot*. 2 vols. London, 1874.  
 Oswald, G. *The Lord Ashursts of Scotland*. Vol. ii. Edinburgh, 1912.  
 Palmer, J., and Morrell, H. *Memorials of Sir Philip Francis*. 2 vols. London, 1897.  
 Palmer, G. *Life of Viscount Selkirk*. 2 vols. London, 1847.  
 Phipps, E. *Memoirs of E. Phipps War*. 3 vols. London, 1899.  
 Rae, W. F. *Life of Sheridan*. 2 vols. London, 1890.  
 Reid, E. J. *Life and Times of Sydney Smith*. London, 1894.  
 Salisbury, Lord. *Biographical Essays*. Canterbury and Pitt, London, 1901.  
 Salomon, Dr. Joseph. *Salomon*. London, 1894.  
 Seaton, R. *Memoirs and Correspondence of John Seaton*. Vol. i. London, 1891.  
 Smith, E. *William Colclough, a Biography*. 2 vols. London, 1876.  
 Stephens, A. *Memoirs of Horne Tooke*. Vol. ii. London, 1813.  
 Temperley, H. W. V. *George Canning*. London, 1909.

- Tyssen, W. M. *Memoir of Lord Melbourne*. London. 1838.  
 Tynn, H. *Life of Lord John*. Vols. 1, 2. London. 1844.  
 Wallis, Arthur. *Life of Francis Place*. London. 1866.  
 Walpole, H. *Life of Spencer Perceval*. 2 vols. London. 1874.  
 Walpole, Lady R. *Grand Memoirs of Frances Charlotte of Wales*. London. 1874.  
 Wellerings, A. and S. *Life of William Wellesley*. Vols. 1-4. London. 1832.  
 Wright, T. *Works of Coleridge*. London. 1874.

For Biographical Works on Cuthbert (John, Lambton), Fitz (Rowland, Harbottle), Goring (Stephen), Fox (Gerald), Grosvenor ("Grosvenor," and On Detergency of National Biography, see *General Bibliography*.

## II.—IRELAND.

### CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES.

#### General.

- Barclay, Jacob. *Historical Memoirs of Ireland*. 2 vols. London. 1632.  
 — *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*. Paris. 1633.  
 Chambers, E. V. *Revenue and Finance of Ireland*. London. 1791.  
*Statistics of the Irish House of Commons*. Vols. 1-10 (1817). Dublin.  
 Evans, T. A. *Ireland under English Rule*. Vol. 2. Appendix, Diary of T. A. Evans in Paris, 1808-4. New York. 1894.  
 Garton, H. *Memoirs of the Duke of Devonshire*. London. 1822.  
 Knox, A. *Essays on the Political Circumstances of Ireland*. London. 1798.  
 Macneave, W. J. *Phases of Irish History*. New York. 1907.  
 Macneave, T. *A View of the Ireland, Political and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland*. London. 1804.  
 Twiss, F. *History of Ireland to the Union*. Vol. 2. London. 1806.  
 — *History of Ireland, 1801-18*. 2 vols. Dublin. 1811.  
 Spence, W. *Colchester Riverina*. 2 vols. Dublin. 1812.  
 Walsby, E. *Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*. 2 vols. London. 1810.

#### General.

- Grady, E. *Arguments for and against a Union*. Dublin. 1796.  
 Grady, J. *A History of the Rebellion of 1798*. Dublin. 1804.  
 Hay, E. *History of the Insurrection in Wexford*. Dublin. 1803.  
 Mayne, R. *Rebellion in Ireland*. Dublin. 1802.  
 Perry (Lodge). Vol. 200. *Images Illustrating the French Invasion of Ireland*. London. 1807.  
*Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons and House of Lords*. Dublin. 1798.  
 Smith, Henry J. *A Narrative of what passed at Killybegs*. Dublin. 1808.

#### Memoirs, Journals, etc.

- Barclay, Jacob. *Personal Narrative of His Own Times*. 2 vols. London. 1822.  
 Beaufort, J. *Correspondence*. Vol. 2. London. 1844.  
 Byss, John. *Memoirs*. Vol. 1. Paris. 1803.  
 Chalmers, Earl of. *Memoirs and Correspondence*. Vol. 2. London. 1804.  
 Chalmers, Lord. *Personal Recollections*. Dublin. 1845.  
 Cornwallis, Marquis. *Correspondence*. Vols. 2, 3. London. 1806.  
 Curran, J. P. *Speeches*. Dublin. 1845.  
 Edgeworth, R. L. *Memoirs*. 2 vols. London. 1811.  
 Foster, J. *Speech on the Union*. Dublin. 1796.

Green, H. Speeches. Vols. iv-v. London. 1897.

Hall, J. Memoirs. 2 vols. London. 1836.

Lalor, Dr. Deshaunes in Ireland. Dublin. 1837.

Raymond, Thomas. Autobiography. 2 vols. London. 1869.

Robert, Elizabeth. Autobiography. Dublin. 1848.

Smyth, William. Memoirs. London. 1832.

Tindal, C. H. Personal Sketches of the Irish Rebellions. London. 1818.

Town, J. Memoirs. Autobiography. Ed. R. B. O'Brien. 2 vols. London. 1864.

For History of Cork, see General Bibliography; for Sir J. Murray's Diary (Memoirs), see Bibliography in Chap. XI.

### LATER WORKS.

#### General.

Bell, J. T. Irish Legislative System. London. 1898.

Falkner, G. Letters. Volume in Irish History and Biography. London. 1898.

Flanagan, W. J. Ireland before the Union. London. 1887.

Fraser, J. A. The English in Ireland. Vol. vi. London. 1874.

Gordon, E. Les Français en Irlande pendant la Révolution. Paris. 1858.

Haynes, T. D. A Critical Examination of Irish History. Vol. vi. London. 1886.

Kilfer, W. D. Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Vol. ii. London. 1876.

Lodge, W. E. E. History of Ireland in the 17th Century. Vols. i-iv. London. 1882.

Macdonagh, M. A. Flannery's Poetry. London. 1864.

Morris, W. O'Connor. Ireland, 1716-1801. London. 1898.

— Ireland, 1804-1808. Cambridge. 1898.

#### Ireland.

Edinburgh's Review, Oct. 1856, The Roman Question.

Flanagan, W. J. Secret Service under Pitt. London. 1888.

— The Open System, and the Informers of 1798. Dublin. 1887.

Ingram, T. G. History of the Irish Union. London. 1892.

Macmillan, J. B. How the Union was carried. London. 1865.

Mahon, R. The United Kingdom. 7 vols. London. 1842-6.

Maxwell, W. B. History of the Rebellions in 1798. London. 1848.

Murray, A. E. Commercial Relations between England and Ireland. London. 1882.

Wynn, T. The Catholic Association of Ireland. 2 vols. London. 1819.

#### Personages.

Forsterling, Carl. Sir Ralph Abernethy. Edinburgh. 1891.

Dunlop, E. Life of Henry Goulton. London. 1898.

— Life of David O'Connell. London. 1898.

Goulton, H. Life of Henry Goulton. Vols. iii-v. London. 1841.

Gunn, E. L. Robert Emmet. London. 1864.

Hardy, F. Memoirs of the Earl of Charlemont. Vol. ii. London. 1818.

Lawless, E. Maria Edgeworth. London. 1894.

Lecky, W. E. H. Lectures of Public Opinion in Ireland. 2 vols. London. 1890.

O'Donoghue, D. J. Life of Robert Emmet. Dublin. 1892.

O'Donoghue, J. B. Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland. Vol. ii. London. 1872.

Forster, C. E. Sir Robert Peel. Vol. i. London. 1884.

Phillips, G. Gwynne and His Contemporaries. Edinburgh. 1898.

Phelan, Lord D. Life and Speeches of Lord Phelan. Vol. i. London. 1897.

Taylor, Ma. Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald. London. 1884.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

#### I.—INDIA AND CEYLON, 1763—1818.

##### UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL.

Besides a number of mss. belonging to Protected States, there is a mass of MSS., relating both to the affairs of Native Princes and to those of the East India Company, in the office of the Adjutant-General at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Some of these have been collated (see below), some were portions of manuscripts. Besides these there is much in England in private as well as in public custody, notably—

Letters and Despatches of Warren Hastings, belonging to Mr. Milnes, of Marton Hall, Lincolnshire, or chiefly to his, transferred to the Victoria Hall, Calcutta; Letters and Orders of the George R. Buxton, in the possession of Major-General W. M. Buxton, Bart., R.A.

(1) In the India Office.

The Court Minutes of the East India Company, their Dispatches to India, and the Resolves. In vols. of *Wellesley Papers*, *Minister Papers*, *Manufacturers Records*, and other collections, some only collated in mss.; vol. 222 of the *Manufacturers Records* is especially noteworthy.

(2) In the British Museum.

A great mass of documents relating to the administration of Wellesley, including minutes of Secret Service matters, private and official correspondence, Minutes to the Directors. A number of important papers on the period 1803-12.

##### CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES.

###### GENERAL.

Bugel MB Records. A selected series of 24,120 letters in the Board of Revenue, Calcutta, 1762-1792. Edited by Sir W. M. Hunter. London. 4 vols. 1864.

Farwell, G. W. Selections from the Letters etc. to the Bombay Government, *Monthly Series*. Vol. v. Bombay. 1888.

Fincklin, W. A History of the Kings of Shah-Jahan. London. 1719.

Malcolm, Sir J. The Political History of India from 1764 to 1805. 2 vols. London. 1818.

— A Memoir of Central India. 2 vols. London. 1822.

Smith, J. Financial History of the British. 2 vols. London. 1796.

Tod, Col. J. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, or the Central and Western Rajpoot States. London. 2 vols. 1810, 1828.

Wells, Col. Mark. Historical Sketches of the South of India. London. 1817.



*General.**Biographies.*

Mansfield, Earl of. Some account of the public life and a selection from the unpublished writings of the Earl. By J. Murray. 2 vols. London. 1803.

Marquesses, Sir John. Some Documents explanatory of the case of the Governor General of Bengal. London. (1799.)

— Copy of a Letter to the Court of Directors, Aug. 10, 1796, printed by order of the House of Commons. London. 1796.

*General and Miscellaneous.*

Caracalla, Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis. Edited by G. Ross. 2 vols. London. 2nd edn. 1848.

Hastings, J. M. Analysis of the Bengal Regulations. 2 vols. Calcutta. 1804-5.

Kennel, Major J. The Marches of the British Army in the Peninsula of India. Translated by Basil Caracalla. London. 1795.

Reynolds-Smith, C. W. Dissertation concerning the Landed Property of Bengal. London. 1791.

Talpoorah, John (Haji) Lach. Memoir of the Life and Correspondence of. 2 vols. London. 1848.

Tipi Sahib, History of the Reign of; written by Mir Hossain Ali Khan Karamli, translated from an original Persian ms. by Col. W. Allan. London. 1806.

—, Select Letters of. Edited by W. Kirkpatrick. London. 1811.

*Field of Warren Hastings*

Articles exhibited against Warren Hastings, Esq. London. 1798.

Gibb, G. R. Memoirs of Warren Hastings. Vol. vi. London. 1848.

History of the Trial of Warren Hastings, Esq. London. 1798.

*Walcot.*

Martin, Montgomery. Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquis of Walcot. 2 vols. London. (Calcutta.) 1806.

Milne, J. Histoire du progrès et de la chute de l'Empire du Mysore. Paris. 1801.

Remarks on the Extension of Slavery in India. (Anon.) London. 1803.

Royal Commission on Historical MSS., Sixth Report. Appendix (for E. Walcot's use). London. 1871.

[Walcot, R., Marquis.] Notes relative to the late Transactions in the Madras Empire. Part VII. London. 1802.

Walpole, Dissertation of R. M. the Duke of (Tache). Edited by Col. J. Garwood. London. 1801.

*General, British, and Miscellaneous.*

A Short Debate of the conduct of the Civil Servants of Madras. London. 1819.

Anderson, R. L. A letter on the present state of affairs in India. London. [1807.]

Annals Researches, or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal. Vol. 2. (Sketch of the History, by Sir John Malcolm, pp. 127-139.) Calcutta. 1820.

Barlow, Sir G. B. A brief sketch of the services of. London. 1811.

[Barlow, Sir G. B.] Observations on Lt.-Col. Malcolm's publication relative to the Disobedience at the Madras Army. London. 1812.

Brougham, T. D. Letters written in a Madras camp in the year 1800. London. 1818.

Septon, Sir H. J. *An account of the transactions of His Majesty's Ministers in the Court of Poona, 1807-22.* London. 1824.

Septon, Henry [Lady Calver]. *Journal of a residence in India.* 1800-1811. 2nd edn. Edinburgh. 1815.

Shakelton, Sir J. *Observations on the Discipline in the Madras Army, 1802.* London. 1812.

*Proceedings of the Court Martial at Bangalore.* Madras. 1816.

#### *Mastung.*

*Selection of the speeches of William W. Hunter, Esq., on the clause of the East India Bill for promoting the religious instruction and moral improvement of the natives of the British dominions in India.* London. 1813.

*Summary of the Administration of the Indian Government by the Marquis of Hastings.* London. 1815.

Fraser, H. T. *History of the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings, 1813-20.* 2 vols. London. 1822.

#### *East India Company.*

*Considerations on the danger... of laying open the trade with India and China.* London. 1802.

*Correspondence and Proceedings in the Negotiations for the renewal of the East India Company's Charter.* London. 1812.

*East India Government and Commerce, the Present System of our, considered.* London. 1812.

*East India Shipping. Two Letters on.* London. 1802.

*Fifth Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company.* London. 1812.

Gresh, S. *The expediency of continuing the system by which the trade and government of India are regulated.* London. 1802.

#### *Ceylon.*

Coote, Sir J. *A description of Ceylon.* London. 1802.

[Dalrymple, R., D.D.] *The History of Ceylon to 1815.* London. 1817.

*Narrative of events which have recently occurred in the island of Ceylon, written by a gentleman on the spot.* London. - 1812.

Hayes, J. *Notes on Ceylon and its affairs.* London. [private circulation]. 1812.

### LATER WORKS.

#### *General.*

Harris, Sir W. W. *Sketch History of the Indian People.* 2nd edn. Oxford. 1822.

Kaye, Sir J. W. *The Administration of the East India Company.* London. 1825.

Lush, Sir A. C. *Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India.* 2nd edn. London. 1874.

Mill J. *The History of British India.* Fifth edition, with notes and continuation, by Horatio Hayman Wilson. 5 vols. London. 1838.

Wilson, Richard. *Leipen and Street; or the Manchester Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies (1680-1874).* 2 vols. London. 1874.

Wilson, R. H. *The History of British India from 1858 to 1875.* 2 vols. London. 1878.

*General.*

- de Chakravart. *The History of Bichanpore*. London, 1933.
- Hobbes Phillips, R. H. *The Land Systems of British India*. 3 vols. Oxford, 1932.
- James, J. A. *Chronicle of the Madras Presidency* (Part II). Vol. 2. Part 2. (*Chronicle of Coimbatore*). Bombay, 1939.
- Kidwai, Sir Fazl. *A Political and General History of the District of Tanjavur*. Madras, 1941.
- Langford, B. *A particular account of the European Military Adventures of Malabar, 1719-1802*. London, 1897.
- Levy, Major H. *History of the Nizam*. Translation of the *Kitab al-Fayz al-Malak*. Madras, 1939.
- Lawson, F. C. *Report on the Portuguese Records relating to the East Indies, deposited in the Torre del Tombo and the public library at Lisbon and Evora*. London, 1892.
- . *The Portuguese in India*. 2 vols. London, 1914.
- Long, Major W. *A brief History of the Madras Presidency*. Calcutta, 1941.
- Macartney, Sir W. W. *The People of Madras*. London, 1935.
- , ed. for A. C. Ananda Krishna. Vol. 1 (pt. 2, *The English Period*). London, 1936.
- Major Kany, W. A. *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette*. 2 vols. Calcutta, 1919.
- Mallabey, G. R. *Post French Struggle in India and on the Indian sea*. London, 1879.
- Murphy, Nath. Roy. *A History of the Native States of India*. Vol. 1. Calcutta, Calcutta, 1944.
- Thompson, W. J. R. *Chylois*. 2 vols. London, 1938.
- [Wright, Daniel.] *History of Nagpur*, translated from the Persian. Cambridge, 1877.

*Madras.*

- Adams, Sir A. J. *Sir Thomas Munro; selections from his Memoirs and other writings*. 2 vols. London, 1931.
- Browning, L. C. *Madras All and Tipu Sultan*. (History of India.) Oxford, 1933.
- Burton, J. *Sir Thomas Munro*. (History of India.) Oxford, 1934.
- Chakravart, Sir T. E. *Life of Marudamuni Raghaviah*. 2 vols. London, 1934.
- Crane, J. B. *Marudamuni Raghaviah*. (History of India.) Oxford, 1935.
- Ellis, Sir G. E. *Life of Sir Thomas Munro, B.C.S. Vol. 1*. 2 vols. London, 1931.
- Ellis, Sir Legat. *Barth Singh*. (History of India.) Oxford, 1933.
- Ellis, Sir H. *The Marudamuni Raghaviah*. (History of India.) Oxford, 1935.
- Ellis, Sir J. W. *Life of Indian Officers*. 2 vols. London, 1935.
- . *Life of the Indian Rulers*. 2 vols. London, 1934-5.
- Ellis, Sir G. *Madras: His Indian*. (History of India.) Oxford, 1933.
- Major. *Chronicle of Lord Munro in India*. Life and Letters of General Munro, First Earl of Mount, with Government-Records of India from 1802 to 1824. London, 1935.
- Munro, Henry. *Life of Charles Munro*. London, 1933.
- Peacock, R. S. *Life of the Marudamuni Raghaviah*. 2 vols. London, 1934.
- Ram of Madrasbury, Major. *The Marudamuni Raghaviah*. (History of India.) Oxford, 1935.
- Sharma, Major General Sir W. H. *Selections and recollections of an Indian Officer*. (New edition by R. S. Peacock.) 2 vols. London, 1937.
- Trevelyan, Capt. A. L. *Warren Hastings*. (History of India.) Oxford, 1936.

## II—THE COLONIES, 1788-1818.

## GENERAL WORKS.

- Bryce, H., Lord. *Colonial Policy of European Powers*. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1882.
- Egerton, H. R. *Short History of British Colonial Policy*. London, 1895.
- The Origin and Growth of the English Colonies, and of their system of Government. Oxford, 1905. (introduction vol. to *Locusts, their Geography and History*.)
- Jones, A. W. *The Growth of the Empire*. London, 1906.
- Kenn, G. R. *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*. 4 vols. Oxford, 1894-1901.
- Volcan, A. E. *Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1788-1815*. 2 vols. London, 1892.
- Todd, Ralph. *Parliamentary Government in the British Colonies*. London, 1882.
- Waring, J. *Narrative and Critical History of America*. Vol. xiv. Boston, 1888.
- Zimmerman, A. *Neuropolitische Untersuchungen*. 2 vols. Berlin, 1896.
- For Lady's History of England, and the Dictionary of National Biography, see General Bibliography.

## THE SEPARATE COLONIES.

## New South Wales.

*Unpublished Material.*

The Record Office (*Colonial Correspondence, New South Wales, Nos. 1-50*) contains the ms. dealing with the years 1788-1814. Many of the more important only fragments are on file in Series, G. H. *History of New South Wales from its records*. Vol. i. 1788-8. Sydney, 1889. (Not continued.)

*Documents.*

- Bastien, J. *Proceedings of a General Court-Martial, of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston*. London, 1815.
- Baxter, Hon. R. G., M.P. *A letter to Vincent Rieupeyre on the Transportation Law*. London, 1828.
- *A letter to Earl Bathurst on the condition of the colonies in New South Wales*. London, 1835.
- Evans, J. *General standing orders, selected from the general orders issued by several governors, 1788-1800*. 2 vols. Sydney, 1882, 1885.
- Parliamentary Papers. The most important are "Reports of the Select Committee on the question of Transportation," 1798, 1811, and "Report of J. E. Rugg, Commissioner, to enquire into the state of New South Wales," 1823.

*Contemporary Literature.*

- Borthwick, G. *A voyage to New South Wales*. London, 1796.
- *Imagined to share*. London, 1805.
- Collette, B. *An account of the English Colony in New South Wales*. London, 1796.
- *An account of N. S. Wales from the first settlement, to 1800*—and an account of a voyage prosecuted by Captain Phillip and Mr. Bass, conducted from the Journal of Mr. Bass. London, 1802.

- Flinders, M. *A voyage to Terra Australis in the years 1801, 1802, and 1803*. 2 vols. London. 1804.
- Hunter, J. *An historical journal of the transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island*. London. 1788. (The Supplement contains journals of the first period of settlement during a government of Norfolk Island.)
- de La Pérouse, J. P. G. de. *Voyage autour du monde*. Paris. 1798.
- Prin, M. E. *Voyage de découverte aux terres australes*. Paris. 1802.
- Phillip, A. *The voyage to Botany Bay*. London. 1793.
- *Letters from London to Lord Sydney*. London. 1798.
- Tasch, W. *A narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay*. London. 1797.
- Thompson, G. *Slavery and commerce, an account of the manners and customs at Botany Bay*. London. 1794.
- Snoddy, J. H. *An account of a voyage to establish a colony at Port Phillip in the years 1803, 1804, and 1805*. London. 1806.
- Stanhill, J. *A voyage round the world in the years 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, and 1804*. 3 vols. London. 1805.
- Franklin, W. G. *A statistical, historical, and political description of the Colony of New South Wales*. London. 1810.

#### Later Works

- Beale, L. and Jeffery, W. *Admiral Phillip*. (Edition of Greater Britain.) London. 1788.
- Baxter, G. *History of Australian discovery and colonisation*. London. 1859.
- Baxter, J. *History of the Whalers and Wharfed Manufacturers*. (Vol. 2 contains Macleay's "Statement of the introduction and progress of the breed of improved sheep in New South Wales.") London. 1812.
- Barnard, J. *First twenty years of Australia*. London. 1863.
- *Port Phillip settlements*. London. 1862.
- Barrow, B. *History of New South Wales*. 2 vols. London. 1879.
- Atkins, J. B. *Early History of Victoria*. 2 vols. London. 1879.
- Ang, J. D. *Historical and statistical account of New South Wales*. 2 vols. London. 1844.
- Anders, G. W. *History of Australia*. 2 vols. London. 1865.
- Curran, H. G. *A History of the Colony of Victoria*. 2 vols. London. 1866.

#### Canada, 1763

##### Expatriated Material

The Halliday papers (1778-1785) are in use in the British Museum (Ms. B. 1.1.41-41.104). They were re-introduced by Brynmor, *Reports on the Canadian archives* (Paris. 1884a).

The Record Office, *Colonial Correspondence—Canada* (Quebec); *Canada Library*; *Canada Office*—contains the rest, dealing with the years 1763-1812. They are introduced by Brynmor, *Reports* (as above). 1855-1856.

The Papers relating to Nova Scotia in the Record Office are introduced in Brynmor's *Reports* for 1864 and 1865. Those relating to Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and Cape Breton are introduced in the *Report* for 1863.

##### Domestic

- Smith, Sir H. *Debate on Quebec Act*, from notes of. London. 1828.
- Smith, R. *A history of the late Province of Lower Canada* (Vol. 7 and 8, containing numerous contemporary documents). Quebec. 1828-29.

- Stewart, N. B. *Fundamental principles of the laws of Canada*. (Text and literal translation of the *constitution of Terra inc.*) Montreal. 1848.
- Stewart, N. *A collection of Constitutions*. London. 1775.
- *An account of the proceedings of the inhabitants of Quebec*. London. 1778.
- *Additional Papers*. London. 1779.
- Stirling, J. R. *The Statutes of Upper Canada*. Kingston. 1828.
- Styler-Holmes on Canada, 1793-8. (*Reprinted from Mémoires et documents publiés par le Société Historique de Montréal*.) Quebec. 1852.

*Contemporary Authorities.*

- Gray, H. *Letters from Canada during 1834-6*. London. 1835.
- Harris, G. *Travels through the Canadian*. London. 1807.
- Jackson, J. M. *Year of the political situation of the province of Upper Canada*. London. 1825.
- Lambert, J. *Travels through Canada and the United States in 1828, 1837, and 1838*. 2 vols. 3rd edn. London. 1838.
- Le Nationaliste/Edinburgh, *Four* in. *Travels through the United States and Upper Canada in 1785, 1790, and 1797*, together with an authentic account of Lower Canada. English translation. 4 vols. 3rd edn. London. 1845.
- Letourneau, P. de la. *Mémoires*. Quebec. 1819.
- Long, J. *Voyage and travels of an Indian interpreter*. London. 1774.
- Macdonald, Sir A. *Voyage from Montreal through North America to the River and Pacific Ocean, 1780 and 1790*. London. 1804.
- Marston, F. *The Canadian freeholder*. 2 vols. London. 1777-78.
- *A review of the government and governance of the province of Quebec since the conquest*. London. 1780.
- Roberts, Lord. *History of the British fur trade in North America, with observations relating to the North West Company of Montreal*. London. 1818.
- Saunders, W. *Geographical View of the province of Upper Canada, and preliminary remarks on its government*. London. 1815.
- Vancouver, G. *Voyage of discovery to the North Pacific and round the world 1791-95*. London. 1798.

*Later Works.*

- Alderson, W. C. *A historical and statistical account of New Brunswick*. Edinburgh. 1846.
- Bélisle, M. *États de la Canada sous la domination anglaise*. Montreal. 1822.
- Bouchette, J. *The British dominions in North America*. 2 vols. London. 1827.
- Bracken, Sir J. *Canada under British rule, 1763-1800*. Cambridge. 1908.
- *History of the Constitutional History of Canada*. Montreal. 1868.
- *Pub. Procedure and Practice, as the Dominion of Canada*. Montreal. 1821.
- Bridgman, F. *Self-government in Canada*. London. 1899.
- Bryce, G. *A short history of the Canadian People*. London. 1907.
- *Montreal*. London. 1893.
- *History of the Hudson's Bay Company*. London. 1906.
- Campbell, D. *History of Prince Edward Island*. Charlottetown. 1874.
- Cassidy, W. *History of the province of Ontario*. Toronto. 1872.
- Chaplin, B. *History of the Province of Lower Canada*. 4 vols. Quebec. 1842-52.
- Deer, J. C. *The Canadian portrait gallery*. 4 vols. Toronto. 1899-5.
- Hendling, J. *Political Annals of Lower Canada under the Act of George III, Cap. 81*. 2nd part. Montreal. 1832.
- Quarles, F. X. *Montreal de Canada*. 2 vols. Montreal. 1881-2.
- Robinson, F. C. *An historical and statistical account of New Scotia*. 3 vols. Halifax. 1823.

Metcalf, C. L. *The history of New Brunswick from its first settlement.* Fredericton, 1898.

Richard, W. *History of Canada.* 30 vols. Toronto and London, 1857-68.

Shaw, L. R. *Les Intéressés de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest.* 2 vols. Québec 1888-90.

Stearns, J. & G. *The Constitution of Canada.* Cambridge, 1895.

Stoddard, R. *A history of Nova Scotia.* 2 vols. Halifax, 1895-7.

Strong, G. W. *A history of Newfoundland.* London, 1898.

Trist, D. E. *Life of General Symes.* Toronto, 1890.

Waters, T. *The years of Upper Canada as peace and war (1793-1812).* Toronto, 1890.

#### *East Coast*

##### *Discovery*

Wells, Sir G. M. *A voyage to South America and the Cape of Good Hope.* (Appendix contains official documents relating to voyage in 1795.) London, 1823.

*Records of the Cape Colony, copied from all documents in the Record Office, by G. M. Thos.* Vols. 1-18 (1795-1862). London, 1863-1881.

##### *Contemporary authorities*

Isaacs, Lady A. *South Africa a century ago.* Letters written from the Cape, 1795-1805. London, 1861.

Barrow, J. *Travels into the interior of South Africa.* 2 vols. 2nd edn. London, 1806.

— *An account of the public life and a selection from the unpublished writings of the Earl of Macartney.* 2 vols. London, 1825.

— *A voyage to Capricorn China, in which is contained an account of a journey made in 1804 and 1805 to the residence of the chief of the Bushmann nation.* London, 1806.

— *Antiquographical Verses.* London, 1807.

Burdell, W. J. *Travels in the interior of South Africa.* 3 vols. London, 1813-4.

Forster, R. *An account of the Cape of Good Hope.* London, 1804.

##### *Later Works*

Cappes, J. *Bohile's life in South Africa.* London, 1891.

Johnson, Sir R. H. *A history of the Colonisation of Africa.* Revised edn. Cambridge, 1904.

Paul, T. *Life of Sir D. Baird.* 2 vols. London, 1871.

Leach, C. F. *Historical Geography of the British Colonies.* Vol. IV (South Africa). Oxford, 1907.

Thos, D. M. *History of South Africa.* 2 vols. Vols. II and III. London, 1881.

— *South Africa. (Story of the Nations.)* London, 1894.

#### *Recent Extension to British Africa.*

##### *Contemporary authorities*

Adair. *Narrative of the operations of a small British force under General Archibald.* London, 1891.

— *Antiquarian narrative of the Republic of England-Ghana-Guinea.* London, 1898.

— *Notes on the dominions of La Plata, with a history of the operations of the British troops in that country.* London, 1808.

Barth, Sir H. *Archæology.* Vol. 1. London, 1890.

Whitlock, General A. *Archæology of the Cape of Good Hope.* London, 1878.

Whitlock, Sir H. *History of the Free-Republic of Basuto Africa.* London, 1898.

For the Annual Register, and Carlingford's Memoirs, see General Bibliography.

*Later Works.*

- Andrews, J. *Amazon Into Amazon Forests in the years 1871-82*, 2 vols. London, 1892.  
 Pearly, Sir W. *Amazon Agony and the Privileges of Rio de la Plata*. 2nd edn. London, 1892.  
 Fraser, F. L. *Independence of the South American Republics*. Philadelphia, 1893.  
 Watson, R. G. *Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial period*. 2 vols. London, 1894.  
 Wisner, J. *Naval and colonial history of America*. Vol. viii. Boston, 1895.

*West Indies.**Contemporary authorities.*

- An account of Jamaica*, by a gentleman long resident in the West Indies. (Jama.) London, 1666.  
 Edwards, R. *History of the British Colonies in the West Indies*. 3 vols. 2nd edn. London, 1802.  
 Hume, Sir J. *Dump*. Vol. 2. London, 1884.  
 Parliamentary Papers. Report of House of Commons Committee on the state of the West Indies, 1887.  
 Pictet, Sir T. *Memories*. 2nd edn. London, 1828.  
 Pownall, G. *Notes on the West Indies*. London, 1890.  
 Sturt, R. *History of Jamaica*. London, 1897.  
 Turnbull, R. *Narrative of the arrival of the French inhabitants in the West of Guiana*. London, 1798.  
 Walpole, G. *An account of the Campaign in the West Indies in 1794 under Sir G. Grey and Sir J. Jervis, with observations on Skirmishes*. London, 1796.

*Later Works.*

- Bridge, G. *Annals of Jamaica*. 2 vols. London, 1827.  
 Gentry, T. *Chronological History of the West Indies*. 2 vols. London, 1827.  
 For *Jama* (vol. vi), *Malta* (the power), and *Winds* (vol. viii), see above, *General Works*. For *Jama's Naval History*, see *General Bibliography*.

*British Colonization in Java.**Contemporary authorities.*

- Bernard, W. L. van. *Het Nederlandsche Oorlog over Java en Onderkoningin India sedert 1815*. Gronningen, 1881.  
 ———. S. van. *Bidragen tot de Kennis van het Landtigh Soek op Java*. Vol. 2. Buitenzorg, 1882-3.  
 Raffles, T. S. *Residence in a Moorish*. London, 1818. (*The India Office Records contain numerous documents from Raffles*.)  
 ———. *The history of Java*. 2nd edn. London, 1826.

*Later Works.*

- Bridge, B. *Life of Sir G. Raffles*. London, 1897.  
 Day, C. *The policy and administration of the Dutch in Java*. New York, 1904.  
 Hume, Sir J. L. van. *Residence in Raffles*. Trans. by H. Hume, 1897.  
 Kuper, K. R. (ed. S. Raffles. *Collection of Governor Raffles*.) London, 1898.  
 Nicolson, H. D. L. *The Netherlands Colonization over Java in Onderkoningin*, 1811. Gronningen, 1887.  
 Pearson, W. G. *Nederlandsch Politiek*. Amsterdam, 1897.  
 Raffles, B. *Memoirs of the life and public services of Sir T. S. Raffles*. London, 1896.



# CHAPTER XXV.

## ST HELENA.

### CONTEMPORARY AUTHORITIES.

#### DISSEMINATED MANUSCRIPTS.

The papers of Sir Hudson Lowe are at the British Museum. The Colonial Office papers relating to St Helena are at the Record Office.

#### MANUSCRIPTS, MANUSCRIPTS, AND

- Atoll, E. A. *Resurrection of the Emperor Napoleon during the last three years of his captivity on the island of Saint-Helena*. London. 1894.
- Antonicovich, P. *Der Kaiser Napoleon in St. Helena*. 2 vols. London. 1905.
- Barnes, A. *A tour through the island of St Helena, with some particulars respecting the arrival and detention of Napoleon Bonaparte*. London. 1825.
- Bartoloni, H. R. *Guerra d'Orléans*. Annuaire. Paris. 1847.
- Bonaparte's voyage to St Helena, comprising the story of Adm. Sir G. Cockburn during his passage from England to St Helena in 1815. Boston. 1855. Republished under the title, *Napoleon's last voyage*. London. 1858.
- Comte-Duval, G. *La captivité de N<sup>ap</sup> Bonaparte d'après les rapports inédits de Marquis de Montebello*. Paris. 1864.
- Fénelon, P. *Napoléon relâché*. *Mémoires d'un militaire de l'Empire et de l'insurrection* (John Ireland). Paris. 1861.
- Glover, J. R. *Diary on board the Northumberland*. In J. H. Rose, *Napoleon's Last Voyages*. 2nd edn. 1906.
- Goussard, G. *Saint-Helène*. *Journal inédit de 1815-1816*. 2 vols. Paris. 1903.
- Hall, Esq. *Narrative of a voyage, with account of an interview with Napoleon Bonaparte at St Helena*. London. 1818.
- Knox, T. R. *True Narrative of the treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte in Saint Helena*. London. 1819.
- Jackson, Esq. *Notes and reminiscences of a Staff Officer, chiefly relating to the Waterloo campaign and to St Helena matters during the captivity of Napoleon*. 1862.
- Las Cases, E. F. D. *Conférences de*. *Mémoires de Napoléon Bonaparte*. *Journal de la vie privée et des conversations de l'Empereur Napoléon à Saint-Helène*. 4 vols. London and Paris. 1825.
- Las Cases, M. J. E., *Mémoires de la Comtesse*. *Mémoires de*. Brussels. 1818.
- Malcolm, Capt. F. G. *Narrative of the surrender of Bonaparte, and of his residence on board H.M.S. *Atropine**. London. 1806.
- Mahomed, Lady. *A Diary of Saint Helena*. Ed. Sir A. Wilson. London. 1899.
- Marquis de Montebello. *La N<sup>ap</sup> Bonaparte d'après ses relations intimes*. 2nd edn. London. 1877.
- Melange historiant, *Notes on Comte de Montebello*. Vol. 2. London. 1872.

- Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'armée sous Napoléon, d'après le Journal-Bulletin des leçons de l'Empereur par les Généraux qui ont participé sa capture. London: 3 vols. 1820.
- Metzschke, Julius H., *Contours de l'histoire de Napoléon-Bonaparte*. Edited by Gustav Passy. Paris. 1869.
- Metzschke, C. J., *Monique des Batailles de la capture de l'Empereur Napoléon à Saint-Helène*. 3 vols. Paris. 1841.
- Napoleon I., *Correspondance de*. Vol. xxix B. Paris. 1859.
- O'Meara, B. E., *Napoleon in exile; or a visit from St Helena: being the opinions and relations of Napoleon, &c.* 2 vols. London. 1822.
- Scott, M., *An appeal to the British Nation on the treatment expressed by Napoleon Bonaparte in the Island of St Helena*. London. 1817.
- Störmer, H., *Politik von Neuchâtel aus St Helena zur Zeit der Restauration*. Letter written Napoleon Bonaparte, 1814-18. Edited by H. Störmer. Vienna. 1881. Paris. 1886.
- Warren, W., *Letters written on board H.M.S. Scarborough and at Saint Helena*. London. 1859.
- Wills, M., *General Willard Napoleon: The Convention held at St Helena in 1814*. London. 1894.

# LATER WORKS.

- Articles in Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. xxv, xxvii, xxviii; Quarterly Review, Oct. 1844, Jan. 1847, Dec. 1853; Edinburgh Review, Vol. xliii; French Magazine, Vol. xlviii; Review Revis, 6 May-12 June, 1867.
- Forster, W., *History of the captivity of Napoleon at St Helena; from the letters and journals of the late Lord, Gen. Sir Hudson Lowe, &c.* 2 vols. London. 1845.
- Hammer, E. 1851. 2 vols. Paris. 1854. (The best account of the events from the return of Napoleon to Paris after Waterloo and his restoration.)
- Ross, J. H., *The Relations of Napoleon at Saint Helena*. (Reprinted largely by the students of Queen College, Brackenhurst.) London. 1903.
- , *The Fall of Napoleon and his last years*. [English Historical Review April 1904.]
- Reynolds, Karl of, *Napoleon; the last phase*. London. 1906.
- Ross, Sir Walter, *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of the French*. 3 vols. Edinburgh. 1817. New edn. 4 vols. London. 1826-27.
- Scott, R. C., *The Western Lows and Napoleon*. London. 1869.
- , *Napoleon's Captivity in relation to the English Lows*. London. 1899.
- Störmer, H., *Die Restauration in Neuchâtel*. Paris. 1886.
- Warren, Sir T., *Napoleon's last voyage; Elba and St. Helena*. London. 1859.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

## OF THE

## PRINCIPAL EVENTS MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME.

- 1774 The Quebec Act.  
Treaty of Katchikah-Kaboullig.
- 1782 First Armed Meeting.
- 1784 Separation of New Brunswick and Cape Breton from Nova Scotia.  
Foundation of the North-West Company.
- 1786 Supplementary [East India] Act.
- 1789 Presentation of a petition at Sydney (N.S.W.) by Captain Phillip.  
Tindal's settlement formed on Norfolk Island.  
Treaty of Warren Hastings signed.
- 1790 Assassination of Salim III.  
Expulsion of the Hottentots and Nippon negro.
- 1792 Peace of Warrick (Russia and Sweden).
- 1793-4 Voyages of Vancouver.
- 1801 Austro-Turkish Treaty at Sitova.  
The Constitutional Act for Canada.  
Treaty of Broukhalstein.
- 1802 Assassination of Gervasio III.  
Foundation of the Colony of Sierra Leone.  
Austro-Turkish Treaty of Jassy.  
Sir John Shore appointed Governor-General of India.
- 1804-6 British embassy to China.
- 1806 Convention between Great Britain and Russia.  
Settlement of New South Wales.  
The Permanent Settlement of Bengal.
- 1808 Jan.-Feb. East India Company's Victory at Ireland.  
February: Surrender of Ceylon by the Dutch to Great Britain.  
April: Acquisition of Warren Hastings.  
September: First British occupation of Cape Colony.  
The French Institute established.
- 1809 November: Death of the Empress Catherine II and accession of Paul I.  
British conquest of Danowetz, Kaspische and Berlin.
- 1810 February: Treaty of commerce between Great Britain and Russia.  
October: Peace of Campo Formido (France and Austria).
- 1816 April: East of Mornington appointed Governor-General of India.  
June: European's expedition to Egypt. Surrender of Malta to the French.  
Greek Insurrection.

- 1798 August. Birth of the Nile. Landing of a French fleet at Abukir Bay.  
November. Capitulation of Acre.  
Bonaparte explores Van Diemen's land.
- 1799 April. Defeat and death of Tipu Sultan at Mysore.  
October. Surrender of the Duke of York at Alkmaar.  
November. Opening of the Directory (2d Revolution).  
Nov.-Dec. The Ferozabad Campaign.  
December. Conclusion of the year war. Bonaparte First Consul.  
Conquest of the Ionian Islands by the French and Turks.
- 1800 March. Election of Pope Pius VII.  
May. Bonaparte crosses the St Bernard.  
June. Battle of Marengo.  
" French victory at Eckmühl.  
August. Union of England and Ireland.  
September. Surrender of India to England.  
November. Renewal of hostilities in Germany and Italy.  
December. Battle of Hohenlinden.  
The Second Armed Neutrality.
- 1800-1. Thomas L'Oberon leads his Dorseteers.
- 1801 January. Annular eclipse of Venus in Georgia.  
February. Treaty of Amiens (France, Austria, and Germany).  
March. Banishment of Pitt.  
" Murder of Paul I. Accession of Alexander I.  
" Treaty of Florence.  
April. Battle of Copenhagen.  
May. The Conventions of Malakoff.  
June. Maritime convention between Great Britain and Russia.  
" Treaty of Bucharest.  
" Treaty of St Petersburg between Russia and Great Britain.  
July. The Convention signed.  
August. Battle of Alexandria. Cities taken.  
September. Reorganisation of the Russian Republic.  
Bonaparte forms his fleet in the Channel.  
Despatch de Toussaint's Atlantic.
- 1801-2 Sept.-Dec. Occupation of the Chelmsford Republic.
- 1802 March. The Peace of Amiens (Great Britain, France, Spain, etc.).  
April. Proclamation of the Concordat. The Atlantic Oceanographic Journal.  
May. Napoleon Bonaparte Consul for Life.  
" Creation of the Legion of Honour.  
August. Conclusion of the year 2.  
September. Reorganisation of Holland, etc., with France.  
October. Treaty of Moscow (East India Company and the Russian).  
First English Factory Act.  
Chateaubriand's *Le Génie de Christianisme*.  
New de Bar's Census.  
Foundation of the Edinburgh Review.
- 1803 February. The Act of Mediation (Switzerland).  
May. Declaration of war between Great Britain and France.  
August. Outbreak of the Spanish War.  
The Schönbach-Königsbrunn Convention in Germany.  
The Italian Concordat.  
French's Detachment in Ireland.  
The British take Genoa, Santa Lucia, Tilsit, and Danzig.  
Sale of Louisiana to the United States.

- 1804 March The French Civil Code.  
 " Calcutta's plan. Surrender of the Duc d'Angouleme.  
 April Pichey returns to office.  
 May Franco-Dutch Treaty.  
 " Napoleon becomes Emperor of the French.  
 December Spain declares war against Great Britain.  
 " Convention of Naples.  
 Capture of Malta and Melina by the Wahabians.  
 Death of George Pacha.  
 Defeat of Colonel Manners in Northern India.
- 1805 April Treaty of St Petersburg between Great Britain and Russia.  
 May Napoleon becomes King of Italy.  
 June Cede Napoleon extended to Italy.  
 July Accession of Austria to the Treaty between Great Britain and Russia.  
 " Battle of Cape Financien.  
 October Battle of Trafalgar. Captivity of Ugar.  
 November Convention between France and the Alps.  
 " Napoleon receives Vienna.  
 December Battle of Austerlitz.  
 " Treaty of Vienna between France and Russia.  
 Chamberlain's Rent.  
 French occupation of Geneva.
- 1806 January Second and final British occupation of Cape Colony.  
 " Peace of Friendship between France and Austria.  
 " Death of Fox. Fox becomes Prime Minister.  
 February The Treaty of Poza (France and Prussia).  
 March Formation of the Grand Duchy of Berg.  
 " Joseph Bonaparte becomes King of Naples and Sicily.  
 June Louis Bonaparte becomes King of Holland.  
 June-July The Constitution of the Rhine established.  
 July Battle of Witten.  
 August Francis II abdicates the Empire and becomes Francis I, Emperor of Austria. End of the Holy Roman Empire.  
 September Death of Fox. Ministry of All the Talents.  
 October War between France and Prussia.  
 " Battle of Jena and Auerstedt.  
 " French occupation of Prussia and other territories.  
 November Napoleon's Berlin Decree.  
 December War between Russia and Turkey.  
 French occupation of Calcutta and Rangoon.  
 Vienna added to the Italian Kingdom.  
 British expedition to French Egypt.  
 Russian revolt.  
 Treaty with Russia signed.
- 1807 Jan. and Nov. British Orders in Council.  
 February Battle of Eylau.  
 " British expedition to Turkey and Egypt.  
 March The Portland Ministry formed. Canning becomes Foreign Secretary.  
 April Convention of Bucharest between Russia, France, and Sweden.  
 May Death of the Sultan Selim III.  
 June Great Britain withdraws to the Convention of Bucharest.  
 " Battle of Friedland.  
 " Lord Minto becomes General in India. Murray at Vittoria.  
 " Treaty of Tilsit between France and Russia.



- 1809 December. Treaty of Fredrikshamn (Sweden and Russia).  
 Foundation of the Quarterly Review.  
 Lambert formulates the doctrine of evolution.
- 1810 January. Treaty of Fink between France and Russia.  
 February. French conquest of Antiochia. Hatter shot at Moscow.  
       Danzon becomes the second city in the French Empire.  
 March. Napoleon restores the Archduchess Marie Louise.  
 July. Assassination of Holland in the French Empire.  
 August. Napoleon's invasion of Portugal.  
       Danzon Treaty.
- September. Battle of Russia. Ideas of Tchernykh formed.  
 October. French-Russian Empire. Russian soldiers war on England.  
 December. French conquest of the northwest coast of Germany.  
 French Penal Code passed.  
 Napoleon's presidency becomes the Grand Ducy of Frankfurt.  
 French conquest of the Valais.  
 The Italian Treaty added to the Kingdom of Italy.  
 Opening of Berlin University.
- 1811 British capture of the Isle de France (Mauritius).
- 1812 March. Birth of the King of Rome.  
 March-April. Napoleon's retreat into Spain.  
 May. Battle of Fontenoy (France).  
       Battle of Alamo.  
 October. Battle of Leipzig.  
 French independence created in France.  
 Nationality of Russia incorporated.  
 Failure of harvest all over Europe.
- 1813 April. Secret alliance between Sweden and Russia.  
 May. Peace of Bucharest (Russia and Turkey).  
 June. War between France and Russia. Napoleon's march on Moscow.  
       Italian Parliament at Palermo adopts a Constitution modeled on that of Great Britain.  
 July. Peace between England and Russia, and England and Sweden.  
       Battle of Salamanca. Wellington drives Blücher, but retires.  
 September. Battle of Borodino. Napoleon enters Moscow.  
       The burning of Moscow.  
 October. French occupation of Moscow. The retreat begins.  
       Moscow plot in Paris.  
 November. The closing of the Russian.  
 December. Napoleon reaches Paris.  
 War between England and the United States.  
 Spanish Civil War.  
 Constitution established in Spain.
- 1814 January. Convention of Fontainebleau.  
 February. Convention of Salzburg (Russia and France).  
 Feb-March. The War of Liberation opens.  
 May. Battle of Bautzen.  
 May-August. Invasion in Germany.  
 June. Battle of Vienna and the Pyrenees.  
       Treaty of Bucharest (Russia, France, and Austria).  
 August. Battle of Dresden.  
 September. Battle of Koenigsberg. Treaty of Tilsit (Russia and France).  
 October. Battle of Leipzig.  
 Oct.-Nov. Wellington crosses the Pyrenees into France.

- 1822 *Recess* of the Chamber of the East India Company for twenty years.  
*Opening* of the Blue Mountains and opening up of Redwood (Chindled).
- 1823 *January*. Peace of Ried (See Affairs and Dietrich).  
    "    Pope VII returns to Rome.  
*February*. Conference of Chastillon and Secus.  
*March*. Treaty of Commerce. Battle of Lodi.  
    "    The African river Niger and establish a Provisional Government.  
*April*. Abdication of Napoleon. Louis XVIII returns to Paris.  
    "    Battle of Toulouse. The French Constitutional Charter.  
*May*. Jean Pease of Paris.  
*August*. 'Family Peace' of Berlin.  
*September*. The Congress of Vienna meets.  
*November*. Election of Charles XIII of Sweden to the throne of Norway.  
*British treaty* with Persia. Opening of the trade with India.
- 1824 *January*. Declaration Treaty Alliance of Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia.  
*March*. Declaration of the Congress of Vienna against the Slave Trade.  
    "    Return of Napoleon. Flight of Louis XVIII.  
    "    Treaties between Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia against Bonaparte.  
*March-June*. The Hundred Days.  
*June*. Adoption of the Federal Act at the Congress of Vienna.  
    "    Adoption of the Final Act by the Congress of Vienna.  
    "    Treaty of Ugent and Quater Fere.  
    "    Battle of Waterloo.  
    "    Second abdication of Napoleon.  
*July*. Second French Restoration. Return of Louis XVIII.  
*October*. Napoleon. Louis on St. Helena.  
*November*. Second Peace of Paris.
- 1825 *May*. Death of Napoleon.













- [illegible]



























- [illegible]















- Ledesma, Diego Vazquez, Captain de, Marshal of Portugal, and the Algarve campaign** 450, 452, 453, 454.
- Lefebvre, Pierre, Archbishop, passed, 47**
- Leto de Ribeiro, Gerónimo, at the Congress of Vienna, 384**
- Levy de Rovery, Jean-Baptiste, Baron, 3, 134**
- Leveshaux, General, Earl of, Count, at the Congress of Vienna, 3-5, 371**
- Levin, Johann Wilhelm, German statesman, German Secretary, 393, negotiator at 370, 393**
- Levin, Napoleon plans to attack 37, occupied by French troops, 34-7, Count of 34, 40, 393; Napoleon plans to, 37; Napoleon occupies the town of, 347, 377; Russian flags in, 353**
- Levin, Russian troops in, 344**
- Levin, proclamation of peace (1807) in, 77; peace reports from, 385; secretary of French legation in, 384, states in (1806, 320, 322, Great Britain's reply, 377) 320, state of affairs in, 370; French embassy established at, 340; departed from the Austrian army in, 340; secretary of, 371; visit of Prince Barington to, 313**
- Levin, Napoleon at, 337-339**
- Leyden, 323, 41**
- Levin, French fleet at, 323; 329, 330, 331; passed over to, 332**
- Levin, Des-Adelphus at, 323**
- Levin, and France, 323, 324, 325, 326**
- Levin, Nicholas's address to, 320**
- Levin, Nicholas, Maria Theresia, daughter of, and the King's party, 370-371**
- Levin, 370, 371, at St. Denis, 370**
- Levin, King of France, and Napoleon, 33, 34, 347; occupied at Milan or Genoa, 40, 116, 121, 122, 123, proposed negotiations at, 345; at Moscow, 341, return of, 345; Ministry of, 350; and the Empire, 351; perishes again, 370, 371, and Napoleon, 370-371; 372, 373, and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, 340; army of, 340; journey of, 345; return to France, 345; and the Congress of Vienna, 371, 372, 373, 374-375**
- Levin, Joseph, Prince of Prussia, 371, 372, killed at Moscow, 371**
- Levin, Louis-Nicolas, Baron, Secretary of, 374-7**
- Levin, Queen of Prussia, influence of, 367; 370; return of, 370; under Napoleon, 370; Alexander I. and, 370, return of, to Berlin, 374; influence of, 370, 371, death of, 370**
- Levin, name of, 36, French official expedition to, 36; sale of, to United States, 345; purchased from Spain, 375, noted in United States 713**
- Levin, history of, 313**
- L'Orange, Vincent, negro ruler of Senegal, 370-371, also in prison in the East, 370**
- Levy, the Bishop, appeal to, 370-371; 372, at St. Denis, 370**
- Levin, great to, 370, 371**
- Levin, 371, 372, 373**
- Levin, occupied by French troops (July 14, 1807), 374**
- Levin, Lord, occupied by Napoleon, 377**
- Levin, passed to King Napoleon, 347; member of Austria in, 340; then French party and, 370-371, assigned to Turkey, 371-372, assigned to the Italian State Service, 371**
- Levin, French, Margate de, French ambassador in Paris, 73, 121, 122, 370-371, 372, 373, 374; joined by Napoleon, 371**
- Levin, and Louis**
- Levin, 370, 371**
- Levin, Henry William sent to, 724**
- Levin, Bishop of Austria, 371**
- Levin, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000**





















- [illegible]





- 1800, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.



- [illegible]





- TALLERIE, *Almanach des Sciences et des Arts*, Paris, 1825, 4 vols., 8vo., quarterly, of sciences, of 1841 seq., under names 12, 165 seq., edited by J. B. B. B. B., and of 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1858, 1859, 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 251





Tavernier, English East at, 51, Gambia side from, 52

Tavernier, Lord, see Blithfield, Francis (caption); Tavernier, second Marquis of (caption); Africa, intercourse, French general at Senegal, 426, another French, 426

Togo, the George in Cape Colony, 796  
Togo, Frederick, Duke of, see Frederick, German; Duke of Tork and Albany

Togo, the Wapitong, Slave South Sea (caption); French half-breeds, 327, another description of Penang, 326, appearance of French troops, 327 esp., (caption); General of Staff just after Lyons, 418, marches on Magdeburg, 418, at Bremen, 418, relations of, with Britain, 418, at Moscow, 427, at Leipzig, 428, American French return, 429, at Dresden, 427, at Leips, 426

Togo, Arthur, and the English West Indies, 327, and the Irish, 727  
Togo, L. F. (caption); 444, relations of, with America, 444

Togo, French, Senegal, 426, 427, 427

Togo, (caption); of the African, 726  
Togo, (caption); by Penang, 726  
Togo, (caption); by Penang, (caption); 726, 726

Togo, (caption); at 526

Togo, (caption); 527, 526

Togo, (caption); 526, French army, 526

Togo, (caption); 526

Togo, (caption); 526, French army, 526, French army, 526

Togo, (caption); 526

Togo, (caption); 526, French army, 526, French army, 526

Togo, (caption); 526, French army, 526, French army, 526

Togo, (caption); 526, French army, 526, French army, 526

Togo, (caption); 526

Togo, (caption); 526, French army, 526, French army, 526

Togo, (caption); 526, French army, 526, French army, 526

Togo, (caption); 526, French army, 526, French army, 526

Togo, (caption); 526, French army, 526, French army, 526

Togo, (caption); 526, French army, 526, French army, 526

Togo, (caption); 526, French army, 526, French army, 526

Togo, (caption); 526, French army, 526, French army, 526

